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CLASSICAL
REVIEW

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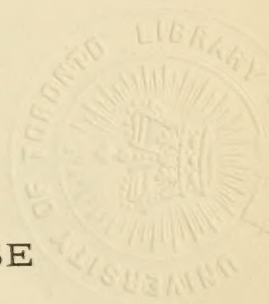
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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1920

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE HYPERBOREANS.

A RECENT attempt¹ to find a meaning for the term 'Hyperborean' raises several interesting problems for historians. The Hyperboreans, we are told, are to be located in particular somewhere near Monastir, in Macedonia, or in general among the ranges of the Balkans—according to our preference for the interpretation of 'Bora' (the version given by Livy² of the Herodotean Βέρμιον ὄρος) as the hills of Pelagonia, or as meaning vaguely any mountains in and about Macedonia.

The author of this suggestion refers to the well-known story of the Περφερέες, who brought the sacred gifts to Delos from distant and legendary regions via Dodona and the Maliac Gulf, and proceeds to explain that the stories about the Hyperboreans from whom the gifts came had their origin in a district astride the old trade route, which later became the Via Egnatia.

The inconsistency in attributing the origin of these myths to a region within easy reach of the half-way point in the Hyperborean road is evident; if Herodotus believed the Hyperboreans of this story to be, at the nearest, well beyond the head of the Adriatic, to put them in Macedonia, or, in fact, on any other part of the route except the northern or eastern end of it, involves an interpretation of the story which no critical method can justify.

The suggestion, therefore, that 'the myth of the Hyperboreans grew up in Paeonia, on the Pierian side of Bora-Bermios,' and that 'from the sheltered land of rose-gardens and plenty at its Pierian foot arose the tales . . . of the people over the Bora to the North-West,

whom the Greeks later called the Hyperboreans, and fancied they lived beyond the North wind,'³ demands investigation, if only from the point of view of historical criticism.

The whole theory, as I understand it, depends upon the derivation of the word 'Hyperborean' from the 'Bora' of Livy and the Βέρμιον of Herodotus.

Were there but few references to the Hyperboreans in ancient writers this theory would at least be plausible. It would be even stronger were there no other Bora. Herodotus and his contemporaries, however, have much to say on Hyperboreans, while the hills round the town of Bora (or Sabora) in Southern Spain⁴ may, on purely etymological grounds, be an alternative *habitat*! In the later case the points of the compass, it is true, need a certain adjustment, but Spanish rose-gardens might well replace those of Pieria!

The main problem at issue, however, is not to discover the whereabouts of Hellenic Hyperboreans, for the term 'Hyperborean' was used, for all practical purposes, in later times as a title for servants of Apollo who were associated with the various ceremonies connected with the return of the god from the land of the Hyperboreans. The difficulty to be dealt with is rather to locate the pre-Hellenic or non-Hellenic Hyperboreans than to identify the mythical people of later classical literature.

In dealing with this question we encounter a fairly substantial body of evidence which takes us eastwards from the haunts of Apollo to the

¹ C.R. 1916, No. 7, p. 180.

² XLV. 29.

³ C.R. *loc. cit.* p. 182, 183.

⁴ P.W. s.v. Bora.

steppe country of Central Asia.¹ But we are met at the outset by the very definite statement of Herodotus that the Scythians knew nothing about Hyperboreans, and that the Issedones, as far as he could discover, were equally ignorant, although he admits that they might possibly know something.² From the rather contentious tone of his remarks, and from the subsequent curt dismissal of the evidence of Abaris,³ one derives the impression that the historian is referring to rival theories⁴ as to the origin of the Hyperboreans, and siding with no view that derived them from any definite region. He inclines rather to a rationalistic view of his own, according to which Hyperboreans and Hypnotians represented respectively the northern and southern fringes of the inhabited world, and served only as geographical terms.

The stories of Abaris and Aristéas, as being the records of the earliest Greek travellers, seem, however, to deserve more investigation than Herodotus thought fit to apply to them. On the evidence of Herodotus they represent views to which he was opposed, and it is clear that the rationalistic method he so often followed excluded on many occasions from his consideration facts which, while unattractive in form, might, in many cases, have been historically valuable.

Abaris came from the Caucasus,⁵ and, like Aristéas, was connected with the worship of Apollo. Both, as far as fable can be separated from fact, were contemporaries, and clearly responsible for the tradition which identified the Hyperboreans with extra-Scythic tribes in the Far East of the ancient world. The bard Olen, himself a Hyperborean

according to one legend, came from Lycia, not from the North, and, according to Pausanias,⁶ was the first to refer to Hyperboreans. That Herodotus should have discredited both Aristéas and Abaris equally is only natural in a historian of such high critical ability. But it is none the less likely that they, with Olen the Lycian, were responsible for the views as to the Eastern origin of the Hyperboreans which Herodotus refused to accept. Views of this nature were presumably to be found set forth in such works as the *Περὶ Ἑθνῶν* of Damastes, who placed the Hyperboreans beyond the Arimaspi,⁷ and, perhaps, in Hellanicus, to whom a work on Eastern ethnology is attributed. The same tradition seems to have been followed in the fourth century B.C., both by Megasthenes in his *Ἰνδικά* and by Hecataeus of Abdera in a work entitled *Περὶ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων*. Both these writers appear to have travelled in the very regions where this tradition places the Hyperboreans. Hecataeus mentions an island called *Ἑλίξιοι*, and its inhabitants, the *Καραμβύκαι*,⁸ a tribe of the Hyperboreans, while Megasthenes finds current in India the story of a race that lived for a thousand years, whom he calls Hyperboreans.⁹ Both writers thus reproduce indigenous stories of the usual Hyperborean type. Pausanias later followed the same tradition, and placed the Hyperboreans far in the East beyond the Arimaspi.¹⁰

The alternative theory, which Herodotus seems to reject equally, that the Hyperboreans belonged somewhere to the north of Greece, is attested by a mass of evidence connecting them with the worship of Apollo. Here they become part and parcel of things Hellenic, and later forms of the tradi-

¹ Aristéas (Hdt. IV. 13) gives us the series Issedones—Arimaspi—Griffins—Hyperboreans—*θάλασσα*, while Damastes (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ὑπερβ.*) gives it as Scythians—Issedones—Rhipéan mountains—Hyperboreans—*ἡ ἑτέρα θάλασσα*.

² IV. 32.

³ IV. 36.

⁴ An echo of the rival theories may, perhaps, be found in the scholiast to Pindar *Ol.* III. 28, where Philostephanus represents the 'North Greek,' as opposed to the 'Pelasgian' theory of others.

⁵ Ovid, *Metamorph.* V. 86.

⁶ V. 7, 7.

⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Ὑπερβορέου*.

⁸ An eastern type of name.

⁹ Strabo XV. 711. Stories of this type still survive in the Middle East. Thus, in Circassia 'it is said that there are certain Eden-like districts in the interior, only known to this people (the Circassians) sheltered by the (Caucasian) Alps from every harsh wind, where the cold of winter and the heat of summer are equally unknown' (Spencer, *Turkey, Russia, the Black Sea, and Circassia*, 1854, p. 241).

¹⁰ I. 31, 2.

tion even identify them with the Delphians; while Posidonius, acting on the same principles which had made them Hellenic, places them in the Italian Alps, and makes them Latin! It is hardly surprising that the same tradition should again be drawn upon to find them a home in Pelagonia.¹

The process in general thus seems to have been one of the gradual Hellenisation of a non-Hellenic group of stories, and not, as has been suggested,² the reverse. The Hyperboreans as a nucleus of myths and travellers' tales belong essentially to the Far East of antiquity. The griffins which are so closely associated with them belong to Asia, while the celestial calm which characterises the Utopian conditions of the land of the Hyperboreans may well be some faint echo from civilised China which reached the informants of Abaris and Aristéas,³ and was reproduced by Hellanicus in the formulae current in early Greek ethnology.⁴

The legends of the Hyperboreans undoubtedly reached Greece from the East in the first part of the sixth century B.C. at the latest. The false etymology which caused Herodotus to create his Hyperboreans may have arisen later, and the original name may have been a genuine tribal name in its original form. The general idea of a people of the type which might be

pictured as inhabiting an Ultima Thule exactly suited the needs of the various Apolline cults which were so closely concerned with the little known and barbarous countries north of Doris and Acarnania. The more pleasant the legends, the more suitable they would be to fill a gap in mythical geography. The Hyperboreans to whom Herodotus rather grudgingly attributes the story of the Περφερέες were not necessary to the account; they served to round off what would otherwise have been an incomplete description of a journey. The theory which identifies the Περφερέες themselves, on philological grounds, with the Hyperboreans seems to me to be seriously incommenced by Apollo legends. If the Περφερέες were the Hyperboreans, why should Apollo visit their land when they were engaged in visiting the shrines of Apollo? The Hyperboreans seem to provide a convenient name for otherwise nameless regions, and are accompanied by their mountains the Rhipeans, which, in the days of Aristéas, were in the Far East, while in the time of Posidonius they were in Italy.⁵ Incidentally, if Hyperborean means 'from over the Bora,' the Rhipeans which, in all forms of the legend, play the part of the Balkan Bora quite satisfactorily, seem rather difficult to dispose of.

The whole story of the Hyperboreans, in short, seems to represent a failure on the part of early Greek ethnology. It originated in the days when the study of men and their habits was developing scientifically, became discredited because of its vagueness, and was, as a result, relegated to the sphere of mythology and religion.

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¹ The author of the article referred to in the *C.R.* states incidentally that 'the modern bishopric still preserves the name Pelagonia.' In the same way the Vardar 'preserves' the ancient name of Axios—by revival. Until more used to the ancient names the modern inhabitants will continue, as at present, to 'preserve' them only on official documents and maps.

² Farnell, *Cults*. vol. iv. p. 103, note.

³ This view is put forward by Tomaschek, quoted by Minns (*Scythians and Greeks*, p. 114), and was previously suggested by Gladisch (*Roscher Lexikon*, col. 2829).

⁴ The 'justice' and 'simple life' of primitive tribes is a commonplace in Herodotus.

⁵ Cf. also Protarchus quoted by Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὑπερβ.

SAPPHO'S NEREÏD-ODE AGAIN.

THE tenth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* has so greatly increased our knowledge of the work of Sappho and Alcaeus that it has become necessary to revise, not indeed our estimate of it as literature, for that is beyond cavil, but our attempts to restore the corrupt and mutilated texts to the form in which they were known in antiquity. For myself, I have found, too, that the experience gained by working at these fragments, off and on for ten years, has made me doubt in certain places the probability of my earlier essays in reconstruction. The present paper is the result of a second inspection of *Ox. Pap.* 7, now known as *Brit. Mus. Pap.* 739, and a new reconstitution of the original by the tracing of letter-groups from the facsimile in *Ox. Pap.* 1, and is intended as a revision of an article published in the *Classical Quarterly* in the October of 1909.

The poem is in form a propempticon, supposed to be sent to Sappho's brother, the wine-merchant, in Egypt, in reality an offer of reconciliation handed to him on his return from one of his voyages to Naucratis. The reference in l. 13 is to the famous poem in which his sister rebuked him for his connection with the notorious Doricha or Rhodopis, of which Herodotus says, II. 135, *Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδάπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἐν μέλει Σαπφῶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν*. That poem may possibly be identified with the fragment of an ode which precedes the poem beginning *οἱ μὲν ἰππήων στροφήν* in *Ox. Pap.* 1231, a fragment from which we learn that there was at one time a break between Charaxus and Rhodopis.

The line of the initial letters of the reconstruction is arrived at by the method described in my earlier paper. I do not now, however, find it necessary to suppose the Papyrus to have had *τογ* and *ταγ* for *τὸν* and *τὰν* in ll. 2 and 9. In l. 2 there is beneath the hole a speck of ink where the bottom of *ο* would come. The acute accent is visible above. In l. 5 *σοσθ* is, I think, certain; I had before thought *ιασθ* more probable, but the stroke that looks like part

of *α* is not ink. In l. 9 my reading of the facsimile was *δεφελοι*, i.e. an Atticisation of *δ' ἐπέλοι*; after my first examination of the Papyrus I corrected this on p. 320 of the same number of the *Class. Quart.*, having decided that there was no trace of *φ* or any other letter,¹ and reverting to Blass' *δέ [θ]έλοι*. The other day I found, to my great surprise, that after all there is a very distinct trace of a letter here, and that the letter is certainly not *θ*. I remember that when I first examined the Papyrus, in the autumn of 1909, I could not get a very good light upon it, though at the time I thought it sufficient. I can only say that I now know that it was not sufficient, and must throw myself on the mercy of my readers. The remains of the letter in question consist of the end of its lower right-hand part. The letter is most probably *λ* or *κ*, possibly *χ* or *δ*. This gives us *δέ κ' ἔλοι*, which involves an important change in the structure of the Ode. What was thought to be an optative of wish is now found to be potential—a quasi-apodosis (with *δέ*) to the prayers and wishes of the previous stanzas. In l. 13 there are three dots before *εἰσαίων*, of which only the first is ink. This is quite possibly the bottom—which in this hand is pointed—of *σ*; this gives us *κῆρ, ὄνειδος εἰσαίων*, which not only fits my reconstitution exactly, but is, I think, a great improvement on the proposals based on the supposition that the letter was *μ*. In the same line, after *χρω* comes a spot of ink. It does not look like the top of a lost iota, and is in the position of a colon. If it is a colon, it must, I think, like the 'diaeresis' over the *ρ* in l. 1, be a mistake. The traces at the beginning of l. 18 are consistent with *]χη*; *]ρη* I do not now think likely. The remains are apparently the top right-hand piece of *χ* and the top left-hand piece of *η*. In l. 19 the Papyrus has *κακάν*]; this accent points either to *κακάν μοι* (or *σοι*) with Atticised accentuation, or to some three-syllable compound of *κακός*.

¹ So Grenfell and Hunt, *Ox. Pap.* I.

The former would involve a consonantal beginning to l. 20. I choose the latter. In l. 20 the traces—the lower half of an upright stroke—favour]η; ι would probably be more slanting.

I now read the Ode as follows:

- [Χρύσιαι] Νηρηίδες, ἀβλάβη[ν μοι]
 [τὸν κασί]γνητον δότε τυῖδ' ἴκεσθα[ι,]
 [κὰ μὲν] ᾧ θύμῳ κε θέλῃ γένεσθαι,
 [ταῦτα τε]λέσθην.
 5 [ὅσσα δὲ] πρ[ό]σθ' ἄμβροτε, πάντα
 λῦσα[ι]
 [καὶ φίλοι]σι Φοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι
 [καὶ δύναν] ἐ[χ]θροισι· γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι
 [δύσκληα μ]ήδεις.
 [τὰν κασιγ]νήταν δέ κ' ἔλοι πόησθα[ι]
 10 [ἔμμορον] τίμας, [ὄν]ϊαν δὲ λύγραν
 [καὶ λόγοις] ὅτοισι π[ά]ροιθ' ἀχεύων
 ἄμμον ἐδάμνα
 [κῆρ ὀνειδο]ς εἰσαῖων τό κ' ἐν χρῶι
 [κέρρεν, ἀλ]λ' ἐπ' ἀγ[λαί]αι πολίταν
 15 [ἐκλάθεσθ'] ἂ λειπ', [ὅτα] νῆ κε
 δαῦτ' οὐ.
 [δεν διὰ μά]κρῳ,
 [καὶ συνάο]ρον, αἴ κ[ε] θέλῃ, ἑξίοι[σι]
 [ἐν λέχεσ]σ' ἐ[χ]ην· σὺ [δὲ], λὺγ[ξ]
 [ε]ρε[μ]να,
 [ῥῖνα πρὸς γάα]ι θεμ[έν]α κακάν[θην]
 20 [ἄλλα πεδάγρ]η.

The following *apparatus* supplements what I have said above: 1 P νηρηίδες 2 P τυῖδ 3 P]φθυμωκε : P γένεσθαι. (= γένεσθαι, not γένεσθαι.) 4 P]λεσθην. 5 P ἀμβροτε. (= ἄμβροτε,) : P πάντα 6 P χάραν 7 P δ' 8 P]ηδεις. 9 P κέλοιπόησθα[10 P λύγραν 12 P probably αμμον 13 the traces suit]σ; no definite trace of]μ : P εισαῖω[: P εγχω. 14 P probably ἀγλαῖα a possible, but here unmetrical, Aeolic form : P αἰ 15 P δ' αὐτ' 18 the traces suit]χη : P]χην. 19 P κακάν[20 the traces suit]η rather than]ι.

The Ode may be thus translated:

'Golden Nereids, grant me I pray my brother's safe return, and that the true desires of his heart shall be accomplished, and putting away his former errors he shall become a delight to his friends and a grief to his enemies; and may our house be disgraced of no man. Then shall it be his to bring honour to his sister; and the sore pain and the words wherewith, in bitter resentment of a taunt that must have cut to the

quick, he sought ere he departed to overwhelm my heart,—O, when return he does on some near day, his it shall be to forget amid his fellow-townsmen's mirth what he left behind him when he went away, and to have a mate, if he desire one, in wedlock due and worthy; and as for thee, thou black and baleful she-lynx, thou mayst set that evil snout to the ground and go a-hunting other prey.'

I add some notes on the new readings with a few comments on those I have retained. In l. 3 κὰ μὲν is preferable to κῶσσα as marking the contrast. In l. 7 δῶα is now proved to have belonged to the Lesbian vocabulary by Ox. Pap. X. 1234. 2. i. 10. On ἄμμι in l. 8 my earlier note says: 'The dual is rare in Lesbian; hence ἄμμι not νῶν.' The dual is now well established for the dialect, cf., besides one of the *Berlin Fragments* (= *New Fragments* 4. 20), Ox. Pap. X. 1231. 14. 12. It is now clear that the whole family is meant here. The construction in l. 9 calls for a word of comment. The infinitive with ἔλοι is the logical counterpart of the infinitive with δότε; and although I can find no exact parallel, I think it should not be considered difficult, especially as it is possible to feel κασιγνήταν as the direct object of ἔλοι and πόησθαι as epexegetic, a feeling which by a slight shift, such as is common enough in a long sentence, becomes modified later when we get to ἐκλάθεσθαι. To the possible objection that we should expect λάβοι rather than ἔλοι I would urge that αἰρέω 'to win or gain' is quite natural where the suggestion is 'get by deserving it.' For the ἀγλαῖα, or feast of welcome, in l. 9, cf. Lycidas' song, Theocr. 7. 52 ff., itself a pro-pempticon for a friend travelling to Mytilene. On δαῦτ' in l. 15 my earlier note says "'back again' like πάλιν.' On Theocr. 11. 22, *Class. Rev.* 1912, p. 245, I have suggested 'hither' with the alternative 'when return he does (as I hope he will).' In Alc. 19 I now take δεῦτε or δηῦτε as = δῆ (see *Camb. Philol. Soc. Proc.* 1916, p. 13); in Alc. *Berl. Aberd. Frag.* 6 the true reading is δηθ', i.e. δηθα.¹ Thus my evidence is

¹ *Class. Rev.* 1917, p. 33.

removed for the non-imperative use of *δεῦτε, δαῦτε*, or *δηῦτε* to mean 'hither'; and so both here and in Theocr. II. 22. I would now take it as equivalent to *δῆ*, the effect here being to recall the reader to the first request of the Ode,—'when return he does, as I am praying he may.' In l. 18, for the elision of the *ι* of *λέχεσσι*, cf. Bergk, *P.L.G. Frag. Adesp.* 51 *ἀρμάτεσσ' ὀχήμενος*, where the dialect points to Alcaeus or Sappho; cf. also *ὄττ' ἔμφ* Sa. I. 17. For *γαῖαι* = *γαῖαι* in l. 19, cf. Sa. 44 *Φωκάας*,

91 *Ῥμήναον et al.* In the same line *κακάνθην* is accusative of *κακάνθης*, like *χρυσανθίης, πολυανθίης, πορφυρανθίης*, cf. Nicander *Alex.* 420 *κακάνθης*. The *πεδάγη* of l. 20 is imperative of *πεδάγ-ρῶ* or *πεδάγρημι*; cf. Hesych. *πεδάγ-ρετον · μεταδίωντον*, Theocr. 29. 28 *παλινάγρετον*, and the Lesbian use of *ἀγρέω* for *αἰρέω*.

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THE IGNORANCE OF ANTILOCHUS.

A STUDY IN INTERPOLATION.

WE should be grateful indeed if some beneficent fairy could unroll for us a mental cinematograph-film, showing us the different interpolators of Homer at work, and disclosing their thoughts and motives in the process. We to-day have studied the art of analysis to a nicety, and it often causes us to misunderstand the art of interpolation. Accustomed to dissection, we are apt to expect that the interpolator, before inserting his piece, went through the same rigid process as we do. This is not always the case. A particular gem must have sometimes demanded its way into the whole by popular applause, and it would have been listened to uncritically for its intrinsic beauty. A good instance of our change in habit of mind appears in the present stage-rendering of famous Shakesperean passages and that of a generation ago. An elderly acquaintance of mine has told me that in his youth a speech like 'All the world's a stage' would be spoken by the star, detached from the action of the play, and simply reciting to the audience. On the other hand, when I saw Mr. Oscar Asche in the character of Jaques, he took elaborate measures to assimilate this speech to the action and atmosphere of the woodland scene. He spoke it sitting at a rustic table and eating an apple. At the reference to the 'lean and slippered pantaloons' he pointed meaningfully to a Guy-Fawkes-like character, obviously dressed to make this piece of business, who self-con-

sciously started at the gibe. Result, explosions from the audience.

Of the two I confess I prefer the old-fashioned style; for the piece is a little poem of itself, and I prefer to sacrifice realism to poetry rather than poetry to realism. I believe that a Greek would have listened in this spirit of detachment to such a piece as the weeping of Achilles' horses. It might delay the action of the battle; it might be a piece of sentiment out of place. But it was moving in itself and subdued criticism. If a rhapsode had omitted it, popular clamour would probably have demanded its restoration.

There are, however, other interpolations which considerably affect the action, which must have demanded some acute analysis before insertion, and which evidenced remarkable skill in smoothing, if they fail to obliterate, inconsistencies. The presence of a contradiction by no means infers lack of dexterity. Let any modern try to insert the story of Cain and Abel into *Paradise Lost*. If he could deceive an acute man hunting for difficulties after his tenth reading of the poem he would be clever indeed. For we must remember that it is the acute man hunting for difficulties, and not the ordinary reader, who finds them.

The Patrokleia, or more properly speaking, the original fight and death of Patroclus, is a centre-point in the great contest, and was bound to receive additions. If we are content to expect

certain inconsistencies arising from their insertion, we shall be struck with admiration at the skill in the interweaving. We shall be convinced that the authors of the main expansions had an adequate view of the general framework and were able to justify their work by the choice of sufficient motives.

One growing idea was behind the main drift of certain interpolations—the belittlement of Hector. In the ages nearer to the Trojan war the Achæan chiefs could give the dues of chivalry to a greatly fallen foe. In the original *Menis* Hector alone slays Patroclus, stripping him of his arms. As the war receded into the dimness of time, the Greek bards increased the glory of their national chieftains at the expense of the Trojans. Thus it is that Hector becomes merely a third-hand slayer of Patroclus.

It was this idea which introduced the Euphorbus episode and the donning of Achilles' armour by Patroclus.

If one reads the story with the excitement and hurry of battle in his mind, the traces of these insertions will not be glaringly apparent. There is an amazing verve and continuity in the narrative such as would carry a rhapsode clear through with an audience. Yet the traces are there. For instance, even in the Sarpedon-episode, which has very little to do with the belittling of Hector, somebody has made a slip. Zeus, as he gazes down at the fight over the fallen Lycian, considers whether he will allow Hector there and then to slay Patroclus *and strip him of his armour* (XVI. 650). Here is a vestige of the original story, but it has been forgotten that Apollo is to do this for Hector.

Moreover, though we are told that Apollo did so in XVI. 804, yet at XVII. 125 we find that Hector did it.

So, too, the introduction of Euphorbus leads to a confusion between his armour and that of Patroclus. When Hector hears that Euphorbus is killed by Menelaus, he sees the victor, as he searches the lines, stripping *Euphorbus* of his armour (XVII. 84-85). When he hurries up to engage Menelaus, the latter draws back, regretting that he must leave *Patroclus* and his armour (91).

Originally there was one dead man—Patroclus; and Euphorbus, though very useful to the self-esteem of the Greeks when alive, simply becomes a nuisance when dead, and is obliterated in summary fashion.

Little cracks and fissures thus appear, but the wonder is that there are so few. More have been found in abundance, I know, but many are existent only in hypercritical brains. Let any modern poet, I say again, determine to insert a lengthy Biblical episode into *Paradise Lost*; let him do it under the spell of inspiration, and he will find the rivetting work amazingly troublesome.

For the bards of these particular episodes certainly were under the spell of inspiration. They had worked themselves into the situations and were faithful to the characteristics of the heroes.

This is evident enough in the main, but I take occasion here to defend a passage in which this is questioned—where Hector dons the armour of Achilles (XVII. 140 ff.). 'It is somewhat startling to find Hector, after his great promises, and his appeal to Glaucus to stand by his side and watch, suddenly leaving the field of battle.' Such is the verdict of Leaf.

But consider the circumstances, and it is not startling. Glaucus is a thorough grumbler; he does not seem to have his heart in the fight, or, in fact, in the war. He is concerned to keep Hector alive to the kindness of the Lycians in coming to Troy at all. So, in XVI. 538, he chides Hector for neglecting his allies, and seems to regard him as responsible for Sarpedon's death. Now, too, the old grudge is fresh, and he even threatens to withdraw his men. Hector is readily responsive to an appeal to his chivalry, and his reply shows how deeply his sense of honour is stung. It consists of the defence that Zeus is against him, and ends with a curt command to Glaucus to stand at his side and see what he will do.

It is a good phrase, ἵδε ἔργον; it means that Hector is too moved and too proud to say more. A sudden idea has seized him. Zeus may be against him, but he will thwart the Thunderer by

donning the magic armour. Glaucus will not have long to wait; he will soon be back in double vigour.

As he rallies back to the fight, he shows what point in Glaucus' speech stung him. Rushing to his allies he says, in effect, 'Into the fray with you! Troy doesn't keep and feed her allies for the pleasure of it!' The reply is not made to Glaucus in person; it is simply hurled at the allies in general; but it is not a natural retort to the taunt still burning within him that he does not do his duty by his allies? The idea of remissness in knightly duty is above all things abhorrent to Hector. The retort he makes is neither chivalrous nor just; but the chivalrous, when undeservedly touched on a point of honour, often are unjust.

Now the writer of this part had to provide a motive for Hector's donning of Achilles' armour. He might have made Hector do it through sheer cowardice, or through vain-glory, the motive cynically given him by Shakespeare when he chases, in *Troilus and Cressida*, that phantom pomp of armour to his bane. Or again, the bard might have had a different taunt hurled at Hector. Some warrior might have told him that he could not work the havoc Patroclus caused because he was not man enough to wear Achilles' armour. He does none of these weaker things. Instead, he produces a natural and convincing effect by studying his characters.

To the interpolators who were really poets we owe our gratitude and reverence. They were, in fact, not interpolators but co-builders. For an interpolator is properly an intruder, a botcher tricking out a noble fabric with tasteless ornament, or cementing fissures in the honest stone. The tedious simile in the second of the so-called false starts (XVII. 384-399) is an instance of the first process: the first false start, (XVII. 366-383) is an instance of the cement-work.

With this cement-work I shall deal. Its author, the Cementer, must have been a dull fellow, given to logic rather than poetry: and it was with a logical eye that he read the great passage where Ajax, weary with fighting over Patro-

clus' body, despatches Menelaus to advise Antilochus of Patroclus' death, with the request that he convey the news to Achilles, in the hope of rousing him to revenge (XVII. 652 ff.). This seems to have aroused in our Cementer nothing beyond the academic question—'Why was Antilochus ignorant of Patroclus' death?'

To be sure, one might reasonably conclude that so significant an event must have become quickly known throughout all the army. Antilochus was clearly ignorant of it, as is seen from the effect the news has on him (694 ff.).

Our bard set about explaining the matter. His respect for the traditional Homer led him to conclude that if Homer said Antilochus was ignorant, then he was, strange though it appeared. There must be a reason, and that reason he found in the miraculous cloud round Patroclus' body.

It was a stupendous piece of machinery to invent for the solution of this trivial point. He viewed it as a logician, but he tried to answer it as a poet. Alas, poetry born of logic has made Ossa like a wart!

However, he was not so bold as to plume himself on actually correcting Homer. He persuaded himself that the miracle was there ready to hand. His task was merely to make explicit what Homer had implied.

Had not Zeus shaken his aegis over the field, causing darkness? (XVII. 593). Does not Ajax plead to the Thunderer to raise it? (645)¹ If the darkness was sent by Zeus of set purpose to confound the Achaeans, must it not have been miraculous?

But it is not said that the darkness was confined to the fight round Patroclus; and the bard now proceeds to read it into the text.

He notices that indistinctness of vision is mentioned by Menelaus and Ajax alone, *i.e.*, only by warriors fighting round Patroclus. He fails to remark, or wishes to ignore, the fact that Menelaus does not allege the same cause for it as

¹ It is impossible to agree with Leaf that the *ἄηρ* complained of by Ajax is merely a cloud of dust.

Ajax does. Menelaus, urging on his comrades, addresses them indiscriminately, because 'hard is it for me to distinguish each chief amid the press—such blaze is there of the strife of war' (XVII. 252). This the Cementeer attributes to the dimness caused by the cloud, since he misreads the closely preceding remark of Ajax to Menelaus that he fears for the lives of them both because 'a cloud of war covers everything' (243)¹. Homer, of course, meant nothing more than a cloud of warriors, but the unimaginative one takes the expression literally.

He argues, therefore, that complaint of 'low visibility' arises only from the space round Patroclus, because the cloud was there and nowhere else.

This, then, was the cause of Antilochus' ignorance. Being in another part of the field, he could not see what was going on round the fiercest point.

Fortified with these conclusions, he launches at 366 into his account of the confined darkness.

How poor a poetic motive this was is seen from the work of still another bard. This second man supplied at 268 a richer motive. Accepting the miracle, he adds that Zeus thus concealed Patroclus in the cloud because he wished to protect him from Trojan desecration. But in the Cementeer's work it is plain that nothing but the low visibility was in his mind, because nothing but the ignorance of Antilochus concerned him.

Let us now look at the interpolation. 'Then strove they as it had been fire, nor wouldst thou have thought that there was still sun or moon, for over all the battle where the chiefs stood around the slain son of Menoitios they were shrouded in darkness, while the other Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans fought at ease in the clear air, and piercing sunlight was spread over them, and on all the earth and hills there was no cloud seen.'

The supernatural character of this cloud is not exaggerated through any

crude, if genuine, feeling of awe. It is merely to explain the sad case of Antilochus because, as he proceeds, he adds new reasons for his ignorance. 'And they ceased fighting now and again, avoiding each other's dolorous darts and standing far apart. *But they who were in the midst endured affliction because of the darkness and the battle, and all the best men of them were wearied by the pitiless weight of their bronze arms.* Yet two men, Thrasymedes and Antilochus, knew not yet that noble Patroclus was dead, but deemed that he was yet alive and fighting against the Trojans in the forefront of the press. So they twain in watch against the death or flight of their comrades were doing battle apart from the rest, since thus had Nestor charged when he roused them forth to the battle from the black ships.'

Thus not only did the cloud intervene, but Antilochus was on the outer edge of a scattered and desultory combat—in fact, as far as possible from the scene round Patroclus.

It is very bad. The underlined words are mere padding, unless they are meant to contrast the closeness of the central fight with the scattered nature of the rest of the field. Even thus, this go-as-you-please engagement is mere bathos.

His too curious logical faculty is truly unfortunate for him, since it preserves him neither from vagueness nor carelessness. Antilochus' companion was not Thrasymedes but Laodocus (699), while Thrasymedes came up to take Antilochus' place after he had left (705). Moreover, for all his anxiety to repair Homer's omissions, he has not told us where Antilochus was. As for Nestor's injunction, it is a mere ineptitude.

And the irony of the matter is that the poetry born of logic is wrong, while the logic born of poetry is right. There was no fissure at all; the cement was not needed. Homer had in his eye a perfectly consistent picture of the darkness, the circumstances, and the battlefield.

Cutting out the foreign body, Homer's version runs thus:

There has fallen over the whole

¹ The line following—'Hector, and sheer doom stareth in our face'—is, as Leaf remarks, simply a gloss to explain the expression, 'cloud of war.'

battlefield a dark cloud, such as often rises in that sultry latitude. It is supernatural only as coming from Zeus to accomplish a special design. It naturally obscures distant objects, and Ajax' prayer for light infers nothing more. He cannot afford a messenger to Achilles from the press around him, since things go hard with the Greeks. He wishes he could descry Antilochus, but the murk forbids it. He asks Menelaus to find him, and Menelaus, leaving the contest, searches acutely (the sharpness of his spying is emphasised) until he finds Antilochus.

Where was he? On the left of the the whole fight, quite distant enough to offer difficulties to one who scanned the stormy gloom. Why was he there? We are not directly told, but as Ajax had come from there to assist Menelaus (XVII. 116 ff.), and as Thrasymedes was sent to succeed Antilochus, it is legitimate to infer that Antilochus supplied the place of Ajax.

For the left of the battle was a key position. It was north of Troy, holding the ford and securing the Achæan retreat. The Cemetery may have meant to indicate that Thrasymedes and Antilochus were at this spot when he says that they were 'in watch against the death or flight of their comrades' (i.e. were ready to secure the retreat). But he is not half so clear as Homer, for the 'left of the whole battle' is at once intelligible. Coming from this point himself, Ajax might have guessed where Antilochus was. At any rate, he

was very handy for a message to Achilles, for besides being a swift runner, he was at the point of the battlefield nearest the ships.

Under the circumstances pictured by Homer, there is nothing remarkable in the ignorance of Antilochus. He has no talk of lazy fighting straggling out to the fringes of the field. Menelaus finds Antilochus in the thick of it, urging on his men. Like a good leader he is fully occupied in holding his own, and as he gives a hurried glance down the field, and dimly sees under the cloudy sky the bending line of the Greeks, he hurls himself the more fiercely into holding the ford. Homer sees quite well that Antilochus would have noticed that something was wrong, for Menelaus speaks to him in exactly that strain—'Antilochus, you must have seen of yourself, as you cast your eye along, that God rolls waves of woe upon the Greeks,' he says, before he tells him how dire a calamity has befallen.

The whole picture is true and consistent just because Homer was conversant with every part of it. He has not laboured every point because his silences have such obvious replies. But our logical friend, just because he did not see the picture clearly, has forced Homer's silence into the monstrous.

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THE *DEUS EX MACHINA* IN EURIPIDES.

It has long ago been pointed out that the use of the *deus ex machina* by Euripides has been the cause of a good deal of misunderstanding,¹ but in spite of the more enlightened critics, the misunderstanding is still glibly repeated, as by Laurand as recently as 1914 in

his *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines* (II. 224), 'Après des péripéties souvent fortuites le dénouement se fait par un *deus ex machina*.' In face of this it may be well to attempt to clear up the whole question, for there can be no doubt that some ancient dramatists did misuse the contrivance, and it figures more frequently in the extant plays of Euripides than anywhere else.

That it was commonly misused is sufficiently attested by (1) Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* I. xx. 53, 'Quod quia quem ad modum natura efficere sine

¹ E.g. by Haigh: 'The use of this contrivance in Euripides has been much misrepresented by the critics. It has generally been described as the last resort of an unskilful dramatist, when he is unable to find any other solution for the complexities of the plot.'—*Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 245.

aliqua mente possit non videtis, ut tragici poetae, cum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum'; (2) Plato, *Cratylus* 425d ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοποιοὶ ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἰρου-τες; and (3) the Horatian injunction:

nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
inciderit (*A.P.* 191.)

About this last I shall have something to say shortly; none of the three mentions Euripides, who uses the *deus ex machina* exactly ten times more frequently than any other tragedian whose works have survived! Yet critics have brought Euripides under the censure which the ancients themselves refrained from applying to him, simply because Aristotle instanced the *Medea* as showing a bad λύσις τοῦ μύθου. His words are φανερόν οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὰς λύσεις τῶν μύθων ἐξ αὐτοῦ δεῖ τοῦ μύθου συμβαίνειν καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Μηδείᾳ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς (*Poetics* 1454b 1). It is obvious that the λύσις must not be ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, if the μηχανή be used, as the quotations from Plato and Cicero prove it to have been used by tragedians generally, and as Aristotle misunderstood Euripides to use it, to get the tragedian out of difficulties otherwise unsurmountable.

But Euripides is so far from using the μηχανή to solve the complexities of his plots¹ that he actually uses it to complicate them. This is so both in the *Helen* and in the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, where, when the plot is proceeding smoothly to its natural dénouement, the adventitious aid of a storm at sea has to be called upon in order to provide an excuse for a divine epiphany. But the best instance is provided by the *Heracles*, where we have a unique intervention, not at the end, but in the middle of the play. Heracles has returned from the underworld and rescued his wife and children from the hands of Lycus; their tragic situation is over, and all seems to be going well, when suddenly the forms of Lyssa and Iris appear ἀπὸ μηχανῆς,

and Heracles slays them all under the influence of heaven-sent madness! Here, at any rate, is no λύσις τοῦ μύθου! Obviously Euripides uses the μηχανή for purposes other than those which brought it into such discredit as is witnessed by the remarks of Plato and Cicero. Let us try to determine what these were.

In the *Hippolytus* the beautiful speech of Artemis, 'with its solemn rebukes and tender condolences, is tempered throughout by an air of serene and lofty tranquillity, such as befits the utterances of the immortal gods,'² and suggests that possibly the μηχανή was deliberately used by Euripides to produce a consummation of that κάθαρσις of the emotions which Aristotle regarded as the function of tragedy to effect through pity and terror—a tribulation and refinement of the spirit, which Milton expressed so well when he concluded his *Samson Agonistes* with the lines:

His servants he, with due acquit
Of true experience from this great event,
With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,
And calm of mind, all passion spent.

In some sense it seems to be used as a means of expressing divine approval, or disapproval, upon the actions of men. In this play the fortunes of Theseus are thus moralised by Artemis: his lack of intention acquits him to a certain degree, and so does the fact that he was deceived by Phaedra. We are made to feel that his fate is but part of the tragedy of human life—in which the good are not always rewarded—and that, in any case, the gods take no joy in the misfortunes of the εὐσεβεῖς:

τὴν δὲ σὴν ἀμαρτίαν
τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι μὲν πρῶτον ἐκλύει κάκης·
ἔπειτα δ' ἡ θανοῦσ' ἀνήλωσεν γυνὴ
λόγων ἐλέγχους ὥστε σὴν πείσαι φρένα.
μάλιστα μὲν νυν σοὶ τὰδ' ἔρρωγεν κακά,
λύπη δὲ κάμοι· τοὺς γὰρ εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ
θνήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσι· τοὺς γε μὴν κακοὺς
αὐτοῖς τέκνοισι καὶ δόμοις ἐξόλλυνται.

(*Hipp.* 1334-41).

and her final injunction to him is:

σὺ δ', ὦ γεραιοῦ τέκνον Αἰγέως, λαβὲ
σὸν παῖδ' ἐν ἀγκάλαισι καὶ προσέλκυσαι·
ἄκων γὰρ ὤλεσάς νιν· ἀνθρώποισι δὲ
θεῶν δίδοντων εἰκὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν.

(*Ib.* 1431-4).

¹ As Haigh has pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 245), Euripides uses it ten times, but only twice—in the *Hippolytus* and *Orestes*—to untie the complexities of the plot, and in both of these two instances its use was unnecessary as a λύσις τοῦ μύθου.

² Haigh, *op. cit.* p. 247.

Here we have no untying of a 'knot,' but rather the instilling of just that 'calm of mind' which it is the function of tragedy to produce. Similarly in the *Electra* the apparition of the Dioscuri produces, and is intended by Euripides to produce, a moral satisfaction and peacefulness, to which we are made to feel that the protagonists have succeeded in winning their way through 'life's fitful fever':

νῶ δ' ἐπὶ πόντον Σικελὸν σπουδῇ
σώσονται νεῶν πρῶτος ἐνάλκους.
διὰ δ' ἀλθέρως στείχοντε πλακὸς
τοῖς μὲν μυσαροῖς οὐκ ἐπαρήγομεν,
οἷσιν δ' ὅσιον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον
φίλον ἐν βίῳ, τοῦτους χαλεπῶν
ἐκλύοντες μόχθων σῶζομεν.
οὕτως ἀδικεῖν μηδεὶς θελέτω
μηδ' ἐπιύρκων μέτα συμπλέτω.
θεὸς ὦν θνητοῖς ἀγορεύω. (1347-56.)

As often as not, the god, or goddess, who appears ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, will begin by inculcating the lesson of σωφροσύνη, by giving a divine sanction to the wonderful wisdom of those Greek maxims, such as γνῶθι σεαυτὸν or μηδὲν ἄγαν, as Thetis does to Peleus at the end of the *Andromache*:

καὶ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς παρεστῶσιν κακοῖς
μηδὲν τι λίαν δυσφορεῖν παρήνεσα. (1233-4.)

ending with the reminder that, after all, man is mortal:

παῦσαι δὲ λύπης τῶν τεθνηκότων ὑπερ-
πᾶσιν γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἦδε πρὸς θεῶν
ψῆφος κέκρανται κατθανεῖν τ' ὀφείλεται. (1270-2.)

So far, then, the μηχανή would seem to have been used by Euripides (1) to produce a general κάθαρσις of the emotions such as is regarded by Aristotle as the true object of tragedy; (2) to 'justify the ways of god to man,' as in the *Hippolytus*, *Electra*, and *Andromache*. Now look at Horace:

Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
inciderit.

These words are generally taken to mean that no god must intervene unless the complexities of the plot are such as to require his aid in order to solve them, i.e. vindice=solutore, as Forcellini definitely states, without, so far as I can see, any authority. No modern commentator discusses the interesting question of what are the conditions that justify divine intervention, though Orelli instances the

Philoctetes of Sophocles and the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. Porphyry alone insists upon the implication, and says 'tunc demum, inquit, inferri debet deus, cum digna res interventu eius exprimitur.' Horace clearly states that when the situation needs a 'vindex' a god may be brought in. Such is exactly the practice of Euripides, and it is only by ignoring the implication of the line, and giving an unwarranted meaning to 'vindex,' that the remark can be twisted, as it is, for example, by Wickham in his note on the passage, into a criticism of Euripides. There is no mention of Euripides in Horace, but he, unlike Aristotle, was a poet, and understood Euripides. Therefore, after saying 'nec deus intersit,' he adds—in order to exclude Euripides from the implied censure—'nisi dignus vindice nodus inciderit.' What sort of a nodus is worthy of a divine vindex we shall see from a further examination of the Euripidean use of the contrivance.

Let us look again at the *Heracles*. When all seems to be going well, Lyssa and Iris appear ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, and Heracles, overcome by madness, himself slays the wife and children whom he had just rescued from a similar fate at the hands of the upstart Lycus. What are we to make of such a sudden turn of events ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν, as Aristotle says? We may take it that it is not sheer perversity on the poet's part, but is deliberately intended for some definite purpose. We notice first that Iris has to steel her heart to perform her commission—ἀτεγκτον συλλαβούσα καρδίαν (830)—and is only nerved to do it because she perceives that, if she fails, the gods will be discredited and man exalted:

ἡ θεοὶ μὲν οὐδαμοῦ,
τὰ θνητὰ δ' ἔσται μέγαρα, μὴ δόντος δίκην. (841-2.)

Lyssa is more outspoken, and openly questions the ways of god to man:

παρανέσαι δέ, πρὶν σφαλεῖσαν εἰσιδεῖν,
Ἥρα θέλω σοὶ τ', ἣν πίθησθ' ἐμοῖς λόγοις.
ἀνὴρ ὅδ' οὐκ ἄσχημος οὐτ' ἐπὶ χθονὶ
οὐτ' ἐν θεοῖσιν, οὐ σύ μ' ἐσπέμπευς δόμου.
ἄβατον δὲ χώραν καὶ θάλασσαν ἀγρίαν
ἐξημερώσας, θεῶν ἀνέστησεν μόνος
τιμὰς πιτνούσας ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν ὕπο·

σοὶ τ' οὐ παρινῶ μεγάλα βούλεσθαι κακά. (847-54.)

But she is overpowered by Iris, and performs her duty under protest :

Ἥλιον μαρτυρόμεσθα δρῶσ' ἃ δρᾶν οὐ βούλομαι. (858.)

By the intervention of these 'instruments of darkness' Euripides means to remind us that the problems of life are not so easily solved as we had been led to suspect by the happy turn of events up to the apparition of Lyssa and Iris. The traditional religion actually ascribed malice to the gods, and Euripides uses this instance of the malice of Hera to witness to something in the divine power, which rules the universe, that passes our understanding, that won't fit into our moral or religious categories for the simple reason that they are not omniscient, but merely human, categories. The ways of God are not man's ways.

Whatever our religious opinions, we are all conscious that life, as we know it, is a drama played in the face of unknown, or, at least, but imperfectly comprehended, forces; it is surrounded on all sides by an uncharted fringe.¹ We thrust out our barque into it from time to time, but the conditions are such that no man-made boat can sail that sea; the wind may waft us messages from it ever and anon, but they are diffused hither and thither before they reach us, for we can instal no 'wireless' there, so that we gather but fragments which, try as we will, we cannot piece into an intelligible whole. Then, sooner or later, death descends like a curtain, and we ourselves know no more. But when it descends upon our friends, we are left here to think and to meditate upon the hither side of the uncharted. We can see the protagonists of the human drama brought right up to this 'fringe,' and the

spectacle endows their lives with a solemnity which we feel, but cannot explain. What happens beyond cannot alter what they did in life, save that their passing from it seems to complete its significance, to endow it with an eternal value and, as it were, to make it immortal. Now the ordinary *dramatis personae* of a Euripidean tragedy are these protagonists in a drama of human life. The *deus ex machina* is not a human protagonist, but an incorporeal spirit of surmise, of hope or faith—in form a messenger from the uncharted, but in reality no more than a projection of our own, to which faith or hope alone is emboldened to give the sanction of a *deus*, of a messenger from some region beyond the scope of our explored experience. Such, to my mind, is the meaning of the Horatian *vindex*.

The above assumes, of course, that the apparition of a god ἀπὸ μηχανῆς in the pages of Euripides involves no belief in anthropomorphism. The subject cannot be summarily treated, and I must reserve a fuller treatment of it for another occasion. Here it is sufficient to indicate that I cannot agree with Dr. Verrall, who argues that if Euripides used the 'machine' seriously, then he believed in anthropomorphism. In his essay on the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (*Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 174-5), he thinks it inconsistent to scoff at one who took Orestes and Pylades for the Dioscuri, and then to have a divine apparition of them later on in the same play. The argument, of course, holds good only on Dr. Verrall's interpretation (the commonly accepted one) of Euripides' use of the μηχανή, and implies that there is no difference in the apparition of the Dioscuri on the earth, as anthropomorphic gods, and ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. I contend that there is a very great difference. A seriously-intended representation of their apparition on the earth would imply a belief in anthropomorphism, but no such belief is involved in their apparition ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. So we are by no means forced to conclude, with Dr. Verrall, that such apparitions cannot be intended to be taken seriously. To be taken *literally*, of course, they are not; but *seriously* is a very different matter.

¹ Cf. Gilbert Murray in *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (p. 152): 'The uncharted surrounds us on every side, and we must needs have some relation towards it, a relation which will depend on the general discipline of a man's mind and the bias of his whole character. As far as knowledge and conscious reason will go, we shall follow resolutely their austere guidance. When they cease, as cease they must, we must use as best we can those fainter powers of apprehension and surmise and sensitiveness by which, after all, most high truth has been reached, as well as most high art and poetry.'

Some of the most serious things in life can scarcely be given a 'local habitation and a name,' though, for the purposes of scenic representation, some attempt must be made, and this attempt Euripides makes in his *μηχανή*.

I conclude by explaining what I meant by calling Aristotle's criticism of the ending of the *Medea* a misrepresentation. In the light of what has been said above, it will be clear that Euripides, in snatching up Medea in the chariot of the sun, had a motive different from that of saving her from the hands of Jason. In fact, it would have made no difference to the play had she been killed by Jason, for, as it is,

by ascending in the chariot of the sun, she vanishes completely from the scene of human drama, and is caught up by the *μηχανή* into the sphere of the uncharted just as much as she would have been by death. In a modern novel on the same theme she would, no doubt, have been killed by Jason, and the reader left to ponder her wrongs. In the hands of Euripides she is allowed to point these out for herself,⁵ with all the sanction and finality that belongs to the *μηχανή*.

R. B. APPLETON.

¹ See 1354 ff.; 1364-6 etc.

FRONTO.

FRONTO is almost completely unknown to the English public, and even to professed scholars he is not a familiar author. This is mainly because his first editors, Niebuhr and Heindorf and Buttmann, belittled him so mercilessly. He was an orator first and foremost, and his speeches have almost entirely perished. But in his own generation, and for long after, he was ranked as second only to Cicero in Roman eloquence. Fortune has dealt unkindly with him, although not disadvantageously for us, by sacrificing his speeches and preserving for us, but only in one imperfect partly undecipherable palimpsest, his intimate correspondence with the saintly Marcus Aurelius, of whom Rénan has said that we still wear mourning for him as if he had died but yesterday. These letters were certainly not written for publication, and labour under the disadvantage, in respect to their value as an estimate of his powers, of being mostly from a master to his pupils and devoted too exclusively to the subject and teaching of oratory.

M. Cornelius Fronto was a native of Cirta, now Constantine, in Numidia, and though he calls himself jestingly 'a Libyan of the nomad Libyans,' no doubt he was descended from early Roman settlers. He was born about the reign of Nerva, and had the good fortune to live and thrive under a suc-

cession of great and noble rulers, Trajan, Hadrian, Pius, Marcus, such as the world has rarely, if ever, seen outside ancient Egypt, except perhaps on a small scale in Saxon England or Inca Peru. He won great fame at the bar and as panegyrist in the Senate, and was the recognised leader at Rome of literary thought. We get interesting glimpses in Aulus Gellius of the literary salon of which he was the presiding genius, where his word was law on all points connected with the language and literature of his country.

For fifteen hundred years his name had almost ceased to live upon the lips of men, till Cardinal Mai, in 1815, discovered the palimpsest MS. containing many leaves of his correspondence, which had been written upon a second time to record the acts of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. These precious fragments, and we may fairly call them so, came from a Codex which our own St. Columban purchased no doubt in Italy and made part of the library of the monastery which he founded at Bobbio in the Pennine Alps. So we may have more than a literary interest in this jetsam rescued from oblivion.

What little appreciation of Fronto there has been in this country is due to Walter Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*, where he has drawn material from the *Letters* and translated from them with

Frontonian *siccitas* and preciousity the pleasant Apologue upon Sleep; and he moreover commends the work to his readers in the ingratiating phrase, that 'the letters recall for us the long-buried fragrance of a famous friendship of the ancient world.' We are introduced in them to a young man, heir to the Roman Empire, bent on making himself worthy of his high calling, and moulding himself on the rigid Stoic creed (but tempered with the more genial tenets of Platonism), and an older man, the recognised leader in Rome of literary thought and eloquent expression, a good, kind-hearted, honourable man with no leanings to philosophy, the two being bound together in the bonds of the sincerest affection in their respective rôles of pupil and master. We listen to them exchanging homely and intimate thoughts on the art of rhetoric, on the ancient writers of their country, on their health (a perennial topic) and their children, with now and again a glimpse into the *penetrabilia* of the Imperial Court, or a share in a vintage feast, or a visit to an Etruscan watering-place. Nowhere in ancient history can we read such a naive unveiling of the boyhood of one of the great rulers of mankind, nor, except for Alexander and Aristotle, is there an instance of two men, standing so high in the active and intellectual life of their times, united in such close friendship with one another, as is the case with Marcus Fronto and Marcus Antoninus.

The correspondence is full of engaging and life-like touches. Where, for instance, in ancient literature can we find a more charming domestic picture than this, where Fronto is speaking of his grandsons to his son-in-law Victorinus:

Daily tiffs and disagreements I have with our little Victorinus or our little Fronto. While *you* never ask for any reward of any one for act or speech, your little Fronto prattles no word more readily or more constantly than *Da* (*give*). I on my part do my best to supply him with scraps of paper and little tablets, things which I wish him to want. Some signs, however, he does show even of his grandfather's character. He is very fond of grapes: it was the very first food he sucked down, and for whole days almost he did not cease licking a grape with his tongue or mumbling it with his gums. He is also devoted to little birds; he delights in chickens

and young pigeons and sparrows. I have often heard from those who were my pastors and masters that I had from my earliest infancy a passion for such things. As for my penchant, however, for partridges in my old age there is no one who knows me ever so slightly but is aware of that!

The old man was devoted to babies, as we see from another place, where he writes to Marcus:

I have seen your little chicks, and a more welcome sight I shall never in my life see, so like in features to you that nothing can be more like than the likeness. I have taken a short cut quite to Lorium, a short cut of the slippery road and steep ascents. . . . God be praised, they have a healthy colour and strong lungs. One was holding a piece of white bread like a little prince, the other a piece of black, quite in keeping with a philosopher's son. Even the sound of their little voices was so sweet, so winsome to my ear, that I seemed, I know not how, to hear in the tiny piping of either the clear and charming tones of your own utterance. Now therefore, if you do not take care, you will find me holding my head a good deal higher, for I have those whom I can love instead of you not with eyes only, but with ears also.

The little prince grew up unfortunately into the infamous Commodus.

As a companion picture take this account of a little adventure Marcus had with some shepherds:

But what, you ask, was the story? When my father (*the Emperor Pius*) had got home from the vineyards, I as usual mounted my horse and set off along the road, and had gone some little distance when I came upon a number of sheep in the road huddled together, as generally happens when there is little room, with four dogs and two shepherds; that was all. Then one of the shepherds, seeing our cavalcade, said to his mate, 'Marry, keep your eye on these mounted fellows, they be rare hands at pillaging.' Hearing that, I dug my spurs into my horse and galloped right into the flock. Frightened out of their wits, they ran helter skelter bleating and fleeing in all directions. The shepherd whirled his crook at us. It fell on an equerry who was following me. We got clear off. So it chanced that he who feared to lose his sheep lost his crook.

These extracts will go far to confute the mistaken people who have seen nothing in Marcus but a prig, and in Fronto but a pedant. In truth Fronto was much more than a pedant. He had a patriotic love for his native language; to have a complete mastery of its resources and to use them with freshness and lucidity and precision was his laudable ambition, which he may fairly

be said to have attained. He wished to shake the standard Latin out of its Ciceronian groove, and to give it a less stilted cast and a wider scope. He did not play fast and loose with the language, as did his great and perhaps more gifted contemporary Apuleius. Niceties and shades of meaning, the clear definition of terms, the corroborative aid of synonyms, the cult of the precise word—these he considered matters of great moment. And indeed they are of moment, for clear thinking and clear writing go hand in hand. To call back obsolescent expressions from old writers, and to pick jewels of speech from colloquial and common talk were tasks he deliberately set himself to perform for the re-vivification of the language. The patina of antiquity he considered lent beauty to speech, but he was emphatic against using a word only because it was old, unless it were also moresuitable and expressive. Newly-coined and unrecognised words must be shunned like a rock at sea. His great failing was his inordinate use of similes. Fronto quite rightly set noble thought far above noble language. But the pity of it was that he was greatly deficient in originality of thought. He was as careful an artist in words as Tennyson or Pater. All that could be accomplished by industry and enthusiasm and verbal dexterity he did accomplish. Eloquence was to him the sovran of the human race. He traces every mental accomplishment back to that. It was *the* human science: let philosophy, he airily says, be divine.

Fronto took unwearying and pathetic pains to make Marcus think, like himself, that eloquence and rhetoric were the aim of life, and he guaranteed to set him upon the very pinnacle of the temple of oratory. The 'Roman Rusticus,' a strict Stoic, who as prefect of Rome condemned Justin Martyr to death as a Christian with cold legality, contended with Fronto for the soul of Marcus. But the issue was never in doubt. Since he was a boy of twelve Marcus had chosen the plank bed and skin, and injured his health by conforming to the strict régime of philosophic discipline. Poor Fronto found himself like a deserted hen, whose

foster duckling takes to the water in spite of all her efforts. When Marcus was twenty-five he turned his back on rhetoric, and said he could no longer consent to argue on both sides of a question. We have no answer of Fronto's to this, but when Marcus artlessly confessed that, if he said anything brilliant in a speech, it gave him pleasure, and therefore he shunned eloquence, Fronto aptly retorted 'You are pleased when you have said something eloquent? Well then chastise yourself; why chastise eloquence?' And when Marcus in another letter accused oratory of tortuousness and insincerity, Fronto was clearly nettled, and hit back with an allusion to Socrates and his irony. He scores a point too, when he compares the jejune tediousness of formal logic and dialectics with the human interests and wide scope of oratorical studies, and makes fun of a teacher, saying, 'What is the first premiss? What is the second? With the windows wide open you would have the point laboured, 'If it is day, it is light'—all this, he implies, is as dry as dust; there is here no 'hunting up of choice old words, no garniture of synonyms, no skilful turning of one language into another.'

Fronto has been severely handled for his archaistic tendencies, because he loves the rugged vigour of Cato more than the polished periods of Cicero, and draws freely upon Plautus and other ancient writers, treasuring up old poems in his memory for the sake of 'stunning old words,' such as Rossetti speaks of in one of his letters. But have we any right to throw stones at Fronto, who revel in Shakespearianisms and cherish Biblical expressions like 'the apple of our eyes'? Spedding tells us that Bacon 'spangled his speech with unusual words,' while of Spencer Ben Jonson asserted that 'in affecting the ancients he spake no language.' Dean Church has noted the faculty which the Elizabethans showed 'for reviving old forms or adopting from the street and market homely but expressive words or combinations and venturing on new and bold phrases.' This was exactly what Fronto wished to do for his language. But he would never have

countenanced such a foolish jargon as that of a modern author, who speaks of 'jousting at the quintain of his outrecuidance.' This merits the scoffs of Seneca and Lucian at those who speak the language of the XII. Tables or the dialect of Agamemnon.

It was as a friend and family man that Fronto in this work appeals most to us. He was a loyal friend with high ideals of friendship, to whom to accept great gifts from friends was as bad as asking for them. He would never admit that it was allowable to enrich or convenience oneself at another's expense, even if the latter wished it. Marcus calls him *philostorgus* (warm-hearted) and he had in abundant measure that family affection in which patrician Rome was so deficient, as not even to have a word to express the idea in their language. We know from a contemporary author, that during the Civil Wars, when proscriptions were numerous on both sides, wives indeed were always found faithful, freedmen sometimes, slaves occasionally, but sons never; and Justinian, in his *Institutes*, expressly says that parents often disinherited their children without cause.

The age in which Fronto lived and wrote was the famous golden age of the Antonines, when the *pax Romana* brooded like a halcyon over a world of peace, the calm of which was only broken by the short-lived struggle for supremacy by the Parthian power, the only one remaining that could dream of challenging Rome on anything like equal terms. But scarcely were the Parthians crushed, and Mesopotamia made a Roman province, than there began to be heard rumblings of the storm that was to shatter the old order and prepare the way for a new and more vigorous civilisation. The young uncontaminated races of Central Europe, multiplying more and more rapidly, were pressing down from the Hyrcanian forests and the desolate swamps of the Danube, to possess themselves of the rich frontier provinces of the Roman Empire.

Marcus, a student by nature and far from robust in health, but a Stoic and a patriot, actuated as ever by the feeling once expressed to Fronto of the

verecundia imperii quam sit imperiosa, spent the last ten years of his priceless life with splendid tenacity of will and loyal devotion to duty in throwing back the rising tide of barbarian invasion, which threatened even then to overwhelm the Empire. In spite of famine and pestilence, dearth of money and failure of man-power, despite even the revolt of his ablest general at home, who 'for six months dreamed of empire,' Marcus made the defence good and gave Rome another lease of life.

As Roman literature may be said to have died with Fronto's age, so with Marcus, the last of the Antonines, died the ancient civilisation and the old religion, of which he was the last worthy representative. The victory of the new religion, in spite of such formidable rivals as the worship of Mithras and of Isis, was now assured. Marcus has been quite unjustly represented as a bitter persecutor of Christians. As a Roman and ruler he could not of course countenance an illicit and, as it seemed, an anti-national and unpatriotic religion, but he gave its adherents credit for honesty of purpose and loyalty to their conscience, even though he deprecated their intransigence and the bravado, as Romans thought it, with which they sought death. He is surely thinking of them when he says in his *Thoughts*: 'To have the intelligence, a guide to what they deem their duty, is an attribute of those also who do not believe in Gods, and those who fail their country in its need, and those who do their deeds behind closed doors.'

These are the precise charges brought against the Christians: atheism, incivism, incestuous and cannibal feasts.

Fronto was, however, by no means so sympathetic, if we take to be his the extract from a speech reported by Minucius Felix, which accuses the Christians of unspeakable crimes:

On a regular day they come together for a feast with all their wives and sisters and mothers, persons of both sexes and every age. Then, after much feasting, when the banquet has waxed hot, and the passion of lust been kindled, a dog which has been tied to a lamp is incited to jump and bound up by a little cake thrown to it beyond its tether. The tell-tale light being by this means cast down and extinguished, the guests, under cover of the

shameless darkness, embrace one another in their unspeakable concupiscence, as chance brings them together, and, if not in fact yet in guilt, all are alike incestuous, since whatever can result by the act of individuals is potentially desired by the wishes of all.

But friendship and not polemic is Fronto's forte, and we like him much better when he says of Marcus: 'Of all his virtues, and even more than the others worthy of admiration, is this, that he unites all his friends in harmony.' In his interpretation of the Orpheus legend (which is found in the Catacombs as a constant type and symbol of Christ) he attributes to him the power by his character and goodness of attaching followers of all kinds and of all nations to himself, and inducing them to live together in harmony, 'the gentle with the fierce, the good-natured with the passionate, the meek with the proud, the sensitive with the cruel. Then all of them, he adds, gradually put off their ingrained faults, went after virtue and learned righteousness, exchanged shamelessness for a sense of shame, self-will for deference, ill-feeling for kindness.'

We may now conclude with a passage on 'Love rational and love fortui-

tous,' which the reviser of the MS. calls on the margin *mirus locus*:

'Friendship that is won by desert has not such growth or firmness of texture as the love that is sudden and at first sight.' And a greater man than Fronto said: 'Who ever loved that loved not at first sight.' 'So in orchards and gardens the growth of shrubs, reared and watered by hand, is not like that of the oak and the fir and the cedar on their native hills which, springing up self-sown and set without plan and without order, owe nothing to the toil and services of a planter, but are fostered by the wind and the rain.' And he adds: 'For neither can you match your pyramids, raised by hand and reason, against the hills, nor your aqueducts against the river, nor your cisterns against the fountains.'

This will suffice to give a taste of Fronto's quality, and no one, who comes with an unbiassed mind to the reading of his letters and those of Marcus, will deny that the volume was worth recalling from the limbo of oblivion, and gives us a picture of ancient times that is not without interest and instruction for us.

C. R. HAINES.

'COMMUNIS SENSUS.'

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON's historical account of the meanings of Common Sense (in his edition of Reid's Works, vol. ii. pp. 756 ff.) had the distinction of being adopted in part by Mayor (on Juvenal VIII. 73) and thence by Munro (on Lucretius I. 422). This latter note has become a *locus classicus*, and through it some interpretations which seem to be certainly wrong have secured currency in our commentaries. Munro gives two meanings: (1) as in Lucretius' 'Corpus enim per se communis dedicat esse | sensus,' where the phrase 'has much the same force as *naturalis sensus*, the sense given by nature to all sane men.' Cicero, he says, is fond of using it with the same meaning—*Pro Plancio* § 31, *Pro Cluentio* § 17, *De Oratore* 2. 68; 3. 195, 'passages showing how nearly Cicero connected it with nature.' (2) A

meaning which Hamilton under the last head of his fourfold division defines thus: 'In the fourth signification Common Sense is no longer a natural quality: it denotes an acquired perception or feeling of the common duties and proprieties expected from each member of society—a gravitation of opinion—a sense of conventional decorum—a communional sympathy—general *bienséance*—public spirit, etc.' (One may remark that this is scarcely homogeneous: a gravitation of opinion may be quite different from a feeling of common duties and proprieties, and the former phrase might suit some passages to which the latter is alien.) Munro quotes from Hamilton only the first part of this sentence (down to 'society'), and other editors (e.g. Wilkins on *De Oratore*, Fausset on *Pro Cluentio*, Holden on

Pro Plancio) have taken it over from him. He gives, as instances of this meaning in Cicero, *Pro Plancio* § 34 and *De Oratore* I. 12. Without entering on a full discussion of the term, I think a short study of the passages shows (1) that many of them will not bear the meaning assigned to them by Munro or others (I presume Munro really grouped his first set together because he considered that they all illustrated *communis sensus* as a *natural* quality, not that in them all it meant 'the sense given to all men'); (2) that the distinction between 'natural' and 'acquired' is irrelevant; (3) that the second meaning is not to be found in Cicero. It is necessary to quote the context somewhat fully in order to show how it determines the meaning: the snippets which editors print are generally of little use for this purpose.

Cicero, *Pro Plancio* § 31: 'Ipso nomine patrio valeret apud clementes iudices et misericordes: valeret, inquam, communi sensu omnium et dulcissima commendatione naturae.' This is obviously different from what Lucretius meant. It is not perception or sensation but sentiment, the general feeling of mankind (towards the relation of father and son), just as in *Pro Cluentio* § 17, which Munro treats in the same way, the plural is used to cover, *along with other general feelings*, that of reluctance to make family quarrels public. Whether the feeling is 'given by nature' or not, and whether the people who have it are 'sane,' does not matter. In both passages Cicero adds a reference to nature.

Pro Plancio § 34: 'Cum senatus impeditur quominus, id quod hostibus semper erat tributum, responsum equitibus Romanis redderetur, omnibus illa iniuria dolori fuit publicanis, sed eum ipsum dolorem hic tulit paulo apertius. Communis ille sensus in aliis fortasse latuit: hic, quod cum ceteris animo sentiebat, id magis quam ceteri et vultu promptum habuit et lingua.' This, according to Munro, has the second meaning. Holden, in his edition of the speech, repeats the definition (not quite correctly) and translates by 'tact.' What, then, becomes of *latuit*? Cicero is explaining away a certain habit of

saying offensive things, which has been attributed to the elder Plancius. If *communis ille sensus* is 'tact,' surely we should expect something different from *in aliis latuit*: tact in these others (one would rather say) was well to the fore. But *communis ille sensus* is repeated in *quod cum ceteris sentiebat*: it is the feeling which all the *publicani* shared (of resentment at the manner in which the senate had treated them). In others perhaps this feeling was less prominent; Plancius showed it rather too plainly. Here, then, we have neither tact nor the sense given by nature to all sane men, nor yet the general feeling of mankind, but a feeling which was common to a particular class.¹ Whether it was natural or whether they were sane is another matter. Cato, to whom the senate's action was due, would perhaps have denied both: but he could not deny that the *communis sensus* existed. With this plain sense of the words one may compare *De Prov. Cons.* § 2: 'praecipuum illum et *proprium sensum doloris mei*, quem tamen vos *communem semper vobis mecum* esse duxistis.'

De Oratore I. 12: 'Quod hoc etiam mirabilis debet videri, quia ceterarum artium studia fere reconditis atque abditis e fontibus hauriuntur, dicendi autem omnis ratio in medio posita communi quodam in usu atque in hominum [m]ore et sermone versatur, ut in ceteris id maxime excellat quod longissime sit ab imperitorum intelligentia sensuque disiunctum, in dicendo autem vitium vel maximum sit a vulgari genere orationis atque a consuetudine communis sensus abhorrere.' Hamilton refers to this under his fourth head; Munro follows him, and is followed by Wilkins. 'Gravitation of opinion' (which Munro does not quote) might be made to apply, if taken in a wide enough sense, but what have we to do here with a feeling of common duties or proprieties? The parallel expression *a vulgari genere orationis* ('ordinary, every-day language') as well as the contrast with those arts in which one tries to get as far as possible *ab imperitorum intelligentia sen-*

¹ Hamilton cites these passages to exemplify *communis sensus* as the source of moral judgment.

suque, and perhaps the addition of *consuetudine*, shows that *communis sensus* is here simply the general way of thinking, the mental attitude of the man in the street. To conform to the thought of the man in the street is just what the orator has to do; he must not talk over the heads of his audience. Cicero puts the same thing by a slightly different phrase in *De Oratore* 1. 108 'Sunt enim varia et ad *volgarem popularemque sensum* adcommodata omnia genera huius forensis nostrae dictionis.' And we may compare 1. 83 where, speaking of the paradox that only the wise man is an orator, he says 'sed haec erat spinosa quaedam et exilis oratio longeque a nostris sensibus abhorrebat' ('remote from our way of thinking').¹

The same sense is to be found also in Tacitus, *Dialogus* 31, 'Sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. Alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos.' Some like close-knit logic; others prefer a smooth, flowing discourse which presents the plain man with his own common-place ideas. Wilkins *l.c.* apparently here too takes the phrase to mean 'an instinctive sense of what is required from all members of the same community' (a view which in any case could hardly account for the plural). Peterson says 'the feelings and instincts implanted by nature in all rational beings.' My objections to this are (1) that *sensus* is wider than 'feelings and instincts'; (2) that 'rational beings,' like Munro's 'sane men,' is needless, and is inevitably too much emphasised; (3) that nature should not be mentioned. The phrase, as we see from *Pro Plancio*

§ 34, or *De Oratore* 1. 83 or 108, or *De Prov. Cons.* § 2, implies nothing at all as to the origin of the feeling or thought. When Cicero particularly means a feeling or instinct implanted by nature he says so: e.g. *De Domo* § 97 'An ego poteram . . . infitiri me esse hominem et communem naturae sensum repudiare?' (where in spite of *naturae* Hamilton applies his fourth meaning, 'an acquired perception,' etc. The feeling to which Cicero refers is grief at the loss he had suffered). *De Oratore* 3. 195 'quod ea sunt in communibus infixasensibus nec earum rerum quemquam funditus natura esse voluit expertem.' *Pro Cluentio* § 17 'Hoc quod in communibus hominum sensibus atque in ipsa natura positum atque infixum est.' *Pro Plancio* § 31 (quoted above). Munro is hardly entitled to say that these passages show how closely Cicero connected *communis sensus* with nature: they rather show, when compared with the other passages, that by itself the phrase does not suggest nature. And if the idea of 'rational being' is wanted, it is to be found in *hominum*. *De Oratore* 2. 68, which Munro includes in the list, is not parallel: 'Equidem omnia quae pertinent ad usum civium, morem hominum, | quae versantur in consuetudine vitae, in ratione rei publicae, | in hac societate civili, in sensu hominis communi, | in natura, in moribus, comprehendenda esse oratori puto.' The phrases here go in carefully balanced pairs, so that *in natura* is quite separated from *in sensu hominis communi*. As for the meaning, Hamilton again includes this under his fourth head, Munro under his first. Is it not simply what men in general feel and think? The whole group is equivalent to 'every department of human life and thought.'

Communis sensus, then, is any feeling or thought which happens to be common to any number of persons. The particular feeling or thought may be specified; more usually it is easily understood from the context: or the expression may be general. I do not deny that Hamilton's meaning exists. Community of feeling is not the same as feeling of community, yet the latter may arise out of the former. But I place it after Cicero, perhaps after Horace: for in *Sat.* I. 3,

¹ Dr. Postgate, on insufficient grounds, denied that *sensus* ever means 'thought' in republican Latin (*Journal of Philology*, XXIV. p. 135). Dr. J. S. Reid has produced numerous instances, showing that 'in the best period of Latin the word covers the whole range of meaning which lies between feeling and thought' (*Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* XXII. p. 44). One would expect *communis sensus* to correspond.

66. 'ut forte legentem | aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone molestus: | "Communi sensu plane caret" inquit,' where editors render by 'ordinary tact' (Palmer), 'the social sense' (Wickham), 'die taktvolle Rücksichtnahme auf seine Mitmenschen' (Kiessling), one may doubt whether this is necessary, whether in fact it means more than the feeling or perception which men in general have; the reader being left, as usual, to understand what the particular feeling or perception is. But this passage may be a bridge to Seneca *De Ben.* I. 12, 3 'Sit in beneficio sensus communis: tempus, locum observet, personas,' etc.,

or *Ep.* 105, sic vero invidiam effugies, si te non ingesseris oculis, si bona tua non iactaveris, si scieris in sinu gaudere. odium autem ex offensa sic vitabis, neminem lacessendo gratuito: a quo te sensus communis tuebitur.' Landgraf's statement that *sensus communis* is 'tact' or 'feeling of propriety,' while *communis sensus* is 'general feeling,' is refuted by *De Oratore* 2. 68 and by *Phaedrus* I. 7, 4; though it is true that in the post-Augustan writers, who show the former meaning, *sensus communis* seems to be the stereotyped form.

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SOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE LETTERS OF CICERO.

IT is the common lot of all ancient authors to be glossed sooner or later. The letters of Cicero have by no means been exempt from this fate, as is natural considering their difficulty; but it is worth noting that some MS. in the ancestry of the Medicean passed through the hands of a man who, though no very thorough scholar, had at least a smattering of Greek. This is shown, not only by the fairly numerous Greek words which are written more or less correctly in Latin letters instead of the usual clumsy uncials, but also by certain undoubted glosses which have survived into the text until they were ejected by modern editors. It is noteworthy that these glosses are pretty correct; thus, *Att.* XV. 21, 2, 'ἐποχὴν uestram de re Cani deliberationis probo,' where, save for the case, which a scribe may have corrupted, the Latin word translates the Greek one well enough. Again, *XVI.* 1, 5, 'sed Xenonem perexigue et γλίσχρως praeberē id est minutatim.' How many other glosses have not only got into the text, but displaced the Greek altogether we cannot say; I am inclined to think that one or two certain cases have been detected and that several more are at least probable.

Ad Fam. XII. 25, 3 M has: 'fuit enim illud quoddam graecum tempus seruitutis,' which most editors retain either with a dagger or with the reading of some of the dett., 'caecum' for 'graecum.'

But surely Cobet's emendation, δούλιον ἡμαρ, makes all clear, and is psychologically very probable, for Cicero was steeped in Homer to such an extent¹ that the Greek of so famous a passage would be probably more familiar to him than any Latin equivalent.

I suggest, with some diffidence, that a similar mistake has caused part of the corruption in *Att.* X. 12a, 2 (= 12, 5), where the MSS. give us the following: 'quare ui aut clam agendum est et si ui forte ne cum pestate clamaut emistis.' Following earlier conjectures at the beginning and end of the corrupt passage I would read: 'quare . . . est; etsi ui, μὴ σὺν ἄτῃ; clam autem—di istis!' I take it that the elliptical phrase μὴ σὺν ἄτῃ bothered the glossator, who wrote over it 'fort. ne cum peste,' and that this was copied into the text along with one word of the Greek, which thus produced the monster *pestate*. For 'di istis' (not 'istos,' as Tyrrel and Purser *ad loc.* suggest) cf. *XV.* 20, 3, 'di illi mortuo.' In the next sentence, for the MSS. reading 'uides quam turpe est. trahimur,' etc., the usual emendation 'turpe. est<o>; trahimur' is easy; but I am not absolutely certain that Cicero in familiar speech always

¹ He quotes him in fifty-six passages, according to R. B. Steele, *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XXI. (1900) p. 394, who deals with the letters alone. Add the fairly numerous quotations in the philosophical works.

used the subjunctive in an indirect question. In the concluding section of the same letter, for 'est enim indoles, modo aliquod hoc sit ἦθος ακιμοσον,' I suggest that 'indoles' and 'hoc' are parts of a gloss, *hoc est indoles*, written over ἦθος, and would read: 'est enim ἦθος, modo aliquod sit ἀγχίμολον,' the last correction being Muecke's.

A very difficult letter—how difficult I do not think the commentators fully realise—is XV. 25. For the corrupt words, 'et tu etiam scire quo die Olympia mysteria scilicet,' two lines of emendation have been proposed. The first, that of Bosius, received in part by C. F. W. Müller, is very neat; 'et tu etiam scite, quo die olim piaculum,' *i.e.*, 'and you put it neatly too, "the day when the sacrilege took place in a former year," meaning thereby the Mysteries,' *i.e.*, 'come back by the festival of the Bona Dea.' The other suggestion, followed among others by Shuckburgh in his translation, is to bracket *mysteria scilicet* and read something like: 'uelim etiam scire quo die Olympia'; an intelligible question enough, for the date of the Olympia was not fixed, and Cicero seems to have had a passing fancy to be there, *cf.* XVI. 7, 5. But if we are to get rid of the Bona Dea altogether, we must also alter 'ex te quaesieram mysteriorum diem.' This surely is a rather pointless question, as Cicero, writing from Tusculum, would probably know such matters as well as Atticus, the more so as he was himself a priest, being of the college of augurs.

But there was another occasion on which he did ask when the ritual of the Bona Dea would take place, namely in B.C. 50, when he was not an augur and was in Cilicia, out of touch with local affairs at Rome, and anxious to have the dates towards the end of the official year exactly right (see V. 21, 14, VI. 1, 26.) Now it is a characteristic of

Cicero, as it is of most people, to repeat himself at short intervals when writing in a hurry. So *e.g.* *meministine te clamare* (XIV. 10, 1) is repeated almost word for word in 14, 3, written about a week later; *ἀναθέωρησις*, XIV. 15, 1, is echoed 16, 2; *agripetas*, XV. 29, 3, and again XVI. 4, 3; *ὁμοπλοία*, XVI. 1, 3; 4, 4; 5, 3. Now in this letter we have two distinct echoes of the language of the fifth and sixth books; 'mysteria' in the sense already mentioned, and the words 'casus consilium nostri itineris iudicabit,' with which *cf.* VI. 4, 1, 'sed haec fortuna uiderit, quoniam consilio non multum uti licet.' I am therefore much inclined to believe that this letter is badly out of place, and should come in Book VI. and be regarded as written on the long and leisurely journey home (June 29—November 25; anyone in a hurry could get from Rome to Cybistra in forty-six days, V. 19, 1). If this be so, the reference to Brutus has nothing to do with the meeting at Nesis, but arises out of the affair of Salamis, see *e.g.* V. 21, 10.

In the same letter, I would explain the corrupt *ut tu scires* thus: Cicero, I believe, wrote ὅφρ' ἐν εἰδήσ. This, corrupted into something like ΟΦΡΥ-ΕΙΔΗC, was taken for ὅφρα σὺ εἰδείης, and faithfully glossed *ut tu scires*, and this got into the text.

A slight corruption in XV. 11, 2 may, I believe, be healed thus: for 'et noster cito deiectus est de illo inani sermone uelle esse dixerat,' read 'noster cito deiectus de illo . . . belle esse dixerat.' *v* for *b* is one of the commonest of blunders, and for the somewhat unusual phrase ('belle se habere' is more common) *cf.* 'bellissime esse,' *Fam.* XIV. 14, 1. 'Our friend had soon got off his high horse and said, 'Oh, very well.'''

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THE ART OF VIRGIL'S POETRY.

OF the very few hints and anecdotes concerning Virgil which have come down to us, none is better known or, as can be shown, more significant than that which records the infinite patience with which the final touches were given to his poetical compositions. While he realised so far the popular conception of a poet in that he could pour forth with facility hundreds of lines, yet only a fraction at last remained, and those polished as a she-wolf licks her cubs into shape.

An attentive examination will disclose the fact that, in the structure of his verse, Virgil employs certain definite principles of poetical technique. The change in rhythm of the hexameter which has been recognised as effected by the variation in the pauses is part only of a method, by which this metre was adapted to the genius of the Latin language, and made an admirable vehicle for the expression of thought and feeling.

There is an anecdote that the line *aere ciere viros, Martem que accendere cantu* was completed by the poet in a moment of inspiration from the half-line *aere ciere viros*, when reciting his composition to a circle of his friends. Of all those who throughout the ages have read this story, few can have failed to ask themselves why a special fit of inspiration should have been needed. The phrase is suitable, but, taken by itself, not beyond the reach of very moderate attainments. Others, it might seem, equally good, were easy to come by. In fact, however, as will appear, this conclusion to the line exactly satisfied certain technical requirements which its author had in mind. The apprehension of these cannot fail to add to the enjoyment of every artistic reader of the greatest artist among poets.

Virgil treats the *lines* of the hexameter metre as continuous, not only for the rhythm, but also for the sound of his paragraphs. His unit is the *clause*, and these he links to the ear by a combination, judiciously arranged, of (1) Assonance, (2) Alliteration.

The pauses in the grammatical struc-

ture are bridged by continuing the sound, as '*exciderant animo; manet alta mente,*' etc.; or by the letter. Thus, '*multum que recursat gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore voltus, verbaque.*'

Further, the entire paragraph is harmonised in ways suited to the *nuance* of the passage, as (in the oracular utterance, II. 116) (a) '*sanguine placastis ventos, et virgine caesa, cum*¹ *primum Iliacas, Danaï, venistis ad oras; sanguine quaerendi reditus, animaque litan-dum Argolica.*' (b) Or, I. 174, '*ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates, suscepit que ignem foliis atque arida circum nutrimenta dedit, rapuitque in fomite flammam.*' [With the assonances here cf. XII. 402, '*multa manu medica Phoebeique potentibus herbis nequidquam trepidat, nequidquam spicula dextra sollicitat, prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum.*'] (c) Or, II. 134, '*vincula rupi, limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva delitui, dum vela darent.*'

The rhetorical device of repeating a word, as *sanguine* (a) or *nequidquam* (b), is frequently used by Virgil for carrying on the sound over pauses in the structure. This repetition is varied, with the same effect, in such ways as: '*per ima cucurrit ossa tremor, cui fata parent, quem poscat Apollo,*' II. 120; or, '*quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis,*' IV. 11; or '*ille meos . . . amores abstulit; ille habeat secum, servetque sepulcro,*' IV. 28.

In the last example a successive alliteration, (as e.g. I. 161, '*inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos*'), will be observed. This Virgil never employs in a meaningless way, but only where a stress of some kind is intended, or where there is a real emphasis, as, '*sola mihi tales casus Cassandra canebat*'; or, '*caelestia corpora demens oppetii, et Veneris violavi volnere dextram.*'

There is, however, another kind of alliteration which he uses regularly in his verse-structure. This is of a more artistic nature than the crude methods of early poetry (e.g. '*incerte errat animus*

¹ Cf. '(quidquid id est) timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.'

praeter propter vita vivitur,' Ennius)—effective though these are for occasional use—and, at the same time, perfectly adapted for systematic employment without becoming obvious as a mannerism, or trick of style.

This scheme of alliteration may be studied conveniently in Shakespeare, who makes great use of it in his plays. Thus, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*:

The fold stands empty in the drowned field
And crows are fatted with the murrain flock;
The nine men's morris is filled up with mud,
And the quaint mazes in the wanton green
For lack of tread are undistinguishable;
The human mortals want their winter here,
No night is now by hymn or carol blest;
Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,
Pale in her anger washes all the air,
That rheumatic diseases do abound,
And thorough this distemperature we see
The seasons alter; hoary-headed frosts
Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose,
And on old Hiems' thin and icy crown
And odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds
Is, as in mockery, set.

The following examples will show the manner in which Virgil uses this species of alliteration. In the second, the combination with it of assonance is indicated:

- (1) *prima citae Teucris ponam certamina
classis;
quique pedum cursu valet, aut qui viribus
audax
aut iaculo incedit melior levibus que sagittis,
seu crudo fidit pugnam committere cestu,
cuncti adsint, meritaque exspectent praemia
palmae.*

Aen. V. 67.

- (2) *postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras
humentemque Aurora polo dimoverat um-
bram,
cum sic unanimum adloquitur male sana
sororem
'Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia
terrent,
quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus
hospes!'*

Aen. IV. 6.

- (3) *(sic fatus) velat materno tempora myrto;
hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus
Acestes,
hoc puer Ascanius.*

Aen. V. 73.

The skilful combination of these two principles is well seen at the opening of the Fourth Book. With regard to the poet's intention, it may not be out of place to remark here that all this method (as was the case with ancient poetry

generally) is intended to appeal not to the eye, but to the ear.

A new author would recite his verses either in private to a friendly audience, or in public to those whom he could induce to listen.¹ 'Semper ego auditor tantum? numquam ne reponam | vexatus toties *rauci* Theseide Codri?' was Juvenal's complaint after hearing so much bad poetry badly delivered. A well-modulated voice, and the power of giving a just emphasis to the structure of his verse, was therefore likely to be of great value to the poet. Julius Frontanus expresses his admiration for Virgil's *os et hypocrisis*—that is to say, his gift of dramatic recitation.

With reference especially to the above-mentioned passage (IV. 1 ff.), it will be seen that the hard sound of *qu*, preserved in the French '*qui, quand, tranquille*,' enhances by alliteration the juxtaposition '*cura quietem*' at the conclusion. This is led up to by assonance thus, '*saucia cura—multumque recursat—dat cura quietem*.' Compare the beautiful lines, *Aen. VII. 8-10*, '*aspirant aurae in noctem, nec candida cursum luna negat; splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus*.'

It will probably have been perceived already that the conclusion, '*Martemque accendere cantu*,' links the clauses by assonance in the way that Virgil would have in mind:

aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu.

But it does more than this. In order to demonstrate it, a further investigation of the poet's method is necessary.

In the management of his alliterative scheme, Virgil carries on the *letter* by what may be termed 'echo.' By this he not only harmonises his verse by an undercurrent of sound, but suits it to the colour of the passage and the emphasis of words.

The principle is seen in:

- (a) *nec candida cursum
luna negat; splendet tremulo sub lumine
pontus.*
(b) *si mens non laeva fuisset,
impulerat ferro Argolicas foedare latebras,*
(c) *limosoque lacu per noctem obscurus in ulva
delitui, dum vela darent, si forte dedissent.*

¹ The poems of Tasso are recited to-day in the Italian villages.

- (d) *credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum; degeneres timor arguit.*
- (e) *iuvat ire et Dorica castra, desertos que videre locos, litusque relictum.*
- (f) *quam multae glomerantur aves, cum frigidus annus trans pontum fugat.*
- (g) *nymphas venerabar agrestes, Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis¹*
- (h) *aequora tuta silent; tum silvis scena coruscis.*
- (i) *et fessum quoties mutet latus, intremere omnem mumure Trinacriam.*
- (j) *continuo sotes ultrix accincta flagello Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra intentans angues vocat agmina saeva sororum.*

Aen. VI. 570.

The combination of assonance and echo in the last examples ('mutet, *murmure*—*ultrix, insultans*') may be compared with such lines as '*nuda genu, nodoque sinus collecta fluentes*'; or, '*portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat, terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento canities inculta iacet*'; or, '*et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat a Tenedo, tacitae per amica silentia lunae, littora nota petens*.'

To return now to the opening lines of the Fourth Book, which have been partially analysed, the balance and structure of the verse is seen to be, effortless as the result appears, the outcome of careful elaboration:

*at regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni;
multa viri virtus animo, multumque recursat
gentis honos; haerent infixi pectore voltus
verbaque: nec placidam membris dat cura
c(qui)etem.*

Aen. IV. 1-5.

Here '*regina*' is taken up by '*recur-sat*,' as in II. 3: '*infandum regina iubes renovare dolorem | Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum | eruerint Danaï,*' (where the link by assonance '*infandum,*

¹ Here the interwoven alliteration '*agrestes patrem Geticis praesidet arvis*' is combined in a characteristic manner. So, too, V. 40, '*veterum non immemor ille parentum gratatur reduces, et gaza laetus agresti excipit*.' Also III. 279, '*portus ab accessu ventorum immotus, et ingens ipse, sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis, in-ter-dumque atram prorumpit ad ae-ther-a nubem*'; and I. 12, '*urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni, Car-tha-go, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe ostia*.'

Troianas, Danaï,' and '*renovare, lamentabile*' will be noted).

In the lines prefatory to this narrative of Aeneas the symmetrical structure, '*conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant; inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto,*' may be compared with those prefacing the speech of Laocoon, II. 40, '*primus ibi ante omnes, magna comitante caterva, Laocoon ardens summa decurrit ab arce, et procul, o, miseri,*' etc. Here '*procul*' forms the link, as '*infandum*' does in the preceding lines.

A characteristic quality in Virgil's workmanship is the judicious manner in which the *technique* is adapted to the subject-matter, and to the general tone of the paragraph. It has not been the object in these pages to pick out exceptional lines, or passages in which the subject might of itself suggest something of the kind. For example, in the episode of the sea-serpents, II. 199 f., '*fit sonitus, spumante salo,*' is clearly intended by suggesting the hissing of the brine to balance the lines, '*suffecti sanguine et igni sibila lambebant linguas,*' etc., which describe the hissing of the serpents.

[With the assonance indicated, cf. IV. 130, '*it portis iubare exorto Troiana iuventius; retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro.*']

Although it is used in II. 199 f. with intention, it may be remarked in passing that Virgil does not avoid collocations of the s-sound. Probably the strongly vocalic nature of Latin, as compared with English, accounts for this. But he does avoid the b-sound in alliteration. This he uses only, as a rule, for echoing an emphatic word (as, '*partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes; bis conatus . . . bis cecidere manus*') ; or to reinforce effects such as '*procumbit humi bos,*' or (V. 404) '*terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigeant*.'

The speech of Laocoon, the prefatory lines to which have been quoted, continues:

*credit is avectos hostes, aut ulla putatis
dona carere dolis Danaum? sic notus Ul-ic-ses?
aut hoc inclusi ligno occulantur Achivi,
aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,
inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi,
aut aliquis latet error; equo ne credite Teucri;
quidquid id est, timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.*
Aen. II. 42.

With 'Ulixes' cf. I. 168, 'intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo, Nympharum domus.' Similarly, in the well-known passage, VI. 735-46, 'nec tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes corporeae excedunt pestes; penitusque necessest . . . ergo exercentur poenis . . . expendunt . . . infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni . . . exinde per amplum . . . donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe concretam exemit labem.' Here 'concretam' (746) takes up 'multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris' (738). Compare with 'Ulixes—ulla—occultantur,' XII. 279 'agmina contra procurrunt Laurentum, hinc densi rursus inundant Troes, Agyllinique, et pictis Arcades armis.' So VI. 14, 'Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna, praepectibus pennis ausus se credere caelo, insuetum per iter gelidos enavit ad Arctos, Chalcidicaque levis tandem super adstitit arce.'

Though sometimes intensified, as in describing a portent, 'regalesque accensa comas, accensa coronam'¹ (see *Aen.* VII. 69-80), such effects as these are somewhat of the nature of a *tour de force*. But the happy quotation with

¹ See also *Aen.* II. 687-700.

which Pitt, as dawn was breaking, wound up the debate on the African slave-trade, must have been doubly effective as delivered by the practised orator, who would instinctively accentuate, with just the right emphasis, the structure of the verse: 'nos ubi primus equis Oriens adflavit anhelis, illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.'

With these principles in his mind, Virgil, when he hit upon the phrase which now concludes the line, would recognise in a flash that *aere ciere viros* was completed by assonance and echo. As a chess-player by practice can visualise a position, so the poet accustomed to polish his verse as a she-wolf licks her cubs into shape would be satisfied at last with:

aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu.

'Επίγραμμα.

εἶπε τις, 'ὥς πολλῇ κύκνον Διρκαῖον αἰερεῖ
αὔρα, τηλόθι γὰρ κραιπνὸν ἔρεσσόμενον.'
σὴ δ' ἐπέων, κελάδῃμα βροῆς ἄτε καλὸν, ὑπηχεῖ
μολπηθῶν συνεχῶς οὔασιν ἁρμονίῃ.

Σύμφαι γάρ σ' ἐφίλησαν ὀρειάδες· αἱ δ' ἐγέλασαν
ἡδύ τι καὶ χαριέν σοι τότε γεινομένην.
οὔρεα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐφίλει, τὰ Τρωϊκὰ δ' ὕμνει·
Φοῖβος ἔπειθε λήρης κρούσμασιν ἐσπερίης.

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'ACIES' AND 'ARCES.'

Virgil, *Aeneid* VII. 695 f.:

*Hi Fescenninas acies Aequosque Faliscos,
Hi Soractis habent arces Flaviniaque arva . . .*

PROFESSOR SLATER'S renewed discussion of these lines¹ possesses, in common with the previous treatment of this passage by Dr. Warde Fowler and his reviewer,² the quality of more than usual interest both for the appreciation of Virgil and for the elucidation of ancient Italic topography. If I venture to contribute these additional observations, it is less in the hope of arriving at finality concerning a delicate point of literary criticism which has engaged the attention of past masters of the science than with the purpose of indicating in greater fulness some of

the topographical connotations of the two crucial words, *acies* and *arces*.

First as to *acies*. We must distinguish sharply between two meanings—the sense 'sword-blade,' or, as we should say, 'razor-blade,' which is literally inherent in the word and figuratively is most appropriate to the profile of Soracte, a jagged fragment of tertiary limestone set on edge; and the sense 'sheer rock walls' which has been proposed. This latter meaning would indeed be appropriate as applied to the site of Civita Castellana, the pre-Roman Falerii—a small plateau of tufa, sharply isolated from the surrounding level by deep gorges on three sides, the work of erosion—but would not fit the Roman colony of the same name. This second signification, however, does not appear an obvious one for the Latin word to bear, although the root certainly

¹ *Class. Rev.* XXXIII. 1919, pp. 144 f.

² There cited.

acquired it in some other languages. In respect of correct and vivid topographical description, Dr. Warde Fowler's proposal to read *Soractis . . . acies* on the assumption that the similar words *acies* and *arces* have changed places is highly felicitous; it is more difficult for those familiar with this region to accept the traditional *Fescenninas acies* as a description of a town occupying a characteristic tufa plateau.

Moreover, the former meaning appears to be that assumed by the kindred word *acumen* in the two passages of Ovid cited by Professor Slater:

Met. XII. 337 :
ab ancipiti delapsus acumine montis.
Met. XIII. 778 f. :
cuneatus acumine longo
Collis.

In the present context, however, are we warranted in giving to the familiar word *acies* a meaning so remote from that which it was almost certain to evoke in the ancient hearer or reader? It is embedded in a long episode which is permeated with warlike ideas and expressions. The same word *acies* occurs four other times within a hundred and sixty lines:

L. 643 : *Complerint campos acies,*
 L. 673 : *Et primam ante aciem,*
 L. 703 : *Nec quisquam aeratas acies,*
 L. 796 : *Et Sacrae acies;*

in each instance, too, as in our line, followed by the caesura. The ear of the listener was thoroughly attuned to the word, and his mind adjusted to its usual meaning. Surely the test of oral reading goes against one's acceptance of the new and striking sense proposed.

This is, of course, not to say that the lines are satisfactory as they stand; but the trouble is deep-rooted, and the whole episode, superb as are many of its details, bears indications of having been left in an incomplete state by the poet, and patched together in a mechanical fashion by his literary executors.

In defence of the traditional reading *Soractis . . . arces* attention has been properly called to the use of *arx* to denote sacred 'high places'; with regard to the possibility of taking the words to

mean merely 'Soracte's heights,' another parallel would be *Aen.* III. 291,

Protinus aerias Phaeacum abscondimus arces,

where I suppose all those who have had the good fortune to traverse the channel of Corfu will think of the sharp peaks which form the most striking feature of the northern end of the island. Again, *Aen.* I. 56,

celsa sedet Aeolus arce,

suggests hardly more than 'lofty eminence.'

Turning aside from Virgil's usage, it may be enquired if there is not evidence in more every-day Latin for the use of the word *arx*, not as denoting a fortified hill within a city, but in the more general sense of 'castle,' or even 'hill-top hamlet or dwelling.' One thinks of several place-names of Central Italy: that *Arx* near Arpinum (*Geogr. Rav.* iv. 33, p. 275 P., *Paul. Diac.* vi. 27) from which the *Arcanum* of Quintus Cicero derived its name; the *Arx Carventana*, which to be sure may have been in origin the citadel of a town Carventum; and the enigmatical *Arx Albana* of Livy VII. xxiv. 8, with its homonym appearing in the titles *Salii Arcis Albanae* and *Virgines Vestales Arcis Albanae*.

It is, perhaps, not to the point to quote Horace, *Sat.* II. vi. 16 :

Ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,

for one is reminded of his other line, *Carm.* III. i. 1 :

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo,

and of the more modern castle, the 'Englishman's home'; but it is in the sense of 'hill-top villa' or 'château' that I should like to interpret the name given to the villa of Tiberius on Capreae, Pliny, *N.H.* III. 82, and to Domitian's Alban villa, the *Arx Albana* of Juvenal IV. 145 and Tacitus, *Agr.* 45. Some have detected an ironical tone in these passages;¹ and several of the writers on the location of Alba Longa have thought that

¹ Cf. Mayor's note on Juvenal X. 307, for the traditional *arx* of the *tyrannus*; in the passage in Pliny, *Paneg.* 47, it is the idea of seclusion rather than strength that is associated with the *arx* of Domitian.

the name bore witness to the site of the citadel of that early town. The second of these interpretations appears groundless, and the first not altogether necessary, though Dio Cassius, LXVII. i. 12, seems to have taken *arx* in this way. Perhaps a word which as spoken by the Prince and his Court was unobjectionable lent itself to a different turn of meaning when uttered by the Opposition.

Though it is not altogether pertinent to the matter under discussion, I am tempted to add a few words, which may be new, on *Aen.* VI. 774:

Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces.

The site of Collatia is known with practical certainty;¹ and a more

¹ T. Ashby, in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I., 1902, pp. 146-148.

striking contrast can hardly be imagined than that between the sonorous line the poet and the insignificant tongue of land now occupied by the farm of Lunghezza; the early importance of the place was due not to loftiness of position, but to its relation to early trade-routes and the military protection afforded by the sweep of the river Anio. The aspect of this spot can have been unfamiliar neither to Virgil nor to his first hearers and readers; it seems probable that he deliberately chose to put the grandiose phrase into the mouth of Anchises in order to produce an effective contrast, and by a suggestion of the *naïveté* of the days of small things to enhance the emotional quality of the prophetic vision.

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A NOTE ON AN OLD GRAMMARIAN, WITH A CORRECTION.

ARE the Latin grammarians worth emending? Though many may doubt it, my own answer is a very positive yes. Late or uncertain as their date may sometimes be, they preserve to us a very conservative tradition, which probably in most cases goes back to the first century, or earlier; and as the following passage not only contains an obvious error which eluded the vigilance of Keil, but also is linked to the earliest phase of Virgilian criticism, I will make no further apology for dealing with it.

The passage in question is from Sergius' commentary on Donatus (Keil IV. p. 433). It is concerned with some remarks of Donatus (*ibid.* p. 377), in which that grammarian speaking of compound words says, first, 'componuntur etiam de compluribus ut inexpugnabilis, imperterritus,' and afterwards 'providendum autem ne ea nomina componamus quae aut composita sunt aut componi omnino non possunt.'

This apparent contradiction puzzled all his commentators, and Sergius' explanation is as follows:

dicit nomina iam composita non debere componi, et idem paulo ante dixit de compluribus posse componi: ne contrarium sit, ita intelligi debet, ut liceat nobis componere bis, sed ita ut prima compositio sensum nominis in

contrarium non vertat, secunda autem vertat, ut territus, imperterritus. Illud enim nobis non licet facere, ut per compositionem primam conversum in contrariam significationem nomen per secundam compositionem valeamus revocare ad primam significationem, ut est doctus indoctus, quando utique nulla ratione dicitur.

Now first of all for the text. The sense is clearly that double compounding is permissible if the first compounding is not negative, and the second is, but not permissible if the first compounding is negative, and the second, being also negative, restores the affirmative. Evidently, therefore, in the former case, the 'prima compositio' in the example has fallen out, in the latter case the 'secunda compositio.' We must read then 'terrītus <perterrītus>, imperterrītus and afterwards 'doctus, indoctus <inindoctus.>' This last odd-looking word is vouched for by a more or less parallel passage in Cledonius (K. V. p. 43), where we find 'felix suum sensum habet: contrarium huic est infelix, quae est prima compositio: secunda esse non potest, id est non facit ininfelix ne videatur ad primum sensum nominis remeare.'

Hitherto the reader, while doubtless accepting these slight emendations, will probably think this jargon not worth

discussing. Yet I think it has a history. We may note firstly that this explanation of Donatus' 'contrarium' does not attempt to explain what is meant by 'quae non componi possunt,' and secondly that the 'contrarium' appears in almost the same words in Diomedes, K. I. 301, 309, but there also without explanation. It is probably therefore an old canon, which the later grammarians did not really understand. Now when we turn back to that earliest sketch of grammar which we have in Quintilian I. 4-7, we find substantially the same teaching about single and double compounds, but the exception to the latter is given in the words 'dum ne pugnantibus inter se duabus, quale est imperterritus'¹ (I. 5, 65). Here the 'pugnantia' presumably may be equated with the later 'quae non componi possunt.' What is more significant is that 'imperterritus,' which in the later grammarians is the example of the permissible double compound, is in the earlier the example of the forbidden.

With this hint, I should reconstruct the history of the canon as follows. In its original form, it owed its force, if not its origin, to its value as a piece of anti-Virgilian polemic in the first century. Fastening on the 'imperterritus' of *Aen.* X. 770, which Servius notes as one of Virgil's new coinages, it laid down, that a negative preposition tacked on to an intensive was inadmissible 'pugnantia non componi possunt.' The rule was then rounded off by the addition 'neither must the two be identical,' 'ne componantur quae jam composita sunt.' This latter part, exemplified by 'ininfelix,' 'inindoctus,' was preserved by the grammarians; though I fancy they confused it by the introduction of the word 'nomina.' Since, being uncontroversial, it is also uninteresting, Quintilian does not notice

it. But the former part was the real soul of the question. For a time the objection to 'imperterritus,' overdrawn as it seems to us, held good, and commanded the assent of so loyal a Virgilian as Quintilian. But as Virgilian orthodoxy gained ground, 'imperterritus' was taken over into the opposite camp of the permissible. Bereft of its main example the rule remained in the air, to be quoted without explanation by Donatus, and to puzzle his more conscientious commentators.

This grammatical canon then, as we find it in the fourth or fifth century, seems to me to be a distorted reflection from a controversy of the first, of which we should like to know more. That there was a considerable body of contemporary anti-Virgilian polemic we know from Suetonius' memoir. An attempt to reconstruct it is made in the introduction to Conington and Nettleship's Virgil and I daresay elsewhere. Such a polemic was inevitable. In view of the rapidity with which what we may call the literary canonisation of Virgil—or perhaps rather the *Aeneid*—was accomplished, the 'advocatus diaboli' was bound to be forceful. On the other hand, we have to remember that this opposition was limited by the fact that it was the 'Grammatici' themselves who placed Virgil where he was placed. I am not sure whether it is sufficiently realised that, apart from its real merits, apart from the natural incentives of national pride and court favour, there was a strong professional reason for the apotheosis of the *Aeneid*. When education became stabilised after the Civil Wars, it is clear that every boy of the upper classes at Rome was passed through two grammatical schools, a Greek and a Latin, under separate professors. We may roughly think of the first as 'classical' and the second as 'modern.' The fact that all pupils had to pass through both schools might diminish, but could not remove, professional rivalry. While the 'modern' might be more practically useful as a training for the orator, it is clear that the 'classical' had an enormous pull in the reputation of its literature. In particular it had Homer. What had Rome to set against the 'Bible of the

¹ Perhaps I should rather say that this is what all recent editors agree that he did say. The best MSS. have 'dum repugnantibus.' Others and earlier edd. 'interdum repugnantibus.' Of these the first is nonsense, and the second does not give the antithesis which the sentence evidently requires. Whether it is merely an attempt to emend 'dum repugnantibus,' or whether it is partially inspired by Virgilian orthodoxy, I should not like to say.

Greeks'? And so, while the appearance of a Roman Theocritus, a Roman Hesiod, was of second-rate importance, the announcement of a work by an accepted poet, which in form and spirit reproduced both Homeric poems, stirred the schools to their depths. In less than a century, Quintilian, after arguing that the young mind should from the very first be steeped in the highest literature, even though it may be beyond its comprehension, adds 'ideo optime institutum est ut ab Homero atque Virgilio lectio inciperet.'¹

¹ I do not mean to imply that the need of the Latin Grammatici for a Roman Homer is the cause why Virgil is to us what he is. While I think that he owed his position originally to what we may call an accident, I do not suppose that he could have maintained it without higher claims. At least, in the interest of the sanity

But though on the whole we may assume that the inevitable opposition did not come from the Latin Grammatici, we need not be surprised, if we find them, as in this case, admitting a Virgilian error and even making it the stock example to illustrate a supposed grammatical law. Such concessions are not costly. If good Homer can nod, why not good Virgil also? Sainthood, in fact, gains rather than loses from the admission, that some spots defile the robe that wraps the saint! And amongst such spots on the robe of Virgil's literary purity appears to be the 'imperterritus,' which caused such confusion in the later grammarians.

F. H. COLSON.

of human judgments, my own included, I hope not.

NOTES

NOTE ON HERODOTUS IV. 109.

IN his description of the tribes which inhabit the regions east and north of the Tanais, Herodotus pays particular attention to the *Βουδῖνοι*. In their territory there is, he says, *λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή καὶ ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδριες ἀλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετρα γωνο-πρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνας παραρᾶπτεται.*

Most modern scholars assume with Herodotus that this tribe was situated somewhere inland from the Euxine and the Caspian seas, and place them along the middle reaches of the Volga. Thus Minns¹ places them between Samara and Kazan, and suggests a racial connection between them and the modern Permiaks and Bashkirs. There is, however, considerable doubt as to the region they inhabited, and Minns has to assume two separate settlements of the tribe.²

Westberg puts them near Saratov,³ but neither Minns nor Westberg can find the necessary *λίμνη*.

Unfortunately the description of the Scythian tribes beyond the Don given in Herodotus is vitiated by a faulty* orientation at the beginning. Herodotus, starting his description somewhere along the lower reaches of the Tanais,⁴ says: *Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθική, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων ἐστὶ, οὗ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορρην ἀνεμον κ.τ.λ.*

To proceed northwards after crossing the Don is to double in one's tracks, for the greater part of the Don flows from the north-east to the south-west, and travellers following the line indicated by Herodotus would have to go south-east or at least due east if they did not wish to recross the river. The historian appears to be vaguely aware of some such faulty orientation, for, shortly afterwards, realising that he has started in a direction more or less due north, he modifies it and turns more towards the right direction, indicating this by the passage *ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἀνεμον νέμονται Θυσσαγέται*,⁵ and afterwards he again turns round more to a direction due east—

¹ *Scythians and the Greeks*, pp. 104-5.

² *Op. cit.* p. 103.

³ *Klio*, 1904, pp. 182-192.

⁴ IV. 21.

⁵ IV. 22

ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡὺ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι κ.τ.λ.

The clue to the problem of the correct orientation and of the proper identification of the Βουδῖνοι seems to me to be found in the last sentences of chapter 109 quoted above. What are the ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα? Why have they no name?

At this point a curious remark of the Turkish traveller, Evliya Effendi,¹ who visited the Caucasus about the year 1650 A.D., seems to throw a certain light on the question. 'The shore (of the Caspian),' he says, 'is covered with bones and carcases of strange kinds with square and pentagonal heads.'

Now in the North Caspian and in the region of Astrakhan there was until recent years a flourishing seal-fishing industry.²

The solution at once suggests itself that the θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα and the curious beasts of Evliya are both alike the seals of the North Caspian.³

This makes it possible to identify the Βουδῖνοι on the north shores of the Caspian, an identification which is in agreement with the corrected orientation which Herodotus makes himself. We thus obtain a more or less accurately fixed point in a series, the direction of which is otherwise as uncertain to Herodotus as to his readers. The λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή, otherwise unlocated, becomes the Caspian, and the marshy and reedy swamps of Astrakhan are the marshes round the λίμνη. Gelonus is clearly, from the description, an inland trappers' settlement, not connected with the sea industries, and must be sought for among the little-known regions of the Terek province. Perhaps the village of Burgon-Madshari, where are the ruins of a vast city lying upon a main trade-

route, is the site of this 'Hellenic' town.⁴

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A NOTE ON PLATO'S DEFINITION OF COLOUR.

Meno, 76 δ :

ἔστιν γὰρ χροὰ ἀπορροή σχημάτων ὅψει σύμμετρος καὶ αἰσθητὸς. 'Colour is an effluence of form commensurate with sight and palpable to sense' (Jowett).

The definition is fairly exact: why should it be said to please Meno because it is 'tragic'? (τραγικὴ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπόκρισις.) Are the words really in 'the orthodox solemn vein,' 'high flown,' 'pomphous,' as the editors and translators explain? They are the technical jargon of the scientific laboratory, not the archaic diction of the poetical drama, and have all passed into modern speech. 'Aporrhoea' in Greek is as much—or as little—'tragic' as the other compound noun from the same root, which is familiar to English physicians. 'Schematic,' 'optical,' 'symmetrical,' and 'aesthetics' are all useful words enough, but they are not particularly suited to the language of the tragic drama.

The passage is really an excellent example of Plato's love of a verbal joke, and incidentally of a meaning of τραγικός = 'theatrical,' 'pertaining to the stage,' which Liddell and Scott barely illustrate.

The three words, σχήματα, ὄψις, σύμμετρος, besides being technical words in physics, are also, in a different sense, technical to the stage. σχήματα are the figures of the dance, the steps and gestures, which were as important as the words in a tragedy; ὄψις is all the apparatus of scenery and spectacular display; σύμμετρος is constantly used by Euripides in a half-ironic sense of the apt appearance of a character—'the long arm of coincidence' working on the stage.

The definition is truly 'tragic,' but in

¹ *Narrative of Travels*, Ed. von Hammer, 1850, ii. p. 164.

² For evidence as to these fisheries see Pallas, *Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire*, ed. 1802, vol. i. pp. 80, 220, and 233. In Askhabad Museum there is a series of photographs showing the various processes of the industry.

³ This view was first put forward by Wood in *The Shores of Lake Aral*, and seems to be confirmed by the passage from Evliya.

⁴ See Klaproth, *Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia*, 1814, chap. xxi.

a somewhat different sense from what is usually supposed.

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A NEW WORD IN ST. JOHN DAMASCENE.

THIS writer compounds words freely. Some of the results have almost a poetical appearance, and are not unsuitable to the encomiastic style of oratory in which he excels; others are created to express shades of meaning in the technical theology which he is expounding. *ἁγιόβλαστος, ἐπεισυνσιώδης, θεοκαταγνώστης, θεομεγάλυντος, θεοτητοανθρωπότης, ἰδιοπερίγραφος, μητροκαμία, μιμηλόφωνος, ὀλεθροτόκος, οὐρανόφθαστος, πηλινόγλωσσος, πορφυροποίκιλος, σαρκομοιόμορφος, σεισμοκράτωρ, φωνοκτυπέω, χρυσεπώνυμος* are examples of both kinds.

I think that one more can be added by a simple emendation in the received text. In the Sermon on the Annunciation of the Virgin, vol. ii. p. 863 of Lequien's edition (Migne, *Patrol. Graec.* xcvi. col. 649), St. John Damascene addresses her thus: *χαίροις, ἡ τῆς κοσμήτορος καὶ πρώτης ἐν γυναιξὶν Εὐας θύγατερ*. Why should Eve be called *κοσμήτωρ*? Lequien translates *moderatrici*; but I see no particular meaning in the epithet: and as Adam has immediately above been called *κοσμοπάτωρ*, I would alter *κοσμήτορος* into *κοσμ<ομ>ήτορος*. The first woman might very properly be called 'mother of the world,' and we may thus add *κοσμομήτωρ* to our dictionaries.

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PLATO REP. 421B Ο Δ' ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΛΕΓΩΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΟΥΣ ΤΙΝΑΣ ΚΤΛ.

In the last (October) number of the *Classical Quarterly*, Mr. A. S. Ferguson, in an interesting note on this passage, proposes to read *χορηγούς* in place of *γεωργούς*, and (as a possible alternative) he mentions *θεωρούς*. This latter I find I had jotted down, years ago, in the margin of my Adam's *Rep.*, but I have

no great confidence in it—nor in *χορηγούς* either. I am now inclined to think it more likely that the word bungled by the scribe was one that both began and ended with the same letters as *γεωργούς*, viz. *γεωμόρους*—supposing that Plato had in his mind the features of Syracusan society, with the *γαμόροι* as its leaders. The ownership of land was assumed, we may suppose, to be the very foundation stone of noblesse and *μεγαλοπρέπεια* and *λαμπρότης*, and the *εὐδαίμων ἐστιάτωρ* was most likely to be the big landed proprietor. So, too, 'in Samos the name *γεωμόροι* was applied to the oligarchical party, consisting of the wealthy and powerful' (see Smith: *Dict. of Antiq.* I. 912, and Thucyd. 8. 21), but Plato's aim was not the *εὐδαιμονία* of a party in the State, but that of the *ὅλη πόλις*.

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'ANAPHUS.'

THIS word is given in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Vol. II., col. 18), which quotes for it the glossary item 'Anaphus vas vinarium, quod rustici appellant hanappum per duo pp. Rectius autem scribitur per unum p et h anaphus, sicut triumphus. Graeci enim dicunt illud anaphos et oinophoros' (*ymnoforos cod.*), *C.G.L.* V. 583, 8, from a glossary headed *scolica grecarum glossarum* in *Cod. Vat. Reg.* 215. The gloss however gives *anaphus* but a shadowy claim to a place in the *Thesaurus*. What it does really vouch for is the existence of *hanappus*, an undoubtedly genuine form which the *Thesaurus* (when it reaches H) ought to admit. This is the hitherto unnoticed precursor of French *hanap* and Italian (*a*)*nap*po, the source of which Körting (*Lat.-Romanisches Wörterbuch*) only represents by *hnapp*-. It is itself a Teutonic loan-word (*O.H.G. hnappf*, modern *Nappf.*). *Anaphus* looks like the creation of some graecising teacher.

Who this was we may guess with some probability. I learn from Professor Lindsay that *Cod. Vat. Reg.* 215 was written in 876 at Laon, where Greek was taught by Martin the Irishman; and though Martin died in 875

it is likely enough that the 'scolica grecarum glossarum' represent some of his teaching. What the argument for *anaphus* was the last sentence of the gloss does not clearly indicate: doubtless the writer (or transcriber) did not understand it, and it may come from an imperfect note of Martin's lecture. But a trace of his doctrine may perhaps be found in the late dictionary which goes by the title of *Breviloquus*, and which was compiled from previously existing glossaries (Goetz in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Glossographie* 1460). For *Breviloquus* has this item: 'Anaphus cyphus deauratus, ab "ana" sursum, et "phos" id est lux, quasi in superiore parte vel superficie lucens.' It may have been this fancy that led Martin to condemn the genuine *hanappus* and substitute an invention of his own.

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JUVENAL X. 78.

... Iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
Vendimus, effudit curas.

WHAT is the exact meaning of 'effudit' here? Editors seem to slur the point. Even Mayor only hints an explanation by citing two passages of Seneca, one of them relevant—viz. *de Ira*, 2. 35. 3: '... trahet vestem; omnem curam sui effundet.' According to this notion the modern equivalent would presumably be 'has emptied its pockets of anxieties'; cf. the brilliant conjecture cited by Housman from Hamacher, in *Class. Rev.* 5. 296, on Horace, S. I. 3. 172. But is such a sense either apt or effective here? Have we not rather a fragment of Roman 'slang' which has been 'taken over' by colloquial English? 'Effundere' is apparently the Latin equivalent for ἀναχαιρίζειν. So for example in Livy (XXVII. 32. 5) we have, '... ibi equus cum super caput regem effudisset;' and in Virgil (*Aen.* X. 893), '... effusumque equitem super ipse secutus.' Query: Translate, 'the people have "chucked" their anxieties. Is it flippant to suggest a (possibly subconscious)

reminiscence of Horace, *Carmina* (II. 16. 22 and) III. 1. 40, 'Post equitem sedet atra Cura'?

D. A. S.

NOTES ON APICIUS.

OF Apicius' cookery-book (the Roman 'Mrs. Beeton') a good text is needed, for both Schuch's first (Heidelberg, 1867) and second edition (Heidelberg, 1874) leave much to be desired. For example, in both a clause is omitted in § 51 (between *de cotoniis* and *quod Romani*), though allusion is made to it in the note (s.v. *caunarum*). The Cheltenham MS. (*Phill.* 275), which I have just been examining, seems better than that Vatican MS. (*Urb.* 1146) on which Schuch mainly relies. Everyone has been puzzled by the sentence of Varro about *bulbi* (*bulbi salaces*, Martial) quoted by Apicius (§ 311). But the Phillipps MS. with its *ostium*, where the other MSS. have *otium*, restores the sense ('qui Veneris ostium quaerunt,' etc.). And the future editor of Apicius must arrange each book in chapters (as well as paragraphs), following the Indexes of Chapters which stand in *Phill.* at the beginning of the books.

There has been recently some discussion of § 215: 'gruem dum coquis, caput eius aqua quam non tingat' (Schuch). The reading of *Phill.* ('aquaquam') suggests a mere dittography of the syllable *qua* in the archetype. Read: 'gruem dum coquis, caput eius aquam non contingat' ('non cont.' *Phill.*). 'Caelius' is ignored in *Phill.* It testifies to Apicius 'purus putus.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

SPICIFERA.

ANTHOLOGIA LATINA, Pars II. *Carmina Epigraphica* (Buecheler), fasc. I. 24 (= *CIL.* vii. 759), an inscription found at Carvoran (Magnaë) in Northumberland:

Imminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ
spicifera, iusti inuentrix, urbium conditrix,
ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos;
ergo eadem mater diuum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres,
5 dea Syria. . . .

In his note on Manilius *Astr.* II. 442,

spicifera est Virgo Cereris

Scaliger, discussing a reading *spiciferae*, says 'magis placet Gemblacensis lectio: *spicifera est Virgo Cereris*. Merito *spiciferae* deae *spicifera* Virgo attribuitur:

spicum illustre gerens praestanti corpore Virgo Cic' [i.e. poet (Aratus) *ap.* Cic. *de N.D.* II. 110, though the MSS. of Cicero have 'tenens splendenti corpore' and Servius on Verg. *Georg.* I. 111 has 'ferens insigni corpore'].

Virgo, of course, is the maiden Astraea or Iustitia, familiar from her close connexion with the Golden Age in Vergil (*Ecl.* IV. 6, *Georg.* II. 474) and other authors. *Spicifera* is readily understood as applied to Ceres, who is thus described by [Seneca], *Herc. Oet.* 598 (Garrod on Manil. *loc. cit.*), but it is not clear why Virgo also is called *spicifera*; for the identification of Ceres and Virgo such as we find in this inscription, and also e.g. Schol. on Aratus, p. 201, ed. Maass (1898), quoted below, is late, and belongs to the well-known process of syncretism. Voss (see Mayor's note ad Cic. *loc. cit.*) 'conjectured the meaning of the ear of corn to be that the harvest commenced under that sign'; the scholiasts on Aratus (quoted below) are also exercised to find the reason, and venture several guesses. There is certainly no mention of an ear of corn in connexion with Astraea in any of the older authors (see Roscher's *Lexicon s.v.* Astraea and the references given there).

Now, both in this inscription and in the passages quoted from Manilius and Cicero, it is the actual constellation Virgo that is thought of; and the brightest star in this constellation (*a Virginis* in star-catalogues) was known to the ancient astronomers as *Spica* Στάχυς, cf.

ἀμφοτέρωσιν δὲ ποσσὶν ὑπο σκέπτοιο Βωώτῳ
Παρθένον, ἧ ῥ' ἐν χερσὶ φέρει Στάχυν αἰγλήντα.
Aratus 96-7.

The scholiast on this passage (Maass *Comm. in Aratum reliquiae*, p. 356) has

Παρθένον ὑπὸ δὲ τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις ποσὶ τοῦ
Βωώτου ἐστὶν ἡ Παρθένος. στάχυς δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῆς
ἀριστερᾶς αὐτῆς χειρὸς εὐμεγέθης ὅθεν καὶ
'αἰγλήεις' διὰ τὴν Στάχυν φέρει; ἐπεὶ εὐ-
σεβεστάτῃ ἐστὶν ἡ γεωργικῇ.

Again (*ibid.* p. 201):

λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι λόγοι περὶ αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς
παρθένου) πλείστοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν φασὶν εἶναι
Δήμητράν διὰ τὸ ἔχειν στάχυν, οἱ δὲ . . . κτλ.

Clearly, then, although we have no record of any definite myth which gave Virgo or Astraea an ear of corn, yet for some reason the brightest star in the constellation was known to the astronomers by the name Στάχυς, *spica*.

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HORACE (C. I. 14).

MR. C. A. VINCE's statement (in *C.R.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 101) that '*fortiter occupatum* is the only sentence in the *Odes* that begins with an adjectival adverb not in the comparative degree' seems—unless the words 'sentence' and 'adjectival' are used with an unusually restricted meaning—to need a little qualification in view of the following passages:

I. 17. 5:

impune tutum per nemus arbutos
quaerunt latentes et thyma devia
olentis uxores mariti.

III. 2. 31:

raro antecedentem scelestum
deseruit pede Poena claudo.

III. 16. 43:

. . . bene est, cui deus obtulit
parca quod satis est manu.

Perhaps it would be more correct to say that in the *Odes* an adjective or adjectival adverb does not often begin a sentence, and hardly ever (I. 17. 1 is a notable exception) unless great emphasis is to be placed on it (e.g. I. 20. 1; II. 3. 1; III. 3. 1; III. 6. 45; III. 11. 30; IV. 5. 17).

With regard to the merits of Mr. Vince's proposal to join *fortiter* with *quid agis*, and to interpret the strange remark 'Why this courage?' as meaning 'Why this untimely display of courage?' it should be pointed out that his observation that 'the virtue displayed by a skipper who runs for harbour . . . is *prudencia*' is not relevant. There is no question of *running* for harbour: the wind is off shore (*referent in mare te novi flucius*).

In such a case, with a leaky ship (line 7), disabled both for rowing (line 4) and for sailing (line 5), and with a panic-stricken crew (line 14), it is no doubt *prudencia* that will counsel beating up for harbour; but to carry that counsel into effect *fortitudo*—dogged endurance and hard work—will be needed, just as the history of this and other ages shows that the pilots of the ship of state need

it, however prudent their counsels and pacific their policy. An excited onlooker, watching such a ship, would hardly remark inanely, 'Why this courage?' But, whatever translators may have said or omitted to say, he might very well shout (with or without suitable nautical expletives): 'What are you doing? With all your might make for harbour!' N. C. ARMITAGE.

REVIEWS

THE ART OF TEACHING.

Practical Hints on the Teaching of Latin.

By L. W. P. LEWIS. Pp. ix+210. Macmillan. 5s. net.

THESE are four lectures delivered to teachers who attended the Holiday Latin Courses held at Ilkley, in Yorkshire, under the ægis of the Board of Education in the summers of 1918 and 1919. They are now published in book form with the consent of the Board, on the understanding that such consent does not imply any responsibility for the opinions expressed. In other words, *caveat emptor*. They contain nothing that will be helpful to those conversant with reformed methods of teaching, but much of such doubtful educational practice that the book must be afforded a notice in excess of its intrinsic merits.

Mr. Lewis confesses in his opening remarks that the reader will miss 'all attempt to base method on educational theory or reduce it to principles' (p. 7). He is a practical teacher—obviously a very skilful one within his own narrow limits—who has reduced to a science the best method of 'doing' Kennedy, North and Hillard and Bradley's Arnold! My sole quarrel with him is that he thinks this is education and calls it teaching Latin. That I do not misrepresent his attitude may be gathered from the following quotations: On p. 83 he says, 'As personally I do not tackle the pronouns—*quisquam*, *aliquis*, etc.—till the fourth year, I have only to complete the comparison of adjectives and add Kennedy's black

print numerals and the main gender rules.' Again on p. 123: 'As usual with me, part of the first lesson will be an English grammar lesson, in which I get the main headings for the double page written up. [This is a double page in the pupil's exercise book.] The Direct Statement, Question and Command occupy one double page each. The next main headings are, Indirect Statement, Question and Command. These must have two double pages each allotted to them. Then come the seven or eight Adverb clauses—eight if we decide to treat Local clauses separately from Relative clauses, each with what experience has shown me to be the necessary number of double pages. The last heading is Adjective clause, to which I personally add a second double page for Adjective clause = Adverb clause.' This is the level of the whole book—Excellent, Mr. Pope, but don't call it Homer—which is itself an illustration of the absurdity of decrying educational theory in general and the training of teachers in particular. Education is certainly an art rather than a science, and the born teacher, the man or woman with the right *φύσις*, achieves *θεία τινα τύχη* to what less-gifted mortals can only attain (if at all) by the *ἐπιστήμη* of training. 'Εμπειρία alone, upon which Mr. Lewis almost entirely relies, is likely to lead a man wrong—and Mr. Lewis is no exception. He tells us at one moment that 'bad habits are difficult to eradicate' (p. 30), and at another him-

self advocates a bad habit. 'You may,' he says (p. 20), 'accentuate the endings of nouns: *mensâ, mensâ, mensâm, mensâe*, etc. . . . So also do not be frightened of *rexerô, rexeris, rexerit*, even of *rexerimus, rexeritis, rexerint*.' Again he delivers *ex cathedra* the very disputable doctrine that 'grammar work must always be well ahead of the immediate requirements of our exercises. For instance, we learn the whole of *mensa* before we start our first exercise, which requires only the nominative and accusative singular, and we are ready with our second and third declension nouns—known perfectly—before we begin to use them in the exercises where they are first wanted. And so on all the way through the ordinary accidence, so that *we shall even equip our class by the end of the year with accidence which they will not require until the beginning of their second-year work*' (p. 18, italics mine). Quite early in the book we read: 'Hence I eschew all books which are so diligently written with a view to making a boy's work interesting to him' (p. 14), and are somewhat surprised to find later on: 'In fact, we take advantage of anything which awakens interest, quickens appreciation, or stimulates the mind in any way' (p. 110). 'Ἐμπειρία is bound to land us into such contradictions, and without either the ἐπιστήμη of training or the θεία φύσις of the born teacher it will serve as but a poor guide.

Yet Mr. Lewis, as my quotations show, regards traching as an ἐμπειρικὴ τέχνη. He is an 'experienced teacher,' an ἔμπειρος, and this book is the ἐπίδειξις of his τέχνη. I can only trust that the meetings at Ilkley, where the lectures were originally delivered, were not without someone to handle it as we see Socrates in the pages of Plato handling the ἐπίδειξις of a Polus or a Euthydemus. Somebody is likely to have been dissatisfied with the *ipse dixit* of 'I do not believe in the direct method for Latin' (p. 3), and 'All these books are on the wrong lines. They attempt to do what *I do not believe can be done*' (p. 14, italics mine). I cannot help contrasting what that method achieves with Mr. Lewis' own testimony to the achievement of his method.

'You need not *necessarily* be discouraged,' he says (p. 7), 'if at the end of four years you are told of your pupils, "Why, they can't even translate an ordinary passage of Latin."' As the result of one year's work, Mr. Lewis 'finds by experience'—he is always doing it—that 'the accidence can be thoroughly mastered up to the end of the four regular conjugations with *capio*, *i.e.* all the five regular declensions, adjectives and comparison of adjectives, pronouns, and verbs complete' (p. 45). For the second year a minimum is provided by 'adjectival clauses, direct and indirect statement, question and command, final and consecutive clauses, all in the simplest possible form, and no exceptions or peculiarities except those which are exceedingly common. No correlatives, etc. If we are able to add the use of participles with the ablative absolute, and the simplest possible causal and temporal clauses required in connection with them, we shall get a maximum' (p. 57). No Latin author is read until the third year when, 'two or three *Heroides*, extracts from Cicero, or a book of Caesar' (p. 97), provide a year's work. The pace must be rather slow, and I can sympathise with the boy's pathetic appeal (ingenuously recorded by Mr. Lewis on p. 71), 'Please, sir, may we do it without parsing?' We are not told a great deal about the actual reading, but, of course, the old 'construe' is inevitable, and some strange things emerge at times. For example, in reading Ovid, the teacher is told to 'accentuate the metre, not the sense' (p. 98), and we hear a good deal of 'the literary' method of teaching throughout the book. It seems a strange kind of 'literary' method that can, for example, suddenly switch off, after reading the first half of *Aeneid II.*, to something else,¹ and the reader is much puzzled until he discovers that 'literary' is a synonym for 'grammatical,' *i.e.* non-direct method. The only reference to this method—beyond the

¹ 'I find certain half-books more suitable than any whole one book, *e.g.* the first half of Books II. and V., the last half of Book X., and the Camilla part of XI' (p. 171).

early avowal of Mr. Lewis' disbelief in it—occurs when he is advocating a 'free' rendering in preference to a stiff, word-for-word translation. 'Here,' he tells us (p. 113), 'if anywhere, and here alone, the Direct Methodists, perhaps, really score a point.' As a Direct Methodist myself, I should like to score another point by allaying Mr. Lewis' doubt as to the correct Latin for 'hardly anyone'—he doesn't believe it is *vix quisquam* (p. 158)—by referring him to Terence, *Andria* I., i. 63, *vix spei*

quidquam est super. But eristic apart, the deficiencies of the grammatical, or as Mr. Lewis calls it, the 'literary' method, are clearly witnessed by the difficulties in teaching Latin prose on such a method. 'It cannot be taught by rule. It can only be apprehended by observation' (p. 114), *Ipse dixit*. Here the *τέχνη* fails, and the extensive reading, possible on the Direct Method, avails.

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HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY, VOL. XXVIII.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XXVIII. Contents: 1. On the Second Book of Aristotle's *Poetics*, by A. PHILIP McMAHON. 2. Chaucer's *Lollius*, by GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. 3. A Study of Exposition in Greek Tragedy, by EVELYN SPRING. One vol. Pp. 236. Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1917.

MR. A. PHILIP McMAHON attacks the commonly-accepted belief that Aristotle's *Poetics* included originally a second book, which was lost at a very early date. This belief was first expressed by Victorius in 1560. It depends too much, so Mr. McMahon argues, on the lists of Aristotle's works given by Diogenes and Hesychius. These lists are of extraordinary length and show many repetitions and confusions of titles. Few of the works named in them can be identified by us, whereas Cicero and Galen, who were familiar with the writings of Aristotle, know a body of texts almost the same as that which we possess. The loss of a second book of the *Poetics*, which contained a theory of comedy, is hard to account for, and few would now venture to cite as an explanation the story of the cave at Scepsis, since it is plain that during no period were the master's chief works lost to the Peripatetic school. Mr. McMahon goes on to examine the other ground for the belief in a second book, viz. the promise

made in the *Poetics* (6, 1449B 21) to deal with comedy later. He thinks there is good reason to suppose that Aristotle had said all he wanted to say about dramatic poetry, both tragedy and comedy, by the end of chapter 22—'concerning tragedy and imitation by means of action this may suffice.' The cross-references in Aristotle's writings to the *Poetics*, which cannot be verified from our text of that work, probably correspond with passages in the dialogue *On Poets*; and Theophrastus' definition of tragedy may come from the same source. Mr. McMahon's careful arguments deserve consideration in dealing with the complicated problem of the Aristotelian writings. We are apt to look at Aristotle from a modern standpoint, and to expect to find in him a 'complete theory of art,' and an exactly symmetrical treatment of tragedy and comedy, which may have been far from his thoughts.

From Aristotle to Chaucer. Who was the Lollius whom Chaucer in his *Troilus* professes to be translating? The name is not a mere synonym for Boccaccio, since Chaucer in this poem had other literary sources than Boccaccio, not to mention his own imagination. Mr. G. L. Kittredge supports the theory that Chaucer, in ascribing his story to an ancient Latin author, Lollius, who wrote about the Trojan War, was using a legitimate and well-understood device to give his work an air of veracity; and he can refer to other instances of this practice, including an apt modern

parallel from Mr. Maurice Hewlett. But there is this difference, that Chaucer was not simply inventing, for he really believed that one Lollius had written an account, long since lost, of the Trojan War. Whence came this belief? As far back as 1868 Latham suggested that it arose from a misreading of Horace, *Epistles*, bk. I. 2 :

Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi.

There is no need to suppose that Chaucer was the original blunderer, who took these lines to mean that Lollius was a great writer on the Trojan War; for the belief may have taken shape earlier, and have passed by his time into common acceptance. Mr. Kittredge shows that the misinterpretation can be easily accounted for, and that Latham's attractive hypothesis may be regarded as almost a certainty. A number of mistakes that have gathered round the Lollian problem are cleared up in this brightly-written paper.

The last article is Miss Evelyn Spring's on 'Exposition in Greek Tragedy.' The art of exposition, *i.e.* of revealing to the audience such facts as are necessary to a full understanding of the play, holds an important place in dramatic construction. Miss Spring deals mainly with Aeschylus, whom she considers to excel both Sophocles and Euripides in this art. In the *Suppliques* and the *Persae* Aeschylus confines his exposition largely to a recitation of past history in the prologue, a method not much different from that of Euripides. But afterwards he adopts the distributive method, introducing the

necessary details at those points throughout the play where they will be most dramatically effective. The trilogy offers great scope for skilful exposition. Each play of the *Oresteia* is complete in itself, yet each is intentionally connected by the poet with the others, so that the three form a unity. Miss Spring, while admitting that other trilogies, of which only single plays or fragments remain, were not such complete unities as the *Oresteia*, yet tries to discover points of connexion within them all. She thinks, for example, that the mention of warning oracles in the *Persae* (739-40; 800-2; 829-31) refers to a preceding play in which the nature of these oracles was set forth. Similarly Darius' prophecy of the disaster at Plataea (803-20) looks forward to the *Glaucus Potnieus*, in which probably the battle was described. These points are interesting, though not much to build upon. A Greek audience would scarcely have expected any further explanation of Darius' words than that with which their own knowledge supplied them. Another suggestion is that Aeschylus used the trilogy as a means of portraying the development of character. It is certainly a mark of his skill that in the *Agamemnon* the sacrifice of Iphigeneia is brought forward in justification of Agamemnon's murder, while in the *Choephoroe* this motive is omitted and stress is laid on the love of Clytaemnestra for Aegisthus. We view Clytaemnestra in a different aspect, but whether this amounts to any real development of character may be doubted.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY, VOL. XXIX.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XXIX. One volume. 8vo. Pp. 178+iv. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918.

THIS volume contains a dissertation on 'Plato's View of Poetry,' by Mr. W. Chase Greene, 'Collations of the Manu-

scripts of Aristophanes' *Aves*,' by Professor J. W. White and Dr. Earnest Cary, and 'Joseph Scaliger's Estimates of Latin and Greek Authors,' by Mr. George W. Robinson. Mr. Robinson, with laudable industry, has collected the critical judgments which lie scattered through 'the huge bulk of Scaliger's

writings, of which most have not been reprinted since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,' as well as those more obviously presented in the *Scaligerana*. But, after all, a vast deal of the great scholar's criticism amounts to little more than the application of labels (laudatory or otherwise); thus Catullus is 'cultissimus poeta,' Claudian 'elegantissimus poeta,' Demosthenes 'pater eloquentiae,' Plutarch 'gravissimus scriptor,' and so forth. This sort of thing is not very edifying. But occasionally Scaliger is more descriptive and really critical, as when he deals with Lucan and Persius, Jerome and Eusebius.

The critical apparatus for the text of the *Aves*, as prepared by the late Professor White and Dr. Cary, is to be followed in the next volume of *Harvard Studies* by similar collations of the *Vespae*. They will be found invaluable for reference by minute students of the Aristophanic text.

Mr. Greene's main conclusions concerning Plato's view of poetry are thus expressed on the last page (75) of his essay: 'Plato did not formulate a definite creed about the poetic faculty, and his special utterances are moulded by special interests. Accordingly, those interpreters are mistaken who attempt to make a sweeping generalisation—as

that Plato expelled the poets, or that his real doctrine is contained in myths. . . . Since most contemporary poetry was content, Plato thought, to produce images, without passing on to the ideal world, it was so far to be condemned. He recognised, however, that the poet might express eternal forms, and so far as he did so, he became a philosopher. In some such way Plato imagined that the ancient conflict between philosophy and poetry might cease.' This view seems reasonable enough; one might indeed say that it is a work of supererogation to expend seventy pages in arguing for it. The crux of the matter lies in Plato's language in *Rep.* X.: is that intended for serious literary criticism or is it, as Mr. Greene says, to 'be read rather as a dramatic gesture, as a bit of satire on the accredited educators of Hellas' (p. 56)? Most trans-Atlantic writings on Plato bear trace of the pervasive influence of the views of Professor Shorey, and Mr. Greene's Essay is not an exception; among other points of agreement, he too refuses to bow the knee before the golden image of Socrates-Refectus which the St. Andrew's Professors have set up. There appears to be an error in the quotation from *Laws* 669a on p. 68; but this is the only slip that I have noticed.

R. G. BURY.

GREEK NOUN-FORMATION.

Studies in Greek Noun-Formation (based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. Stratton): *Dental Terminations, I.* By CARL D. BUCK. One vol. Royal 8vo. Pp. 46. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1918. \$.50 net; \$.53 post paid.

THE material collected in this instructive and closely-packed survey of Greek nouns and adjectives with τ -genitives is divided into four main groups: (1) genitive $-\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, (2) genitive $-\tilde{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $-\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, (3) genitive $-\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$, (4) genitive $-\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $-\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $-\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$; these main groups are again subdivided into smaller classes.

In discussing the IE. r/n class Professor Buck makes the interesting observation that in proethnic Greek the

type $-\rho$, genitive $-\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, was moderately productive, whereas during the historical period it was in constant decline, and it has disappeared altogether from modern Greek; $\tilde{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$, for example, has been replaced by $\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}$. From the semantic point of view the most noticeable feature is the number of words for parts of the body.

Of the types $-\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$, $-\tilde{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $-\eta\varsigma$, $-\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and $-\omega\varsigma$, $-\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Professor Buck says: 'In Greek the formation with $-\tau$ has been largely displaced by that with $-\tau\tilde{\alpha}$ -, yielding the numerous class of agent-nouns in $-\tau\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$, $-\tau\eta\varsigma$. With a few exceptions, it has survived only after root-forms ending in $\tilde{\alpha}$, η , or ω , and belonging to that type which represents a monosyllabic form of dissyllabic bases,'

e.g. compounds with -βλῆς, -κρᾶς, -κμης, -βρως, etc. He adds that in these compounds the passive force greatly predominates, in notable contrast to the Sanskrit t-forms, e.g. *viçva-jé-t* 'all-conquering,' *madhu-kṛ-t* 'honey-making, bee,' etc. As in Sanskrit, the accent is regularly oxytone.

Rather more than twelve out of thirty-four pages of text are devoted to a most interesting discussion of Greek personal names; the different types are considered according to their group as explained above, and every dialect is carefully treated. The greatest space is devoted to the hypocoristic class of the type Μένης, Φέρης. It is noteworthy that apparently only in Boeotian, which also prefers a genitive in -ιος, is the consonant doubled, e.g. Φίλλεις, Ξένναι, Μένναι, etc. Names compounded with ἀναξ are also discussed at some length.

The name of the river Tigris has a special interest for many at the present day. It is taken from the Persian form

(O. Pers. acc. *Tigrām*); Herodotus has *Τίγρης*, acc. *Τίγριν*, while Xenophon and others use *Τίγρης*, *Τίγρητος*, with transfer to the τ-type. The form *Τίγρις* in Strabo, Plutarch, etc., is explained as having been favoured by popular etymology, which connected the name with the Persian word for arrow (Avest. *tigrīš*).

In the class -ως, -ωτος, γέλως, ἔρως, ἰδρώς, and usually χρώς have no τ-forms in Homer; 'the secondary τ-inflection in these four nouns,' says Professor Buck, 'must have its source in the inherited τ-inflection of the verbal adjectives in -ώς, in spite of the fact that the analogy is a purely formal one, without semantic support.'

In the class with genitive in -ιτος, the name of the goddess Artemis is followed through the West Greek dialects, most of which show a τ-genitive.

The word lists at the end are very complete and occupy twelve full pages.

G. E. K. BRAUNHOLTZ.

T. MACCI PLAUTI, MENAECHMI.

Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by P. THORESBY JONES. Oxford University Press, 1918.

THIS edition follows the same plan as was adopted by Mr. E. J. Thomas in his *Aulularia*, i.e. the text is taken bodily from the edition of Professor Lindsay, together with the critical apparatus, and the work of Mr. Jones consists in providing the introduction and the commentary. In the latter a few suggestions are made as to readings, but the editor was debarred from making improvements in the text, even where Professor Lindsay gave him a lead, e.g. in l. 495, where *homini hic ignoto insciens*, the reading of B², is obviously right for several reasons.

The introduction is somewhat ambitiously conceived; Mr. Jones has thought it his duty to write a little treatise on Plautine metres and prosody (pp. 25-58), and he has clearly tried to think out the manifold problems therein involved for himself. But he is in-

sufficiently equipped for the task. Many statements are there made which will not bear examination, and I do not find that the task of the student has been lightened by any simplification of the method of grouping the facts. On p. 26 we are told that Plautus and Terence allowed substitutions for the iambus in order to bring ictus into harmony with accent; but it is not explained how these substitutions achieve the desired result: - = is just as bad from the accentual point of view as ˘ =. And what is to be said of the statement on p. 31 that the dactyl is freely allowed as equivalent to the trochee in every complete foot of the trochaic septenarius except the fourth and the seventh? Mr. Jones apparently knows nothing about the great restrictions to the use of the dactyl; and he commits himself to scansions like *lu|bēntžūs* in l. 979 without alarm. Nor is it true that diaeresis is observed in the trochaic septenarius to the same extent as in the iambic sep-

tenarius (*cf.* p. 31 with p. 29). Imperfect acquaintance with phonetic principles is shown by the statement (p. 34) that determination of quantity by position is 'artificial.' On p. 36 Brix is said to have 'further elaborated' the conclusions of Langen and Klotz, whereas he actually preceded them by some twenty to thirty years. Mr. Jones is quite right in emphasising the rôle of accent in the structure of Old Latin verse; but he has overemphasised it by failing to call attention to the fact that coincidence of accent and ictus is a rule only in certain feet of the line. Adopting the position that there is coincidence throughout, he has to fall back on the sentence-accent as a universal panacea; in regard to iambic words at the end of the trimeter he hazards the statement that 'the ictus falling on the final syllable of a line is of the second or weaker variety' (p. 38). Where did he get this idea of two degrees of ictus? On p. 42 he says: 'A long syllable may be (and commonly is) scanned as short if the preceding syllable is short and bears ictus,' adding in a note, 'and therefore word — or sentence — accent also (according to the view adopted above).' But he has himself just said that this applies only to 'the great majority' of cases. The question remains how to deal with the minority (*e.g.*, *Sed ecclum*, l. 275). The words 'and commonly is' also give no pause. Can Mr. Jones quote a single case in which a long syllable is *not* to be scanned as short under these conditions?—'Shortening of vowels long by nature occurring in a polysyllabic word are to be regarded as doubtful' (p. 43; *cf.* the note on l. 37, p. 121). Then Skutsch wrote in vain.—The statement about the apparent quantity of *sinciput* (p. 49) shows ignorance of Jacobsohn's work: and the suggestion that the length may be due to loss of final *s* (*caput*—*caput-s*!) is indeed a novelty.

The notes also contain some bad errors in prosody. Take, for instance, the light-hearted suggestions on lines

126, 580, 754, and 979. Is *pröfctô* (126) a misprint? Moreover, the note contradicts the text. On what principle can the *nec* of 580 (preceded by a long syllable) be other than long (here by position)? Cretic feet of the form --- are not rare. A lurid light is thrown on the scansion - o - by a remark in the introduction, p. 46, where the mute and liquid ('*nec leges*') are appealed to. In 979 the variation of stress seems to me quite unobjectionable, and the supposed noun *môlitum* quite uncalled for. So, too, the scansion *prôperabo* in 754. The note on 461 also contains a bad mistake of scansion.

In the above remarks I have spoken of 'shortening' in order to fall in with current terminology; but I must add that it does not represent my present views, which I have indicated in two articles *C.R.* XX, 1906, pp. 158 f., and *Class. Philology* VI, 1911, pp. 1-11. In the latter I pointed out that no such law as is involved in the doctrine of 'Breves Breviantes' as applied to iambic words like *domi* is known to phoneticians, even when that doctrine is amended as Mr. Jones amends it on pp. 37 and 40 of his introduction. That is to say, the stress on the first syllable of these words does not account for the apparent shortening of the second syllable.

I am sorry to write thus severely of an edition on which the editor has clearly spent much trouble. But soundness on metrical and prosodical matters is essential in an editor of Plautus. In other respects I find the commentary generally adequate, though it contains many statements which I personally cannot accept; *e.g.* 'anacoluthon,' l. 64 f.; 'subjunctive by attraction,' 111; 'generalising subjunctive,' 144; 'humorous exaggeration,' 229 (Messenio is complaining of the delay in reaching home); colloquialism of the phrase *certo scio*, 'in classical prose *pro certo*,' 292; 'pained surprise,' said to be expressed by the spondaic word in the fourth foot, 294; is not the subjunctive in 1045 and 1106 simply prospective?

E. A. SONNENSCHN.

ANTIQUÉ PROSE-RHYTHM.

Handbook of Antique Prose-Rhythm.

By A. W. DE GROOT. Pp. 1-228.

Groningen, 1918. *De numero oratorio Latino.* Pp. 1-52. Groningen, 1919.

THE Handbook consists of nine lectures (in English) upon Prose-Rhythm as found in ancient authors, chiefly Greek. The subsequent dissertation was written as a thesis for the doctorate, and is in Latin. In this review the two works will be quoted as *Hb* and *NL* respectively.

Until recently writers upon prose-rhythm, while differing in many of their conclusions, have worked more or less on the same lines. Their attention has been mainly directed to the clausula, and their method has been to tabulate the forms of this found in various authors, and to label them good and bad according to their frequency. It was generally agreed that the cretic was the chief ingredient in the rhythm of the clausula, and that this was followed by a trochaic cadence. According to Zielinski, there are three favourite forms, viz.

-o-|-ō (1)

-o-|-o|ō (2)

-o-|-o|ō (3)

i.e., 1 = cretic + trochee, 2 = cretic + cretic, 3 = cretic + double trochee. (I abstain from mentioning here various refinements, and merely remark that 3 is substantially the same as the double trochee, which the ancients considered to be a sufficient rhythm in itself; and that the cretic base which Zielinski prefixes to it seems to suit the facts in Latin authors more than in Greek.) In Latin these three forms become increasingly prevalent, and were finally stereotyped in the three forms of the mediaeval cursus (*planus, tardus, velox*).

This may be termed the 'orthodox' method, a term which is not intended to claim any sanctity for it, but merely to show that it has been generally adopted. A 'heretical' view has recently been put forward by Zander, who holds that the essence of prose-rhythm is to be found in *iteratio* and that any rhythm is good, if it is

repeated.¹ I venture to recognise in de Groot another 'heretic,' a word which I use with all respect, and do not regard as a slur.

De Groot's theory is founded upon some remarks made by the late A. Thumb, in the fourth edition of Brugmann's *Greek Grammar* (1913), pp. 666-672. Thumb says of previous enquirers, that they have committed an error of method in confining themselves to the rhythm of the clausula without taking into account the 'immanent' rhythm of the languages, as found in those parts of the sentence which are supposed to be rhythmical. He refers to a paper of Marbe, published in 1904, in which, when discussing the rhythm of German prose, he takes as his guiding principle the interval between accented and unaccented syllables. Thumb transferred this principle from accent to quantity, which in Greek or Latin replaces accent. His method was to take a hundred syllables of Demosthenes, Plato, or Xenophon, and to tabulate the percentages of cases in which one to six shorts are found between two long vowels.

Thumb has found an enthusiastic disciple in de Groot, who has a very low opinion of the orthodox school. He has some kind words for Zander, whom he terms *vir clarissimus* (*N.L.* p. 30), and whose Latinity he praises in somewhat extravagant terms (*ib.* p. 27). For all others his motto is that of Lord Fisher, 'Sack the lot.' He treats the statements of ancient authorities with equal contempt and scraps them all, except the *a priori* speculations of Aristotle, which he mentions with respect (*Hb* pp. 61-3). The only true method, he says, is to collect statistic material (*ib.* p. 101).

Thumb's complaint that writers had neglected to enquire into the 'immanent' rhythm of the language has lost much of its force since the appearance of Zielinski's work on the *durchgehende Rhythmus* or 'constructive' Rhythm, as he calls it, in 1914.² In this Zielinski

¹ Cf. *C.R.* 1916, pp. 53-5.

² Cf. *C.R.* 1916, pp. 22-6.

investigates the rhythm of the *κόμμα* and the *κῶλον* and compares it with the rhythm of the final clausula, his conclusion being that the smaller divisions exhibit a similar rhythm, but in a diluted form. He compares the final clausula to 'cream,' the clausula of the colon to 'the milk of commerce,' and that of the comma to 'skimmed milk.' We may continue the simile by likening the residue to milk which has been not only skimmed but watered. It is strange that de Groot nowhere alludes to this work, and more than once asserts that no one has applied the comparative method to the body of the sentence and its relation to the final clausula. His silence might be thought due to contempt for Zielinski's methods, but this would not account for the omission of the book in the copious bibliography, which includes Zielinski's other contributions to the study of the subject. It is difficult to suppose that he has not seen Zielinski's work, in view of some terminological similarities, *e.g.* the use of 'quotients' for 'positive' and 'negative' clausulae (*Hb* pp. 34, 64, *cf.* Ziel. p. 13). It is, therefore, very odd that he has not made any direct reference to it.¹

De Groot describes his own method thus (*Hb* p. 18): 'I investigated each combination of a fixed number of syllables, *e.g.* 6, 7 or 8' (*i.e.* in passages from various authors consisting of 1000 syllables each). 'On practical grounds I took seven and added—the reason why will be exhibited later on—an eighth, the quantity of which was left out of account. We thus get $2^7 = 128$ possible series. There are *e.g.* 7 short, 6 short and 1 long, 5 short and 2 long syllables, etc.' Unfortunately, he does not give a reference to the place 'later on' where the reason is exhibited, and I did not succeed in detecting it. Also, he frequently discusses other combinations, *e.g.* of 4 or 5 syllables (*ib.* pp. 37, 52, 61, etc.), thereby puzzling the reader. The 128 possible forms are given pp. 178 ff., but it needs careful search to identify a particular form in the multitude.

De Groot follows throughout the plan suggested by Thumb. He considers the clausula in relation to non-metrical parts of the sentence in the same author, also to writings of other authors who did not use metre. He says that 'better metre is not the "best" clausula, *i.e.* neither the most frequent form at the end of the sentence, nor the form which is most favoured at the end of the sentence, as compared with the metre of the whole sentence. On the contrary, it is the form the frequency of which most deviates from non-metrical prose' (*Hb* p. 145). Elsewhere, he distinguishes between negative and positive clausulae. The first are those which do not increase in frequency at the end of the sentence, and the second are those that do. He expresses the distinction by the use of a *plus* sign for a positive form and a *minus* sign for a negative. Thus, where the figures for the body of the sentence and the end are respectively 9.0 and 11.2, the form has the quotient (+), while where they are 4.1 and 4, it has the quotient (−). If the relation between them is 1 to 2, *e.g.* 4 and 8, the quotient is 2 (+). Under their system a form which occurs but rarely in the final clausula may receive a higher place than one which occurs frequently.

In order to illustrate de Groot's methods, we may take the simplest possible case, viz. Zielinski's Form I. (−0−−0). According to Zielinski's tables, this clausula occurs 4184 times in Cicero's speeches, its percentage being 23.3 of the total. Any reader who once has his attention called to the form cannot fail to note its omnipresence, especially in what Zielinski calls the γ type, *i.e.* when there is a caesura after the second syllable, *e.g.* *mōrtē vicistis*. De Groot (*N.L.* p. 14) allows that Cicero preferred 1 γ to other forms of 1, but on p. 5 the only instance which he gives of this clausula is 1 β , which is rare in Cicero and was avoided by later writers. On p. 8 he assigns to it a quotient value of 1.6 (*i.e.* its occurrence at the end of the sentence as compared with its occurrence elsewhere is as 1.6 to 1). It is thus a weak positive form, and ties with another at the foot of a list of eleven forms. On the other hand, the first

¹ Since this was in print Professor Sonnenschein has pointed out to me a solitary reference, *N.L.* p. 30 n.

place is given to the sequence -οο-ο-ο, which has the quotient 3·1. This form would seem to correspond to Zielinski's iii.², i.e. --οο|-ο|-ο, which according to his statistics (*Clauselgesetz*, p. 105) occurs 243 times only in the speeches. According to de Groot, however, it is Cicero's favourite form. On p. 31 he says that it is *numerosior atque iucundior* than -ο--ο, and adds that the *ἔσση ὕλεαίτιρ* clausula (= Zielinski's 1²) is *numerosior* than -ο--ο and the double cretic (Zielinski's 2), *quamvis infrequentior*.

This is a very surprising conclusion, and the average reader must rub his eyes and suspect that there is something wrong with a method which yields such a strange result. He will probably reflect that the low quotient assigned to 1 is due to Cicero's excessive fondness for this form, which leads him to employ it continually throughout the sentence as well as at the end.

After this simple example of the new method, we may turn to the more difficult problems presented by Greek. De Groot takes Thucydides as an example of a non-metrical writer, though he does not deign to notice Cicero's remark to the same effect (*Orator* 219). He does not, however, express himself very clearly on the subject. Thus on p. 88 he speaks of this view as a hypothesis, and on p. 110 speaks of the metre of Thucydides: he also frequently speaks of Thucydides' clausula. A large amount of room is assigned to Plato, whose rhythm is so elusive that it has generally been left alone, as *sui generis*. It is pleasant to be able to award praise, and I recognise many useful observations in this part of the Handbook. De Groot shows that there is what Zielinski terms a law of development in Plato, viz. that in his later dialogues he prefers a series of short syllables. Isocrates, whose prose has always seemed to me more metrical than that of any Greek writer before the Asiatics, and to anticipate in many ways the system of the Latins, is not discussed, though tabulations of his clausulae are given (p. 189). De Groot's conclusions about Demosthenes and Isocrates, whom the ancients regarded as the chief masters of prose-rhythm,

are very surprising. He tells us (p. 111) that Demosthenes has only one favourite form, viz. the double trochee. To this (p. 34) he assigns the remarkable quotient + +, on the ground that its frequency at the end of the sentence as compared with its frequency in the sentence is as 18·9 to 12·4. On the other hand, the double spondee, which is very nearly as frequent at the end of the sentence (18·7), is given a *minus* quotient, because it is still more frequent elsewhere (19·0). Isocrates (p. 188) is 'said to have favoured every form with a long penultimate! On p. 114 the fourth paeon (οοοο-) is said to be the 'typical' Greek clausula, and by way of proof we are told that 'it is specially mentioned by Aristotle.' De Groot proceeds to remark that it was avoided by Demosthenes, and does not play any part in the metre of Isocrates. He only quotes for its use the later works of Plato, especially the *Laws*. It does not strike him that Aristotle was a pioneer in the science of prose-metre, and that this early guess may have been unfounded.

De Groot's book is very difficult, partly because his point of view is hard to grasp, but chiefly because his methods of demonstration are not clear. The chief defect is that he seldom quotes passages from ancient authors, and merely gives figures and percentages without showing the reader how he gets them. This tends to create suspicion, especially when the statistics or conclusions seem strange. Also, he does not always define his terms. Thus, it is by no means clear what he means by a clausula, whether it is the end of a sentence, or of a colon, or of a comma. On one occasion (*Hb* p. 27), where he quotes a passage of Thucydides, he clearly uses it for the end of a κόμμα or κῶλον, while on others he uses it for the end of the sentence. Generally, however, it is uncertain in what sense he uses the term, as he does not quote passages, but merely gives figures. I notice a similar uncertainty in his attitude towards 'resolution,' i.e. the substitution of two shorts for one long syllable. Thus (*Hb* p. 57) he recognises that -ο ο-ο (= 1²) is a by-form of -οο--ο (= 1), and allows that

the analogy of verse-metre may be applied with caution to prose (p. 125), but elsewhere (p. 95) says it is 'most arbitrary' to suppose that two short syllables can be substituted for one long one. Further, his style is discursive, and he makes obscure statements, which would be much clearer, if he gave at once information which occurs later on. Sometimes he appears to contradict himself. Thus (*Hb* pp. 74-5), when discussing the use of hiatus in Plato's prose, he says: 'The number of hiatus in Plato's former works varies between 0.44 and 5.85 a page. In the later works this frequency varies between 31.18 and 45.87.' The natural meaning of this sentence, at any rate in English, is that hiatus is more frequent in the later than in the earlier dialogues. This, however, is contrary to de Groot's whole argument, which is that in the later dialogues hiatus was avoided. The meaning here, therefore, is very dark. Frequently, mathematical formulae are employed which are unintelligible

to the ordinary reader. Some of his tables and curves are to me incomprehensible.

The distribution of longs and shorts throughout the sentence, with which Thumb was concerned, seems to be an interesting subject, and it is possible that valuable results may be arrived at, especially in connection with the development of a particular writer's style. Zielinski, before Thumb, had already formulated his Law of Equipoise (*Clauselgesetz*, p. 31), which tends to produce a balance between the long and short syllables in a sentence. This seems to explain many of the phenomena noticed by Thumb and de Groot. I cannot, however, agree that students of metrical prose should start with the ὕλη of the sentence. To quote again Zielinski's simile, we should begin with the cream, not with the milk and water.

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SHORT NOTICES

Spirit, Soul, and Flesh. (Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature related to the New Testament. Second Series, Vol. III.). By ERNEST DE WITT BURTON. 10×7½. Pp. 214. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918. \$2.00 net (postage extra, weight 20 oz.).

THIS is a lexicographical study of the words *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, and *σάρξ*, and their Hebrew equivalents, undertaken with a view of throwing light upon the interpretation of the words as used in the New Testament. The writer confines himself to his allotted task, and declines to enter tempting psychological and anthropological by-paths. The first chapter deals with the Greek words down to Aristotle, the second with the Hebrew Old Testament, the third with later Greek writers, the fourth with Greek writers of the early Christian period, the fifth with Jewish-Christian documents, the sixth with

magical and kindred texts, and the last with the New Testament.

In the classical period there is no antithesis of *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ*, nor even of *ψυχή* and *σάρξ*, though there frequently is of *σῶμα* and *ψυχή*. Anaximenes declared that *πνεῦμα* καὶ ἀήρ encompass the whole world. λέγεται δὲ συνωνύμως ἀήρ καὶ πνεῦμα, says Stobaeus, discussing Anaximenes (*Ecl.* i. 10. 12). According to Cicero, *De nat. deorum* i. 10. 26, Anaximenes made ἀήρ God. So we are approaching the equation *πνεῦμα* ὁ Θεός (*Jn.* iv. 26). However, Posidonius was the first definitely known to have used *πνεῦμα* as a predicate of God. Xenophanes, in the sixth century B.C., said the soul was *πνεῦμα*, i.e. evanescent as breath. In Aristotle's day some found in *πνεῦμα* the informing principle of all things (except man). The Stoics agreed that the *ψυχή* is *πνεῦμα*, but added *ἐνθερμον* and used *πνεῦμα* rather in the sense of Aristotle's day. Sextus Empiricus was

the first to identify the *πνεῦμα* in man with that which is in animals, plants, etc. The soul, practically universally in Greek writers, denotes the human soul as that in which reside life, emotion, thought, and will. *Σάπξ* has no ethical significance either in Jewish or non-Jewish writers.

Coming to the New Testament, we find the words based rather on Old Testament than Hellenic usage. The New Testament peculiarities are most strongly marked in St. Paul, who may have originated new shades of meaning. *Πνεῦμα* has become an individualising instead of substantial term; it is most frequently used of the Spirit of God. In Paul for the first time *πνεῦμα* is exalted over *ψυχή*; it has become the generic term for incorporeal beings. *Σάπξ* has taken on an ethical significance, and denotes the hereditary impulse to sin.

A monograph on this scale, without a single superfluous word, arranged with great clearness and singularly readable, is obviously of considerable value.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

The Origin of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

By RENDEL HARRIS. 8vo. Pp. 41.
Longmans, Green, and Co., 1919.
2s. 6d. net.

THE object of this 'popular exposition,' as Dr. Harris calls it, is to explain, without recourse to unknown tongues, the grounds for maintaining 'the existence of a lost book of the first age of Christianity, made up out of quotations from the old Testament, and also the existence of a lost Christian doctrine of the first century, according to which Jesus was defined as the "Wisdom of God."' No doubt, to most good Bible readers, the suggestion of either a lost doctrine or a lost book will come with something of a shock. But Dr. Harris puts his case gently and persuasively, with a delicate regard for the 'weak brother.' As to the lost book, he demonstrates very cogently that the *Logia* of Papias was not our *St. Matthew*, but a collection of O.T. prophecies used in the early Christian propaganda,

which was more or less identical with Cyprian's *Testimonies* and with the MS. *Testimony Book* (headed with the name of Matthew) which Dr. Harris himself has discovered at Mt. Athos. The lost doctrine is the Sophia-doctrine which, as is here argued, goes back to Prov. viii. 22, and thus is earlier and more truly Hebraic than the Logos-doctrine; and accordingly the Pauline doctrine (in Col. i. 24) is not a Logos-doctrine, but a Sophia-doctrine. All the same, it might be argued, with some plausibility, that the Logos-doctrine also has roots that reach far back into the O.T. ('God spake and it was made,' etc.)—as I once pointed out in an essay on 'The Logos in Greek thought.' Be this as it may, Dr. Rendel Harris's 'little tract,' with its ingenious solutions, is quite as exciting as a detective story.

R. G. B.

A Grammar of New Testament Greek.

By J. H. MOULTON. Vol. II. Part I.
8vo. Pp. x + 114. Edinburgh :
T. and T. Clark. 1919. 7s. net.

MR. W. F. HOWARD, to whom has fallen the task of completing the work designed by the late Dr. J. H. Moulton, informs us in his Preface that Vol. II. of the *Grammar* is to be published in three Parts, of which the first now lies before us. It will be remembered that the first volume, of Prolegomena was issued in 1906. This second volume, which deals with Accidence and Word-formation, begins with an Introduction of 34 pages, which serves to supplement the earlier Prolegomena, and bring it up to date by a brief but very valuable survey of the characteristics of N.T. Greek in the light of more recent discussions. After this introductory matter, we come to Part I proper, which treats of phonology and writing, and contains a mass of technical detail as to word-forms, spellings, inflexions, and so forth, expounded and illustrated, in the light of MSS. and papyri, with that unique wealth of erudition and accuracy of scholarship which mark all Dr. Moulton's writings on the subject which he had made so peculiarly his own. Needless to say, the *Grammar*, when

completed on these lines, will be quite invaluable to every serious student of N.T. Greek; and even the outsider may cull much that is both interesting in itself and suggestive also in its bearing on problems of 'higher criticism' from the lucid pages of the Introduction. Mr. Howard deserves both thanks and commendation for the care and competence with which he has performed his task as editor.

R. G. BURY.

Caesar's Gallic War (IV. 20-38, and V.).

Partly in the original, and partly in translation. Edited by R. W. LIVINGSTONE and C. E. FREEMAN. Oxford University Press: 1919.

SCHOOL editions of Caesar are almost endless in number. They differ little from one another, and the marvel is that they find a market. It is rather a reproach to scholarship that so much time and trouble should be expended in editing and re-editing well-known authors like Caesar, Horace, and Virgil; and that competent scholars do not turn their attention to less frequently edited authors, or parts of authors. For example, there is no adequate edition, in English, of Ovid's *Fasti*.

But the present book is on somewhat different lines from the majority of School editions. The idea is to translate about two pages of 'Caesar' into English for every one page left in Latin. The system—which is apparently new—has several advantages: more can be read than under the old method; more attention can be given to the subject-matter; and the English portions can be usefully employed for retranslation into Latin prose. The experiment is a good one, and will doubtless be extended to other authors (Livy is a case in point.)

The editors have done their work well, as might be expected. The notes are not too long, and they are scholarly. These notes are not confined to the Latin portions only. We deprecate the use of special vocabularies; the old method of consulting a dictionary was all to the good. But publishers are inexorable; and text-books for middle-form use are nowadays considered incomplete without a vocabulary.

The 'format' of this edition is attractive; the print is large and clear, margins are wide, and the paper is good. Schoolmasters would do well to make trial of the book; it is one of the best of its kind we have yet seen.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Winchester College.

OBITUARY

R. H. HORTON-SMITH, K.C., M.A.

MR. HORTON-SMITH, formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, who died on November 2, 1919, was a classical scholar, who, despite his professional duties, retained his early interest in the classics until the end. He was Fourth Classic and Senior Optime in 1856, and won the Members' Latin Essay prize. He was for a time Classical Lecturer at King's College, London, and in 1894 he brought out

his *Theory of Conditional Sentences in Greek and Latin*; nor did he forget the graces of scholarship, as he showed in his elegiac rendering of 'Lead, kindly light.' His place in law, politics, and society was distinguished, but that falls without our province, and it is sufficient to quote the words of an obituary notice: 'For such a combination of law and learning we must go back to Serjeant Talfourd.'

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list, if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Aristotle* (Meteorologica, Books I.-IV.). Edited by F. H. Fobes. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xlviii + 234. London: Humphrey Milford, 1919. Cloth, 15s. net.
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ERRATA.

P. 141, footnote 4, for *dehiscas* read *dehiscat*.

P. 153, 'A passage of Fronto,' *sub fin.*: for *remus igitur* read *remus ergo*.—I. W. E. P.

P. 169, delete 'Braunholtz (G.E.K.) Harley MS.,' etc.; and in next line insert 'Braunholtz (G.E.K.)' before 'notice of Enk's Gratti,' etc.

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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

CORNIFICIUS AS DAPHNIS?

CORNIFICIUS, the poet, orator, and man of public affairs, to whom Catullus sent what seem to be his last verses, was by no means the least significant of the 'new poets.' We still have the letters which Cicero sent him, with a copy of the *Orator* that had been written chiefly for the purpose of combating the programme of the literary group to which Cornificius belonged. Cicero there, with charming deference to a man at least twenty-five years younger than he, writes: 'Your absence has given me the courage to write some things of which you, I fear, will not approve.'¹ As though Cornificius, had he been at Rome, would have overawed him! This was after the Atticist leaders Calvus and Calidius had died, and I think we may assume from Cicero's tone that Cornificius had inherited the mantle from them.

Later tradition played havoc with the reputation of Cornificius, probably because, having died in the defence of the republican cause, he was ignored by the powerful Augustans, at whose mercy lay the fame of their immediate predecessors. Curiously enough the Virgilian scholiasts constantly connected him with characters of Virgil's *Eclogues* in the most confusing manner, now as a friend, now as an enemy of Virgil.

Wissowa (Pauly-Wissowa, IV. 1628) has definitely shown that in the earlier, the more reliable, tradition the two men are assumed to be friends. Asconius, who wrote a pamphlet, *contra obtractatores Vergilii*, does not mention this

poet as one of them: Macrobius twice assumes that Virgil imitates Cornificius (VI. 4, 12; VI. 5, 13); the Verona scholiast on *Eclogue* VII. 22 cites the opinion of commentators who thought the highly praised Codrus was our poet, and Philargyrius on *Eclogue* III. 106 quotes Cornificius as repeating words heard from Virgil himself. Indeed, a study of Virgil's early works and the theory of art expressed there will show that Virgil, even after becoming a member of the Augustan classicist group, remained loyal to his devotion toward the 'new poets,' and that it was the fashion to consider him as one of that group.²

There is, in fact, good reason for the opinion cited by the Verona scholiast that the Codrus of the seventh *Eclogue* was Cornificius.³

Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi
carmen,
quale meo Codro, concedite (proxima Phoebi
versibus ille facit).

The guesses of the scholiasts regarding the characters of the *Eclogues* are usually stupid and founded upon misplaced fancies, but in this instance a direct quotation from Valgius, one of Virgil's early friends, places the statement on an unusually firm basis. The scholiast (*loc. cit.*) continues:

similiter autem hunc Codrum in elegiis Valgius honorifice appellat et quadam in ecloga de eo ait:

² Cf. Horace, I. 10, 44; Virgil's Theory of Art, *Class. Phil.* 1920.

³ Some also thought Codrus was Virgil, which is, of course, not possible; others that he was Cinna. The last view is precluded by the fact that Virgil mentions Cinna by name, IX. 35.

¹ *Ad Fam.* XII. 17, 2: Me scito dum tu absis quasi occasionem quandam et licentiam nactum scribere audacius, etc. The whole letter deserves reading.

Codrusque ille canit quali tu voce canebas
 atque solet numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos,
 dulcior ut nunquam Pylio profluxerit ore
 Nestoris aut <doc> to pectore Dem<odoci>,
 etc.

From this passage it has been soundly concluded that Codrus was celebrated more than once by Valgius; that he was not merely a fictitious pastoral character in Valgius, since he is connected immediately with Cinna; that he was a poet of the neoteric group standing close to Cinna, and presumably living on into the forties, when Virgil and Valgius were beginning to write.

Now it seems to me that all the probabilities point to Cornificius and no other. Since Valgius and Virgil were very close friends, the Codrus mentioned by the two is probably the same person, and the scholiast who identifies the Codrus of Virgil with Cornificius and with the Codrus of Valgius has given a plausible hypothesis. A second reason for supposing the view of the scholiast right is that besides Gallus (who did not need to be given an assumed name at this time) Cornificius was the only important¹ one of the neoteric poets still living when Virgil wrote his first *Eclogues*—the time, presumably, also of Valgius' *Ecloga*. With what other poet could Valgius, then, have connected Cinna the friend of Catullus? Thirdly, Cornificius is the only poet for whom we can find a reason for such anonymity in Valgius and Virgil. In his case the reason is simple. Though he had, like most of the neoterici, once joined the ranks of Julius Caesar, and had accepted high office from him in Syria and Africa, he had let himself be drawn over by Cicero into the party of Brutus and Cassius, and, true to his promises, had defended Africa against the triumvirs, even after the death of the liberators. It was early in 41, apparently, that he met his death² in the service of the lost

cause. The time had not yet come when his friends could with good grace name him in eulogies, even apart from the consideration that his name was difficult to fit into hexameter verse.

It is tempting to proceed a step further and suggest that Virgil's exquisite elegy, the fifth *Eclogue*, may be a funeral dirge over this very Cornificius. Virgil's *Eclogues* are not mere imitative studies; most of them are parts of his life and thought, and apparently all but the fifth, and possibly the second, contain recognisable references to friends of his circle. Why not the fifth? Virgil shows in the tenth *Eclogue* that he has learned from Moschus the easy lesson of turning the traditional literary dirge into a personal elegy, and it is as difficult for us as it was for Virgil's ancient readers to escape the conviction that a personal experience underlay this elegy. The reference is, of course, not to Caesar: the contents preclude that hasty conjecture. Nor can this be a reference to either of Virgil's brothers: only a poet could deserve the adoration here expressed. It is a poet surely, and one who actually loved Virgil's singers (ll. 48-52), and those singers are not shepherds of the mythical age, but Virgil's contemporaries (ll. 86-87). Hence, unless the *mise-en-scène* is wholly confused in Virgil's mind, Daphnis is a poet, by no means undistinguished, who has just died when the poem was composed. The *Eclogue* is not one of the earlier ones, as its ending proves. It is generally dated in 41 B.C., and it was in 41, probably early in the year, that Cornificius was killed. I know of no other poet whose times would accord with the requirements of this song.

One might proceed to find allusions in the poem. For instance, l. 29 might be taken as a reference to the Syrian wars of Cornificius (Cic. *Ad Fam.* XII. 19) and the *Poenos etiam gemuisse leones* (l. 27) to the scene of his death ('*exstinctum . . . crudeli funere*'); but the reader of Virgil prefers not to press such points. Obviously Virgil has, for good reasons, chosen not to make allusions too striking. Cornificius had, after all, from the point of view of the court, met a just doom as a rebel. Later Virgil did not hesitate to show

¹ Valerius Cato was then a crabbed old schoolmaster, Furius Bibaculus had lost the precarious standing he had once possessed, and Tigidius (Suet. *Gram.* 4) need hardly be considered. Cinna is generally identified with the poet who met his death at Caesar's funeral, though it must be confessed that references to him in Virgil and Valgius make this assumption doubtful.

² St. Jerome, 2, p. 139 Sch.

his admiration for men of the republican cause like Cato, Brutus, and Pompey, but during the very turmoil of civil strife that could not well be done.

It may well be, then, that the song *maestius lacrimis Simonideis* which Catullus at the end begged from his

friend Cornificius was accorded the latter, even without a prayer, by the poet who had been the pupil of both.

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SOME VICISSITUDES OF ETH. NIC. IV. 8, 6.

§ 1.

AMONG the early references to the *Nicomachean Ethics* that Susemihl has collected in the preface to his text of *E.E.* are three extracts from a scholiast on the *Rhetoric*. In the first extract (*Schol. in Rhet.* p. 159, 15 ff.; Spengel, *apud* Susemihl, p. xxv) we are told that Aristotle discussed the varieties of *γελοῖα*, not only *ἐν τοῖς περὶ ποιητικῆς*,¹ but also *ἐν τοῖς Νικομαχείοις* 'Ἠθικοῖς περὶ τὸ τέλος που τοῦ δ'. Then is given the distinction between the truthful man, the boastful, and the ironical.² In the second extract we read *λέγει δὲ ἐκεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης* that Wittiness is *δι' ἀνάπαισιν ἡμῶν εὐρημένα*, and its extremes are *τὸ ἄγριον* and *τὸ βωμολόχον*. The third extract is given by Susemihl thus:

1128a 16. τῇ—25. εὐσχημοσύνην. Pergit idem v. 30 sqq. μεσότης δ' ἐν τούτοις ἢ ἐπιδεξιότης, ἢ χρῆται καὶ ἡ παλαιὰ (sic!) κωμωδία καὶ ὁ ἐλευθέριος καὶ ὁ πεπαιδευμένος.

Susemihl's note of exclamation is not astonishing, since Aristotle, in the passage of the *Ethics* to which the scholiast is referring, attributes to 'the old comedies' *αἰσχρολογία*, of which he disapproves. His words are (IV. 8, 5-6, 1128a 19-25):

ἔστι γάρ τινα πρέποντα τῷ τοιούτῳ [τῷ ἐπιεικεῖ καὶ ἐλευθερίῳ] λέγειν ἐν παιδιᾷς μέρει καὶ ἀκούειν, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἐλευθερίου παιδιὰ διαφέρει τῆς τοῦ ἀνδραποδώδους, καὶ πεπαιδευμένου καὶ ἀπαιδέυτου. ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμωδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν.

¹ *Rhet.* III. 18, 7, 1419b 5; cf. I. 11, 29, 1372a 1.

² Cf. ἡθ κωμωδίας τὰ τε βωμολόχα καὶ τὰ εἰρωνικά καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀλαζόνων (Anon. *περὶ κωμωδίας* at end of Christ's *Poetics*).

τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἢ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπόνοια· διαφέρει δ' οὐ μικρὸν ταῦτα πρὸς εὐσχημοσύνην.

In this passage, as Aspasius saw (Heylbut, p. 125, 32), by *τοῖς μὲν* are meant the authors of the old comedies, by *τοῖς δὲ* the authors of the recent. But in the paraphrase called after Andronicus of Rhodes or after Heliodorus (Heylbut, *Heliodori Paraphr.* p. 82, 25 ff.) the passage is interpreted as follows:

τοῦτο δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κωμωδιῶν γίνεται δῆλον τῶν τε παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν νέων· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς κωμωδίαις οἱ μὲν φαύλους τινὰς καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις ὑποκρινόμενοι γελοῖα καὶ ἡδέα ἡγοῦνται τὰ αἰσχρά, οἱ δὲ ἐλευθερίους τινὰς καὶ ἐπιδεξίους καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ὑποκρινόμενοι τὰ μεθ' ὑπονοίας· ταῦτα δὲ οὐ μικρῶ τινα διαφέρει ἀλλήλων πρὸς εὐσχημοσύνην.

This interpretation makes Aristotle put together the old and the new comedies as presenting, both of them, instances of ribaldry and innuendo. From this just a little carelessness or forgetfulness, so as to cause attention to be concentrated on *ὑπόνοια*, of which Aristotle approves, to the exclusion of *αἰσχρολογία*, will bring us to the view that we find in the scholiast on the *Rhetoric*.

§ 2.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics* misinterpreted as by this scholiast (there is no mention of comedy in the parallel passages, 1234a 4 ff. and 1193a 11 ff., of *E.E.* and *M.M.*) we have, so I would suggest, the ultimate source of the passage on jesting in Cicero, *de Officiis* I. §§ 103-4.

There are differences between the Aristotelian and Ciceronian passages. Cicero considers games as well as jokes;

stops short of making a positive virtue of jesting; and is mainly concerned with its limitations. Still, within limits, he approves of it, and is thus on the side of Aristotle as against the Stoics, who taught ἀστηροῦς . . . εἶναι πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους κ.τ.λ. (Diog. Laert. VII. 117; cf. the description of Zeno, *ibid.* 16; also of Pythagoras, *ibid.* VIII. 20, and *apud* Holden on § 108); he has something like Aristotle's rest-theory of amusement (§ 103), and he has the two species of jests (§ 104). What is particularly to be noticed (for so far his agreement with the *Ethics* might be accidental) is that he expresses the same view of the Old Comedy—that it was distinguished for refined jesting—as the scholiast on the *Rhetoric* thought was the view taken in the *Ethics*. Cicero's words (§ 104) are:

Duplex omnino est jocandi genus: unum inliberale petulans, flagitiosum obscenum, alterum elegans urbanum, ingeniosum facetum. Quo genere non modo Plautus noster et Atticorum antiqua comoedia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt, multaque multorum facete dicta, ut ea quae a sene Catone collecta sunt, quae vocant ἀποφθέγματα.

This view of the Old Comedy, though the notes in Holden show no surprise, surely is unusual. But it is, I submit, readily intelligible if Cicero, or his source, thought this view was taken in the *Nicomachean Ethics*; on this supposition we have to do only with a case of judgment paralysed by respect for supposed authority. The well-known passage *de Fin.* V. 5, 12, shows that the *Nicomachean* treatise was ordinarily attributed in Cicero's time to Aristotle, and was considered to be in any case a faithful exposition of genuine Peripatetic doctrine.

§ 3.

Though it should be granted that this passage (I. § 104) of the *de Officiis* echoes the *Nicomachean Ethics*, it would not of necessity follow that Cicero had read that treatise himself. I would rather suggest that the whole passage—less the local colouring, the mention of Plautus and Cato—may have been taken from Panaetius περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος, Cicero's ordinary source for Books I. and II.

That at least the mention of the Socratics came from Panaetius may seem probable if we compare this passage in the *de Off.* with a passage in the *Brutus* (§ 292, quoted by Holden) and also with a note in Diogenes Laertius. In the *de Off.* we have been told that *philosophorum Socraticorum libri* are full of a kind of jesting that is *elegans urbanum, ingeniosum facetum*. In the *Brutus* Atticus says, *ironiam illam, quam in Socrate dicunt fuisse, quae ille in Platonis et Xenophontis et Aeschini libris utitur, facetam et elegantem puto*. The epithets take us back to our passage of the *de Off.*; but the presence of Aeschines in the list that here replaces the vaguer 'Socratic philosophers' of the *de Off.* takes us off to Diog. Laert. II. 64 (RP 240d). Here we are told that, according to Panaetius, of all the Socratic dialogues (πάντων τῶν Σωκρατικῶν διαλόγων) those of Plato, Xenophon, Antisthenes, and Aeschines were ἀληθεῖς, i.e., I presume, they faithfully represented Socrates. In this passage of Diog. Laert. we get the two passages of Cicero, as it were, united—the *de Off.* with its *philosophi Socratici*, and the *Brutus* with its enumeration of Plato, Xenophon, Aeschines. These three passages, then, taken together perhaps afford some ground for attributing to Panaetius the remark about the Socratics in the *de Off.*; in addition to the general probability that this remark came from Panaetius περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος as being Cicero's main source for *de Off.* I. and II.

But whatever encourages us to believe the mention of the Socratic philosophers to be due to Panaetius, makes it at the same time reasonable also to assign to him the mention of the Old Comedy, and so leave for Cicero only the addition of Plautus as a parallel to the *Atticorum antiqua comoedia*, and of Cato with the *multa multorum facete dicta* beside the Socratics.

There is nothing improbable in the view that Panaetius may have known and used the *Nicomachean Ethics*. This work is thought to have been mentioned by Sotion about 190 B.C. (see the remark in Sussehl, *E.E.* p. xviii with reference to *de Fin.* V. 5, 12); and if

that be correct, we may presume that the book was accessible to Panaetius. Further, what Strabo (*apud* RP 533a) says of his pupil Posidonius, πολλὸν . . . παρ' αὐτῷ . . . τὸ ἀριστοτελίζον, appears to have been true of himself. He avoided the *tristitia* and *asperitas*, the *acerbitas sententiarum* of the Stoics, and *semper habuit in ore Platonem, Aristotelem*, etc. (*de Fin.* IV. 28, 79); and that he approximated to Aristotle on various important points of moral doctrine may be seen from RP 529-31. Though he remained a professed Stoic, we may call him the Antiochus of the second century.

If these two hypotheses be correct, that the attribution of refined jesting to the Old Comedy in *de Off.* I. § 104 is due to *E.N.* IV. 8, 6 misunderstood, and that this misunderstanding was already in Panaetius *περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*, then the *de Off.* preserves a reference to the *Nicomachean Ethics* that comes down from the middle of the second century B.C., for Panaetius, who died about 110 B.C., had finished that treatise thirty years earlier (*de Off.* III. 2, 8). This consideration may lend some interest to, and perhaps in some measure excuse, these speculations.

§ 4.

We have seen how τοῖς μὲν . . . τοῖς δέ in *E.N.* IV. 8, 6 gave rise to misunderstandings of Aristotle's meaning. But in one respect his meaning seems to have been too clear for at least one reader, and the text was boldly changed. Aspasius correctly interprets τοῖς μὲν . . . τοῖς δέ, as was remarked in § 1. But he continues—at least our MSS. of him continue—with (Heylbut, p. 125, 34) διαφέρει δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς εὐσχημοσύνην ἢ φανερώς αἰσχρολογεῖν ἢ μόνον ἐμφαίνειν.¹ Unless this was originally a

marginal note by which a virtuous reader of the commentary relieved his feelings, it was a deliberate alteration of the text (οὐδὲν for οὐ μικρὸν) intended to make Aristotle moral: in the interests of morality its author, who of course may have been earlier than Aspasius, either deliberately introduced a reading he knew to be false, or went on the assumption that Aristotle being virtuous could not have said what the MSS. declared him to have said.

For here in *E.N.* Aristotle goes further in assigning importance to decency of language than in *Rhet.* III. 2, 13, 1405b 8 (see Cope III. p. 32). There he rejects the view that one expression is as decent as another if the meaning is the same; whereas the Stoics afterwards maintained ὁ σοφὸς εὐθυρρημονήσει (*Cic. ad Fam.* IX. 22, 5: cf. *de Off.* I. §§ 127-8, with Holden's notes).² Here the jests he approves for the good man may not only be personal (§§ 7-9), but lewd provided they be clothed in decent language: his good man, being εὐτράπελος and ἐπί-δέξιος, will excel in *double entendre*. For IV. 8, 6 can only mean that ὑπόνοια is suitable to the ἐλευθέρως and πεπαιδευμένος, and the difference between ὑπόνοια and αἰσχρολογία is in expression only, not in thought. This falls very far short of Burke's remark, in the passage of the *Reflections* beginning, 'It is now sixteen or seventeen years since,' that vice itself lost half its evil by losing all its grossness. Still, it is in its degree open to the sarcasm Newman poured on Burke in *The Idea of a University* VIII. 8, as being 'an illustration of the ethical temperament of a civilised age,' for which 'scandals, vulgarities, whatever shocks, whatever disgusts, are offences of the first order.' And St. Paul would doubtless have included Aristotle's ὑπόνοια in the *μορολογία ἢ εὐτραπελία ἃ οὐκ ἀνήκευ* of

¹ A little earlier (vv. 20-2) Aspasius says of the βωμολόχος that he οὐδενὸς φείδεται, οὔτε φίλου οὔτε ἐχθροῦ· ἐνίστε δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν, καθάπερ οἱ τὰς παλαιὰς κωμωδίας ποιήσαντες· ὑπὸ γὰρ βωμολοχίας οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν ἀπείχοντο. Is all this about the gods out of his own head? Or did he find τῶν θεῶν as a variant for τῶν ἄλλων in 1128a 35 and explain both readings? We seem to have the same phenomenon, i.e. explanation of two variants, p. 114, 4 (*E.N.* IV. 3, 27, 1124b 24-6): ἀλλ' ἢ ὅπου τιμὴ μεγάλη ἢ ἔρως· ἐρωτικὸς γὰρ

ὁ μεγαλόψυχος τῶν εὐφῶν καὶ καλῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐφίεται δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, οἷς μεγάλη τιμὴ ἐπακολουθεῖ κτλ. Evidently he found ἔρως instead of, or as a variant beside, ἔργον.

² Contrast with Aristotle's condemnation of the Old Comedy for αἰσχρολογία, Marc. Aur. XI. 6, 2, who describes it as παιδαγωγικὴν παρρησίαν ἔχουσα καὶ τῆς ἀνυψίας οὐκ ἀχρήστως δι' αὐτῆς τῆς εὐθυρρημοσύνης ὑπομνησκουσα.

Eph. v. 4 or the *αἰσχρολογία* of Col. iii. 8.

On this subject Cicero expresses himself in the *de Officiis* more guardedly than Aristotle, but he, too, has had to suffer interpolation in the interests of virtue. The sentences of the *de Officiis* that immediately follow the portion quoted earlier (§ 2) run:

Facilis igitur est distinctio ingenui et liberalis joci. Alter . . . dignus, alter ne libero quidem, si rerum turpitudini adhibetur verborum obscenitas.

Whether out of respect for Aristotle or not, Cicero (or Panaetius), while condemning *αἰσχρολογία*, says nothing of *rerum turpitude* when divorced from obscenity of speech. But two MSS., one of which (see Miller) is of the ninth century, give *si rerum turpitude adhibetur et verborum obscenitas*. If the editors (Miller, Holden, Baiter) be right in rejecting this reading, then we may regard it as a mild instance of the same sort of interpolation as οὐδὲν for οὐ μικρὸν in our MSS. of Aspasius. Its author wanted to make Cicero more moral by causing him to reject *rerum turpitude* and *verborum obscenitas* taken singly and not only in conjunction; and it is fair to observe that he could appeal, both on his own behalf and Cicero's, to *de Or.* II. § 242 (quoted by Holden), *praestet idem [orator] ingenuitatem et ruborem suum verborum turpitudine et rerum obscenitate vitanda*.

§ 5.

The tale of the vicissitudes of *E.N.* 8, 6 does not end here. If we turn to the commentary of Aquinas on the *Ethics*, we find that the *Antiqua* translated ὑπόνοια by *suspicio*. The real purport of the passage was thus completely obscured, and we get (Fretté et Maré, vol. xxv. p. 426) the following

explanation, in which it is to be observed that τοῖς μὲν . . . τοῖς δὲ are taken as in the Paraphrase:

Tertio ibi 'videbit autem' [ἴδοι δ' ἂν τις § 6].

Inducit quoddam signum ad supradicta quod scilicet differat ludus disciplinati et indisciplinati. Et dicit quod hoc maxime apparet considerando tam in veteribus, quam in novis comoediis, id est repraesentationibus, collocutionem hominum ad invicem. Quia si alicubi in talibus narrationibus occurreret aliquod turpiloquium, ex hoc quibusdam generabatur derisio, dum talia turpia in risum vertebantur. Quibusdam vero generabatur suspicio, dum scilicet suspicabantur eos, qui turpia loquebantur, habere aliquod malum in corde. Manifestum est autem quod non parum refert ad honestatem hominis, utrum dicat in ludendo turpia vel honesta.

It was fortunate that Aristotle's taste in jests was thus concealed. Fortunate, too, that the Vulgate did not transliterate εὐτραπεία in Eph. v. 4, but rendered it by *scurrilitas*. Otherwise, Aristotle's authority might have carried less weight when, in the *Summa*, the question had to be decided, *Utrum in ludis possit esse aliqua virtus?* and Aquinas replied, *circa ludos potest esse aliqua virtus, quam Philosophus eutrapeliam nominat*.¹ Aristotle, by making a virtue of joking, and Cicero (*i.e.*, perhaps, Panaetius) by approving *ludus* and *jocus* within limits that he indicates, must have done much to make monastic life more cheerful, despite such *dicta* as Chrysostom's, 'Not God but the devil is the giver of sport.'

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¹ Cf. Rickaby, *Aquinas Ethicus* II. 376. It is pleasant to observe that Amasis' simile of the bow (Hdt. II. 173) had been transferred, a little altered, in *collationibus patrum* to St. John the Evangelist; unde beatus Joannes subintulit quod similiter animus hominis frangeretur si nunquam a sua intentione relaxaretur. In this *Article* are six references to Cicero, viz. one to *de Invent.* I. 17, 25, and five to *de Off.* I. §§ 103-4.

POLYBIANA.

XX. 12. 1.

THE circumstances here referred to are narrated by Plutarch (*Philop.* 15). Philopoemen had attached Sparta to the Achaean League, and in order to

secure his constant support it was decided at Sparta to offer to him the whole fortune of the late tyrant, Nabis, which had been confiscated. It amounted to 120 talents, a huge

sum, but nobody could be found to offer it to Philopoemen, as it was obviously meant as a bribe, and his integrity was well known.

Polybius writes as follows. The extract is contained in the Vatican palimpsest of the *Excerpta de Sententiis*—a MS. notoriously difficult to decipher. Heyse used chemicals to bring out the characters, with the result that the whole MS. became perfectly black, and is or was known in the Library as 'il carbone.'

The words of Polybius are as follows: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐργολάβους πολλοὶ προσφέρουσι τὰς τοιαύτας χάριτας, καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν ποιοῦνται φιλίας καὶ συστάσεις, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλοποίμηνος ὁ προσοίσων ταύτην τὴν χάριν οὐχ εὐρίσκετο τὸ παράπαν. The antithesis ἐπὶ τῶν πλείστων 'in the case of most people,' and ἐπὶ τῷ Φ., 'in the case of Philopoemen' is obvious. The difficult word is ἐργολάβους. I must say that ἐργολάβοι (which has been read or suggested) seems to me necessary. We can render ἐργολάβοι πολλοί, 'many enterprising schemers,' as the word had at an earlier date acquired a depreciatory sense (see the *Thesaurus*). If we adhere to ἐργολάβους it is of course in opposition with χάριτας and means 'to work for their schemes,' but this seems very forced.

The Teubner text makes nonsense of the passage. Following some German scholars, the editor gives ἀλλ' ὥσπερ <τοῖς> ἐπὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐργολάβους <ιν>. The antithesis of οἱ πλείστοι and Φιλοποίμηνος is thus destroyed, and who are οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν πλ. ἐργολάβουιντες? It can only mean 'those who speculate about the largest number of people,' which, as I say, makes nonsense of the whole.

XXI. 21, 6-7 (Buttner - Wolst) = XXXII. 2 (Hultch). αἰεὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους ἐλαττοῦσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὐ τοῖς δίκαιοις, ἀλλὰ τῷ πεπεισθαι τοὺς κρίνοντας συμφέρειν σφίσι τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην. ἐπεῖτοι (ita Bekker: ἐπεὶ τοῖς MS.). χρόνοις οὐ πολλοῖς ἀνώτερον αὐτὸς ὁ Μασσανίσσας διώκων τὸν Ἀφθῆρα τὸν ἀποστάτην μετὰ στρατοπέδου δίοδον ἡγήσατο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν, ὥς

οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης. He then goes on to tell us that in spite of this the Romans assigned the territory to Massanissa. Now in the first place the sentence beginning with ἐπεῖτοι is a proof not of the reason why the Senate decided unjustly, but of the fact that they decided unjustly, i.e. it logically follows not on ἀλλὰ τοὺς κρίνοντας κ.τ.λ., but on οὐ τοῖς δίκαιοις, and this must be brought out in any rendering. Mr. Shuckburgh apparently adopts some other correction of ἐπεῖτοι, and he renders the whole as follows: 'For instance, not many years before this Massanissa was himself at the head of an army in pursuit of Aphther, who had revolted from him, and asked permission of the Carthaginians to go through this territory, which they refused on the ground that it had nothing to do with him.' Now we ask ourselves first why we are told that Massanissa himself was leading his army. I fancy he always commanded in person. The fact is that αὐτὸς does not go with διώκων, but with ἡγήσατο. Next the Carthaginians cannot have assigned as a reason for refusing him permission to traverse the country that he had no claim to it. (This is the proper meaning of οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης. It is difficult to see any precise meaning in Shuckburgh's 'it had nothing to do with him.' He was evidently driven to this by the absurdity of the whole as it stands.) The very fact that Massanissa asked leave to traverse it showed that he acknowledged he had no claim to it. We must, I think, banish the words οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν as an interpolation made by someone who did not understand the whole context, and substitute αὐτῷ for αὐτῶ. All is now clear and we may render a proof of their unfairness is that Massanissa himself only a few years previously, when at the head of an army in pursuit of Aphther, had asked permission to traverse the territory, thus acknowledging that he had no claim to it.

XXX. 25, 12 (Battner - Wolst) = XXXI. 3, 11 (Hultch) = *Athenaeus* V. 195a.

In the procession at Antioch, which preceded the games, there were included βόες εὐτραφεῖς περὶ χιλίους, θεωρία δὲ βραχὺ λείπονται τριακοσίων.

Casaubon corrected *θεωρία* to *θεωρίδες*, and this has been accepted by Kaibel. I have no access to Casaubon's note, and I cannot understand what he meant by *θεωρίδες*. A ship conveying *θεωροί* was called a *θεωρίς*, and female *θεωροί* were also called so. The correction *θεωρία* has, of course, also been proposed, but we cannot think that members of such solemn missions would be assigned a place *behind the cattle* in the procession. I suggest that we should read *βόες εὐτραφεῖς περὶ χιλίας* (not really a change as the original MS. may have had α) *θεωρικαὶ δὲ βραχὺ λείπουσαι τριακοσίων*, 'about a thousand fattened kine and very nearly three hundred kine brought as presents by the *θεωρία*.' The animals, of course, were

all meant for sacrifice; and it was the custom for *θεωρία* sent on such occasions to bring an animal as a present to be sacrificed (see Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 409). It is probable that each *θεωρία* brought only one cow, so that there were, as a fact, nearly three hundred *θεωρία* from different cities. It must have been recognised that in this case a cow was the proper victim. In an inscription (Dittenberger, *S.I.G.* 654, l. 1) the people of Asine ask for permission to send a *θεωρία* to Hermione, *καὶ συμπομπεύειν καὶ ἄγειν βοῦν*. We know from Pausanias that in this case the animal was female. This may be a mere coincidence.

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SOPHOCLEA.

O.T. 971 f.:

τὰ δ' οὖν παρόντα συλλαβῶν θεσπίσματα
κεῖται παρ' Ἀιδῆ Ἰδλυβος ἄξι' οὐδένας.

The difficulty lies in the word *παρόντα*, which the earlier editors were content to understand as *quaecumque edita fuerant*. But that is either pointless if unemphatic, or puts an undue strain upon a simple word. Campbell accepts the former alternative, whereas Jebb, rightly observing that *παρόντα* must be emphatic, translates 'as they stand,' i.e. as contrasted with some far-fetched meaning which might be wormed out of them. But how can *παρόντα* imply so much? Blaydes frankly says: 'I do not see the sense of this passage'; and Nauck and Tyrrell accept F. W. Schmidt's *γέροντα* — an unsatisfactory stop-gap, which some may think slightly grotesque. I suggest the easy change to *προδόντα*, with the sense: 'But anyhow' (with δ' οὖν Oedipus returns to the main theme, neglecting the parenthesis εἴ τι . . . ἐμοῦ) 'the oracles have failed, and Polybus has swept them away into the limbo of oblivion.' For the intransitive *προδιδόναι*, 'to fail,' see Hdt. 7. 187 *προδοῦναι τὰ ῥέεθρα τῶν ποταμῶν ἔστι τῶν*, which answers exactly to Soph. *Al.* 1266 f. *τοῦ θανόντος ὡς ταχεῖά τις βροτοῖς | χάρις διαρρεῖ*

καὶ προδοῦσ' ἀλίσκεται, though this has not been observed. But the passage which to my mind most strongly supports the introduction of *προδόντα* here is Aesch. *Cho.* 269 *οὗτοι προδώσει Λοξίου μεγασθενῆς χρησιῶς*, where also the verb is intransitive.

Ant. 471 f.:

δηλοῖ τὸ γέννημ' ὦμόν ἐξ ὦμοῦ πατρὸς
τῆς παιδὸς· εἰκεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται κακοῖς.

All attempts to explain this passage have broken down owing to the impossibility of justifying *γέννημα* in the sense of 'disposition' (Campbell, *Paralipomena*, p. 16, escapes by way of the equivocal 'breeding'). And yet that is what the context seems imperatively to require. The purpose of this note is to call attention to some external evidence which is generally ignored, although no solution can be satisfactory which does not account for it. I refer to the gloss in A *φώνην* (leg. *φώνημ'*) and to the γρ. τὸ *φώνημα* of Ven. 467. Meaningless of course; but I have no doubt that *φώνημα* was a blunder for *φρόνημα*, as is indicated by the τὸ *σκληρὸν αὐτῆς τοῦ φρονήματος* of Σ and the constant confusion of the derivatives of *φρον-* and *φων-*. Out of many examples see the apparatus for *Al.* 1230 and O.T. 324. The confusion may have

been assisted by the use of the symbol ϕ . The next question is: Why was the gloss introduced? As against the possibility that it was attached to *γέννημα* we must bear in mind that Hesychius interprets *γέννημα* with *παίδιον*, whereas *φρόνημα* is the almost invariable gloss on *λήμα*, as may be seen in Hesych. Phot. Suid. s.v., schol. Ar. *Ran.* 494 *λήμά ἐστι τὸ φρόνημα*. For its suitability see Wilamowitz on Eur. *Her.* 1416 and Kaibel on Soph. *El.* 1424. Viewed in this light, the attempts of Blaydes and Semitelos to introduce *λήμα* into the text are seen to be not without reason. The best of these is Blaydes's *τὸ γοῦν λήμ'*. The hyperbaton of *τῆς παιδός* should not cause any trouble: many similar examples in Sophocles and the other tragedians, due to the conflicting claims of metre and emphasis, may be found in the Index to my edition of the *Fragments of Sophocles*. But I desire to call attention here to the prevalence of this habit for the purpose of interpreting *El.* 1296 *οὕτω δ' ὅπως μήτηρ σε μὴ 'πιγνώσεται | παιδρῷ προσώπῳ νῶν ἐπελθόντων δόμους*. It is generally supposed that *οὕτω* qualifies *σκόπει* to be supplied *per ellipsin*. An ellipse of course there is; but to justify *οὕτω* as an adverbial qualification of the suppressed verbal notion we need some other evidence than Ar. *Ran.* 905, which proves nothing of the kind. I suggest that *οὕτω* really qualifies *παιδρῷ*, for which it prepares the way. It is thus suitably deictic, and betrays the eagerness and anxiety of Orestes as he turns to Electra and observes that her bright looks may betray him to his enemies. 'But there—beware lest when we are within,' etc.

Al. 1244:

ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἡμᾶς ἢ κακοῖς βαλεῖτέ που
ἢ σὺν δόλῳ κεντήσεθ' οἱ λελειμμένοι.

Here my concern is with *λελειμμένοι*, for I am not satisfied that it can bear the meaning which is assigned to it by the schol. (*οἱ ἡττηθέντες ἐν τῇ δίκῃ*) and most of the editors. That is no doubt the meaning required; but *λείπεσθαι* has no juristic associations, and I can find no passage where it is used absolutely as 'to be worsted' or 'defeated,' not even Polyb. 1. 62. 6, where it is rather 'to give in' or 'fall short.' It might well signify 'not to put in an appearance,' as it probably does in Aesch. fr. 37 (cf. Eur. *Herac.* 722). But neither the meaning 'to fall short'—since we cannot supply the appropriate standard (*τῶν Ἀχιλλείων ὀπλων*)—nor 'to be outstripped in the race,' even when supported by Campbell's extraordinary recommendation that 'it adds point to the suggestion of wounding from behind,' is suitable to the context. The alternative of Ellendt that *οἱ λελειμμένοι* means 'those whom Ajax left behind' has met with little favour, and deserves none. Now it is a remarkable fact that the change of *ει* to *η* (for the confusion see Aesch. *Pers.* 344) gives us a word, *λελημμένοι*, capable of exactly that interpretation which the schol. advocates. It is perhaps unnecessary to quote examples from the Orators of *εἰλήφθαι* as 'to be found out'—of those whose crimes have been laid bare; but it should be pointed out that it has a more general sense in Dem. 9. 17 *ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθείην, ταῦτα πράτων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ*. For the form see Soph. fr. 750.

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TERENTIANA.

(Continued from C.R. XXXII. 99-102.)

IN my former paper the metrical treatment of two types of interrogative sentence was considered, and a canon established that (A) any case of *hic* subjoined to *quis* or *quid* is necessarily shortened, and (B) in the phrase *quid est quod, est* is necessarily shortened.

(A) Twenty-two examples were given

of this. To them there fall to be added the following:

- And.* 112 quid hic mihi.
 „ 311 quid hic agit?
Haut. 935 quid hoc quod rogo.
 „ 1000 quid hoc autem?
Eun. 87 quid hic stabas? (*hic* locative).
 „ 671 quid hic tibi reditio?
 „ 1028 quid hoc autemst mali?

Eun. 1034 quid hīc laetus est?

Phor. 177 sed quid hōc est?

" 991 quis hīc homost?

Hec. 198 quod hōc genus.

" *ib.* quāe hāec est?

" 672 quae hāec amentiaſt?

Ad. 149 quam hīc non amavit . . .

" 555 quae hāec est miseria?

and

And. 708 PA. ego hanc uisam. DA. Quo tu?
Quo hīc te agis? PA. Verum uis
dicam? DA. immo etiam.

The total now comes to thirty-eight, or bating the last five on the list (the scansion of which involves a question of elision or non-elision, to be discussed anon) thirty-three unquestioned.

Of refractory instances, two were disposed of in the former paper: to these must be added four more, which I had neglected. I submit that the mere ratio makes an overwhelming probability in favour of supposing that the exceptions are corruptions.

(a) *Phor.* 743:

So. Quid? non, obsecro, es
quem semper te esse dictitasti? CH. St!
So. *Quid* has metuis fores?

According to our canon this *has* should be short; but the case does not call for fire and steel: a mere change of punctuation will mend it. Sostrata's question is not 'Why are you afraid of this door?' but 'What? Are you afraid of this door?' Read it: *Quid? Has metuis fores?* and the pause will protect the quantity of *has* from being shortened by the *quid*.

(β) *Phor.* 792:

NAU. Quid hāec uidentur? DE. Scilicet.
NAU. Virum me natam uellem!

This verse is admittedly obscure. The words *quid haec uidentur?* are usually taken in the sense of *qualia haec uidentur?* or *quid tibi de his uidentur?* In any case it seems to me that the *hui!* from the end of the preceding line should be brought to the beginning of this. So much would satisfy the canon. But would not the words *Hui! Quid hāec uidentur?* (for *uidentur*) give better meaning? They should be assigned to Demipho. 'Whew! What do you think of *her*?'¹ In which case the following *scilicet* belongs to Nausistrata,

whose *uirum me natam uellem* is the simplest commentary on Demipho's question.

(γ) *Ad.* 485-6:

DEM. Pudet: nec quid agam nec quid huic
respondeam

Scio. PAM. Miseram me, differor doloribus!

This is a more difficult case. *Nec quid hūic* is a flagrant violation. But, if the cure is less obvious than the last two, there are some peculiarities in the tradition which heighten the suspicion of disease: in the MSS.² F and P (Ambros. and Paris. both saec. X.) *scio* appears subjoined to *respondeam* at the end of v. 485; and in DGBG for *miseram* we have *intus miseram*. This *intus* the majority of editors have taken for a stage direction intruded into the text. But the metrical enormity of *quid hūic* has been hitherto neglected. When it is reckoned among the factors in the problem, I am inclined to agree with Fleckeisen in taking *intus* into the text (the sense is unobjectionable: τὰ ἐντοσθεν διασπαράττομαι) and to read:

DEM. Pudet: nec quid agam sciō nec quid
hūic respondeam.

PAM. intus, miseram me, differor doloribus!

(δ) Here again we are concerned with the question, 'Can a pause be overridden and the intensity of the interrogative still take effect?'

And. 201:

SI. Quid? Hōc intellexti? An nondum
etiam ne hoc quidem? DA. Immo callide.

Preferable on all grounds, I think, to read,

Quīd? hōcīn intellexti? An nondum etiam . . .

for the emphasis on the pronoun is such that *hocīn*, not *hoc*, seems requisite. Regularly, after *quid* as a separate, introductory interrogative, the next word should have the particle *-ne* attached. Once the *in* had been lost by haplography, the metrical flaw being undetected, *ne* was wrongly added to *intellexti*. One good MS., the Decurtatus (G), omits it.

(B) To the section in which the prosody of *quid-est-quod* was treated, the following is a supplement:

¹ For this phrase cf. *Quis uidet?* in *And.* 702.

² MSS. are cited according to Umpfenbach throughout.

And. 45:

quin tu uno uerbo dic *quid est quod* me uelis?

This *quid est quod* will not do. But the words as quoted by Donatus on *Ad.* 952 offer a solution. There the line runs:

quin tu uno uerbo dic *si quid est quod* me uelis.

This will not scan; but combine it with the fact that in cod. C (Oxonienensis) *dic* is omitted, and we get the reading:

quin tu uno uerbo, *si quid est quod* me uelis.

dic should be understood, not expressed: *quid*, no longer interrogative, no longer affects the quantity of *est*.

These two others are perfectly regular:

Haut. 901 *quid est quod* amplius simuletur . . .

„ 1008 at si rogem iam *quid est quod* peccem . . .

It should be noted in addition that in *quid est obsecro*? there is no pause: the shortening of *est* is therefore normal. But there is nothing to justify the printing of *Haut.* 616 (in Umpfenbach, etc.):

So. Quid est? Isne tibi uidetur? CA. Dixi equidem, ubi mi ostendisti, ilico.

The *est* is illegitimate before the pause. It should be:

So. Quid est? i'n tibi uidetur . . .

One remains outstanding:

Phor. 411:

PH. Hahahae! homo suavis! DE. Quid est? Num iniquom postulo?

I see no remedy but Bentley's, the excision of *est* 'versus gratia': read *quid? num iniquom postulo*? Even Horace allowed this hiatus:

cocto num adest honor idem? (*Sat.* II. ii. 28).

and in Terence cf. *Eun.* 1060.

Dziatzko-Hauler¹ (1913) rejects Bentley's (and Baumann's) correction, quoting a number of passages, none of which is relevant to the question whether the intensity of *quid* can exercise its weakening effect on the quantity of *est*, notwithstanding the full pause.

Ad. 261 is a similar problem:

SY. Quid est? CT. Quid sit?

is an inadmissible scansion. I suggest:

SY. Quid est? CT. Quid? illius opera, Syre, nunc uiuo . . .

If so, this makes another case falling to be added to the list of *quid—ille*.

It seems *prima facie* improbable that such extremely common colloquial combinations as this *quis hoc*, etc., had not an established pronunciation to which the rigid convention of 'position' must give way. More evidence will be offered anon when we come to consider other similar phrases. But it may already be claimed with confidence that the few exceptions, curable in every case by easy remedies, are due to the ignorance of this principle, among others, of Terentian prosody which obtained as early as the fifth century.

Considering then that we have here a certitude for point of departure, and are authorised in saying that uniformly, according to the practice of the spoken language of Terence's day, the intensity of *quis* reduces any case of *hic* combined with it to the value of an enclitic, and shortens a subjoined *est quod*, we can proceed to extend the inquiry. Let us next inspect what pronouns, or other words, in combination with *quis* are correspondingly affected. I will first tabulate Terence's usage of *quis—ille*, *quis—illic*, *quis—iste*, *quis—istic*, *quis—id*, *quis—ipse*. The resulting canon will be simple: any of these pronouns subjoined to *quis* or *quid* is shortened in the first syllable, the intensity of the interrogative reducing that syllable and overruling position.

The annexed list exhibits specimens of them all:

And. 745 DAV. Apud forum quid turbaest! *Quid illic* hominum litigant!

„ 934 SI. *Quid id* credis? CH. Phania illic frater meus fuit. SI. Noram et scio.

Haut. 192 CH. Quid narrat? CL. *Quid ille*? se miserum esse. CH. Miserum? quem minus credere est?

„ 310 CL. Agedum uicissim, Syre, dic *quae illa* est altera?

„ 317 CL. *Quid illo* facias? SY. At enim. . . . CL. Quid enim? SY. Si sinas, dicam. CLIN. Sine.

„ 579 SY. *Quid iste* narrat? CL. Perii! SY. Clitipho, haec ego praecipio tibi?

„ 973 SY. Ere, licetne? CH. loquere. SY. at tuto? CH. loquere! SY. *Quae istast* prauitas?

¹ „ 530 CH. hominem pistrino dignum! SY. *Quem istunc*? CH. Seruolum dico adulescentis.

¹ *Vulg.* SY. Quem? CH. Istunc seruolum. But Syrus asks, 'Whom do you mean by that?' which is *Quem istunc*?

- Phor.* 477 AN. *Quid is fecit?* GE. Confutauit uerbis admodum iratum senem.
 „ 572 CH. Ad me profectam esse aibant. DE. *Quid illi tam diu.*
Hec. 588 SO. quin tua Philumena ad te redeat. PA. quaeso, *quid istuc* consilist?
Ad. 84 MI. Quid fecit? DE. *Quid ille* fecerit quem neque pudet.
 „ 656 ANT. *Quid ipsae?* Quid aiunt? MI. *Quid illas* censes? nil enim.
 „ 438 DE. Sed *quis illic* est quem uideo procul? Estne Hegio?
 „ 677 MI. Cui ueneram aduocatus? Sed *quid ista*, Aeschine.

In detail, these are the examples of *quis, quid—ille, illic*:

And. 237, 745, 843, 853, 937, 963.
Haut. 591, 655, 882.
Eun. 417, 419, 431, 547, 833, 837, 1015.
Phor. 183,¹ 184, 572, 755, 811.
Ad. 556, 656, 662, 665.

That is to say, twenty-five examples, against which there are only two abnormal instances:

(a) *Phor.* 811:

uin satis quaesitum mi istuc esse? Age, fiat. amici nostri quid futurumst?
Quid? illa filia

So read, it is questionable if the pause after *quid* allow *illa*. It is only a matter of punctuation:

quid illa? Filiā
 amici nostri quid futurumst?

‘What about *her*? What’s to become of our friend’s daughter?’ The sentence is improved. For the idiomatic ellipse of the verb and for the double question *cf.* *Eun.* 417, *Ad.* 656, etc.:

(b) *Ad.* 702:

MI. Quid? quam illam? AE. Aequē. MI. Perbenigne! AE. *Quid? ille* ubist Milesius?

The same treatment fits this case as the last. Read:

Quid ille? Ubist Milesius?

‘What about *him*? Where’s the Milesian?’

Next, the combination *quid istuc*:

And. 645, 651, 721, 941.
Haut. 82, 251, 562, 910,² 985, 1053.
Eun. 237, 650, 652, 947.
Phor. 58, 156, 257, 343, 503, 800, 816, 990.
Hec. 588, 743, 874.
Ad. 210, 324, 465, 622, 984.

That is to say, thirty normal examples, against which only two exceptions:

¹ To be read as a troch. dim. catal. like *v.* 191.

² Needlessly mispunctuated in Umpfenbach.

(a) *Eun.* 656:

DOR. Au! ob-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{quid istuc nam. monstri} \\ \text{C}^1\text{DEFGP}(?). \\ \text{quod istuc nam monstri} \\ \text{BC}^2\text{P}(?). \\ \text{quod istuc nam monstrum} \\ \text{A.} \end{array} \right\}$	fuit.
secro,		
mea		
Pythias		

corr. rec. altered *quod* to *quid.*)

think we are justified in calling either *quid istuc* or *quod istuc* an impossibility, and emending to:

quid istuc? Numnam monstrum fuit?

‘What do you mean? Surely not something uncanny? *i.e.* against Nature.’

b *Ad.* 956:

MI. Quid istuc? Dabitur quandoquidem hic
 uo DE. Gaudeo.

The line has been variously emended. For my present purpose it is enough to say that the text is in such a state that it cannot be objected as a valid instance against the overwhelming consensus of passages cited above, and therefore to claim that *quid istuc* is the only prosody known to Terence.

Next the instances of the ‘formula aegre concedentis’ *quid istic?*

And. 572, 849.
Haut. 1053.
Eun. 171, 388.
Hec. —.
Phor. —.
Ad. 133, 350.

No exception.

Next the instances of *quid—iste* or *istic* in combination other than these last:

And. 849, 941.
Haut. 380.
Eun. 121, 705, 1089.
Phor. 995.
Hec. —.
Ad. 388, 644, 677.

Among these are two more cases in which a mere repunctuation solves the apparent difficulty of a disregarded pause.

In *Eun.* 1089 read:

THRAS. Quid isti? GN. Te ignorabant: postquam eis mores ostendi tuos. . . .

Thraso asks, ‘What’s up? What do they say?’ (It is more natural for him to designate them as *isti* before approaching them, than for Gnatho to call them so, standing beside them. For the idiomatic ellipsis of *aiunt* *cf.* *Eun.* 417, *Ad.* 656, etc., quoted above.)

In *Ad.* 388:

SYR. . . . non quod ante pedes modost
Videre sed etiam illa quae futura sunt
Prospicere. DEM. Quid istaec? iam penes uos
psaltrist?

(All the editors punctuate *Quid?* *istaec iam penes uos psaltrist?* But the double question is more characteristic, and the sense more pointed: 'What about that female? Is the chorus girl already a member of the family?')

These regulated, there remain ten examples, no exceptions.

Next of *quid—ipse*. There is only one example:

Ad. 656 *Quid ipsae?* Quid aiunt?

And, to complete the pronouns, of *quid—is* there are three examples in *Phormio*, viz.:

477 *Quid is fecit?*

(which can of course be accounted for otherwise.)

Ib. 185 *Quod cum audierit, quod eius remedium inueniam iracundiae?*

[Dziatzko-Hauler⁴ (1913) is prepared to scan this verse as an iambic octonarius! *Aurem interroga!* as Probus Valerius said.]

Ib. 940 PH. etiam dotatis soleo. CH. *Quid id nostra?* PH. Nihil.

No exceptions.

In conclusion to this part, it will be proper to glance at the question which occurs when the combination of interrogative and demonstrative gives rise to hiatus: e.g. *quae illaec* or *qui istuc*? What is the fact in pronunciation—synaloepha or shortening of the long vowel (or diphthong) in hiatus?

Of the latter event one can cite the following cases, according to the vowels brought into conflict:

ae—a:

Ad. 680 *quae agis.*

e—a:

Phor. 419 *nē agas.*

Ad. 610 *tē amo.*

„ 903 *tē amat.*

em—e:

Eun. 1060 *quēm ego hic.*

i—a:

Phor. 27 *quī aget.*

„ 383 *quī ais.*

Hec. 343 *quī amat.*

And. 191 *quī amant* (cf. Virg. *Ecl.* VIII. 109, and the invariable *ita-me-dī-ament* or *amabunt*).

i—e:

Haut. 537 *quī eros.*

„ 966 *quī erat.*

Phor. 911 *quī erit.*

uoi—o:

Hec. 343 *quōi odio.*

o—a:

Hec. 495, 496; *Phor.* 216; *Ad.* 780 *quō abis.*

u—a:

Ad. 920 *tū ais.*

Since we know that interrogative intensity invariably reduces the quantity of any subjoined case of *hic*, *ille*, *iste*, etc., can we suppose that this intensity varied according to the vowel of the inflexion? Or that, the intensity remaining constant, the reaction of the conflicting vowel altered the fact-of-speech which results? Was the weak *i* prodelided, or were two distinct short syllables heard?

I have not much doubt that in

Eun. 662 *quo ille abire ignauos possit longius*, or in

Phor. 191 *quam hic fugam aut furtum parat?* the first foot is a tribrach and not a trochee.

But the following cases remain in question:

Haut. 310 *Syre, dic, quae illast altera?*

Eun. 947 *quae illaec turbast?*

Hec. 95 *quae illi placerent* (rel. not interrog., but see later).

Ad. 985 *quae illaec subitast largitas?*

Phor. 123 *qui illum di omnes perduint!*

Haut. 708 *nam qui ille poterit esse in tuto?*

„ 562 *qui istic mos est*, Clitipho?

„ 612; *Eun.* 121, 657; *Phor.* 330, 855;

Hec. 103 (six instances of) *quī istuc?*

Ubi? has naturally the same intensity as *quis?* and exercises the same effect; but the examples are less frequent:

And. 607 *ubi illic est*, scelus, qui me hodie . . .

„ 742 CHR. Puer herclest! Mulier, tu adposisti hunc? MYS. *Ubi illic est?*

Eun. 643 *Ubi illum ego scelerosum misera atque impium inueniam aut ubi quaeram?*

Phor. 749 *Ubi illae sunt?* SO. Miseram me! CH. Hém, quid ést? uiuóntne? SO. Uíuit gnáta.

- Ad. 265 *Ūbi illeſt ſacrilegus? SAN. Men
quaerit? Numquidnam ecfert?
occiði!*
 ubi illeſt F.
 ubi eſt ille celeri.
" 569 *Sed eſtne frater intus? SY. Non
eſt. DE. ubi illum inueniam
cogito.*

One doubtful case is

Phor. 727 *DE. Rogabo. CH. ubi illas nunc
ego reperire poſſim cogito.*

but BCFGF unite in the reading

ubi ego illas,

which is normal.

Before taking leave of the interrogatives, it is worth while to record a few sporadic examples where their intensity is exercised not on a pronoun, but on some other word or group of words:

- Eun. 233 *quid īterest.*
" 290 *miror quid ē. Piraeo ābierit, nam ibi
cūſtos pūblice ēſt nunc.*
" 573 *pro eunuchon? CH. Sic eſt. AN.
Quid ēx-ea-re. . .*

(*ex-ea-re, ob-eam-rem, in-ea-re, etc.,*
are recognised groups.)

- " 777 *quid īgnaue? Peniculon pugnare. . .*
Haut. 932 *Quot incommoditates hac re accipies,
niſi caues!*
Hec. 157 *quid īnterea? Ibatne ad Bacchidem?*

(To be punctuated so: the *ne* indicates it.)

We may infer, then, that there were in the Latin of Terence's time a class of *intense* words and a correlative class of weak words, not precisely enclitic, because, unlike enclitics which attach parasitically to any preceding word, the weakness of these is shown by their setting in motion the process called the Iambic Law ('*Breves Breviantes*') whenever they adjoin an intense word.

Not strictly enclitic, neither do they form regular word-groups. A proper word-group is constituted when certain words, by constant collocation to express a composite idea, become slurred and the intervals between them in pronunciation suppressed. Such a group

is pronounced and accented as a single polysyllabic word:¹ e.g.

ānimindūco, fidēmdo, quamobrem, ineare, ita-me-dī-ament, ita-mē-dī-amābunt, in-malām-rem, dī ueſtrām fidem!

etc.

We have to deal with *pairs* rather than groups regularly collocated together; the intense word *dominates*, the weak word *recedes*—to borrow the Mendelian terms:

Phor. 566 *qua uſa īſtuc facies? Dicam in
itinere: modo te hinc amoue.*

uia has no effect on *īstuc*, but as soon as ever *īstuc* finds itself adjoining *quis*, *quid*, its first syllable automatically weakens, and we have *quis īstuc*, *quid īstuc*.

An actor knew what rhythm to start his verse upon from the outset. It was an impossible violation of the spoken pronunciation to make it

qua uſa īstuc facies?

Having thus by exhaustive analysis acquired certain specimens of these combinations, we can extend our knowledge by further observation. What other words, known to have intensity, can be shown to exercise the same dominant effect on these recessive pronouns, *hic*, *ille*, *iste*, etc.?

Those which obviously suggest themselves are the personal pronouns *ego* and *tu*. We know that these are only expressed when emphatic, otherwise the inflexion of the verb is sufficient to indicate the person. We shall expect then to find *ego hūnc*, *tū īstunc*, etc.

The next step will be to see if Terentian practice confirms this hypothesis.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

Glasgow,
January, 1920.

¹ 'In compositis dictionibus unus accentus est non minus quam in una parte orationis ut *malesanus interealoci*,' Diomed. Keil 1, p. 433, [Prisc.] *de Accent.* Keil 3, p. 520; cf. Priscian viii. 88, Keil 2, p. 440, *magisterequitum*. It is enough to refer to Professor Lindsay's writings on the subject.

NOTES

SAPPHO'S NEREÏD-ODE.

THE article on this subject by Mr. J. M. Edmonds on pp. 4-6 of the present volume led me to look at the papyrus (*Brit. Mus. Pap.* 739) with a view to checking the new readings which he gives; and since, though I can claim no authority in the decipherment of literary texts, two opinions are always better than one, it is perhaps worth while to record the results of my examination. This might not have been the case indeed had I agreed with all Mr. Edmonds' readings; but as in one point at least I differ from him very decidedly it seems better to call attention to the fact at once, lest discussion of the question should be started on a wrong track. I give below my conclusions, line by line:

1. 2. *δότε* may certainly be read; as Mr. Edmonds says, a small trace of the *ο* and a larger trace of the accent are visible.

1. 5. Mr. Edmonds is certainly right in now preferring *οσθ* to *ασθ*.

1. 9. *κ' ἔλοι* seems likely to be right. There is a trace of ink which I consider quite inconsistent with *θ*, and which suggests *κ*, *λ*, or possibly *δ*.

1. 13. This is the point in which I differ most decisively from Mr. Edmonds. He thinks that 'the traces suit]σ.' If the letter were *σ* the line of ink should be curved; to me it seems perfectly straight and quite unlike the bottom of any *σ* in the papyrus. Among consonants *μ* (probably not *ν*) or *π*, among vowels *η* or *ι*, are most obviously suggested.

χρω. Mr. Edmonds is right in saying that the bottom of the supposed iota adscript is not to be found, but it is, I think, quite possible that the surface of the papyrus is slightly rubbed here (some of the ink has disappeared from the bottom of *ω*), so that it is hardly necessary to credit the scribe with an erroneous punctuation mark.

1. 18. *χη* is perhaps possible; two traces of ink before the supposed *η* might at need be taken as the top ends of the two strokes of *χ*; but they are

rather closer together, and the second closer to *η* than one would expect, and a greater objection is that the second, under a glass, appears too straight for part of *χ*. I therefore much prefer *ρη*; the trace before *η*, which goes, apparently, straight up, and then turns down to the right, suits *ρ* excellently.

1. 19. Mr. Edmonds reads *κακάν*[, but the mark over *α* is horizontal (*ā*), and though the accent sometimes approaches the horizontal it never elsewhere reaches it. Hence a mark of quantity seems likelier here than an accent.

1. 20. I agree with Mr. Edmonds in thinking]*η* likelier than]*ι*; indeed I seemed to see traces of the stroke connecting the two uprights.

H. IDRIS BELI.

British Museum.

EURIPIDES, *HERACLES* 725.

*δεῦρ' ἐπεσθε, πρόσπολοι,
ὡς ἂν σχολὴν λύσωμεν ἄσμενοι πόνων.*

λύσωμεν σχολὴν πόνων is idiomatic Greek for *λύσωμεν πόνους ὥστε σχολὴν ἔχειν*; cf. *Andromache* (121), *ἄκος τῶν δυσλύτων πόνων τεμεῖν*. Byrde, in his recent edition of the play, says 'σχολή πόνων must surely mean "rest from our toils," and we should then read *λεύσωμεν*.' This is Canter's emendation; but it is unnecessary, as the brachylogy of *λύσωμεν* is most appropriate in an expression of impatience.

R. B. APPLETON.

PLATO, *THEAETETUS* 188B.

*καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῷ μήτε Θεαίτητον μήτε Σωκράτη
εἰδῶσι εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν λαβεῖν ὡς κτλ.*

Jowett: 'For example, he knows neither T. nor S. and yet he fancies that . . .' Geddes has no note. Those who are puzzled by the text, and even more by the translation, may be disposed to consider the following suggestion:

καὶ <ταὐτὸ> τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῷ μήτε Θ. μήτε Σ. εἰδῶτα κτλ.

If ταὐτὸ dropped out, the construction would naturally be misunderstood (the wonder is that it ever was supposed to be understood), and a correction of εἰδῶτα to εἰδῶτι followed.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγέως στρατῶ
αἰεὶ δ'έκαστων τοῦτο βουλευτήριον

(Aesch. *Eumenides* 684.)

is the MSS. reading of the third and fourth lines of Athena's final speech to the jury, before they give their vote, in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*.

The reading δ'έκαστων is impossible, and the emendation, δικαστῶν, which is generally accepted, is unsound, in the first place, because the change from ε to ι is very unlikely, and, in the second, because the apostrophe in δ'έκαστων, which appears in M, is not accounted for.

Verrall's emendation, δεκαστῶν, involves the second objection, as well as being a word invented for the occasion. On the other hand, his surmise that there were ten jurymen seems quite right, especially as while the voting is taking place there are ten couplets spoken.

Cf. Sidgwick, *Eumenides*' Introduction (p. 22), where he says that because twelve couplets are spoken by the chorus at Agamemnon's death, we may take it as a strong proof that there were twelve members of the chorus. He then adds, wrongly as I think, 'we may assume it was the same number in the *Eumenides*.' Now, if the fact that there are twelve couplets in one play proves that the chorus of that play numbered twelve, surely there being ten couplets in another play will prove that there were ten members of the chorus, especially as in each play the couplets occurred at the most critical period. Verrall, apart from this, has put forward a very strong case for ten jurymen. Therefore I suggest that δέκ'αστων be read; the lines running as follows:

ἔσται δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Αἰγέως στρατῶ
αἰεὶ δέκ'αστων τοῦτο βουλευτήριον.

This reading, while in no way altering the sense, needs no change of letters, and also explains the apostrophe in δ'έκαστων, and I should imagine that,

while copying, anyone could make a mistake of putting an apostrophe two letters too soon.

CEDRIC M. RAPHAEL.

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THE MEANING OF ΚΡΙΣΙΣ AS A MEDICAL TERM.

Κρίσις is perhaps the most common and important of Greek medical terms, and is in frequent use in most modern languages; yet there seems some doubt as to its meaning. Thus, Dr. A. J. Brock, in his translation of *Galen on the Natural Faculties* (Loeb Library), renders κρίνειν τὰ νοσήματα (p. 60) 'expels disease by crises,' and explains in a note that κρίσις = elimination, as though short for ἐκκρίσις, a view supported by other scholars. It is, however, contrary to all medical tradition. Galen observes that Hippocrates in the genuine *Epidemics* I. and III. οὐχ ἅπαξ οὐδὲ δις, ἀλλὰ πάννυ πολλὰκις τὴν λύσιν μόνην τοῦ νοσήματος ὀνομάζει κρίσιν, οὐδεμιᾶς οὐτ' ἐκκρίσεως οὐτ' ἀποστάσεως σαφῶς προγεγενημένης (*Crit. Diet.* 2-5. 9. 864 K) (9. 864 Kühn's edition). The clearest definition in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* occurs in *Affect.* § 8 κρίνεσθαι δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇσι νούσοισιν, ὅταν αὐξῶνται αἱ νοῦσοι, ἢ μαραινῶνται, ἢ μεταπίπτωσιν ἐς ἕτερον νοῦσημα, ἢ τελευτῶσιν (6. 216 L).

It is obvious that κρίσις and κρίνω must here have a sense quite distinct from 'elimination,' and Galen has no doubt what it is. He tells us Ἡ κατὰ τὰ νοσήματα κρίσις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις μετενήνεκται σημαίνουσα τὴν ὀξύρροπον ἐν νόσῳ μεταβολήν (in *Hipp. Prog.* 3-6. 18, 231). Stephanus of Athens, in his scholia, puts it in dramatic form:

Τί ἐστὶ κρίσις; κρίσις ἐστὶν ὀξύρροπος καὶ ἀθρόα ἐν νόσῳ μεταβολή. Πόθεν ὠνόμασται κρίσις; ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ κρινομένων. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε ὁ καταδικαζόμενος ἐν μέσῳ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἐστίν, οὕτως ἰδὼν τις νοσοῦντα καὶ ἐν δυσφορίᾳ διάγοντα ἔφη, ἐλέησον, οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος κρίνεται μεταξὺ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου.

A crisis, then, though usually pre-

ceded or accompanied by an elimination or 'abscession' refers to the determination of the disease as by a judicial verdict. This is also the view adopted by Latin writers from Celsus downwards. He says (3. 4) certain days were called κρίσιμοι because on them 'tanquam de aegris judicaretur.'

Dr. Brock would perhaps have done well to have ignored his classical advisers and stuck to the medical tradition, rendering either 'determines the crises of diseases' as Daremberg, or 'brings diseases to a decisive issue.'

E. WITHINGTON.

AN INTERPRETATION OF HORACE ODES III. 3.

IN the winter following the battle of Actium, Octavius was at Samos when tidings arrived that the legions in Italy were getting out of control. Setting out at once, and secretly, we may suppose, he took ship for Brundisium and was twice almost shipwrecked, once just north of the Peloponnesus, then again opposite the Ceraunian cliffs. In each storm part of the escorting squadron was sunk and his own ship was terribly shattered, losing both rigging and rudder.¹ Nothing daunted by this alarming experience, having quickly overawed the soldiers and settled their claims, he put out to sea once more, although it was the dead of winter, and succeeded in reaching his base with such celerity that the news of his departure and his return arrived in Egypt at the same moment. It is to these exploits that Horace seems to refer in our ode, particularly in the second stanza:

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava iubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster

Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
Nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis;
Si fractus inlabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinae.

This leads us to the inference that the *instans tyrannus* is none other than Antony himself, whose strength was alarming even in Italy. The fear of his

designs is well expressed in the third poem of Virgil's *Catalepton*, which contains the line

Hic graveservitium tibi iam, tibi, Roma, ferebat.²

The *civium ardor prava iubentium* may be referred to the bold stand taken by Sosius and others in favour of Antony and the equally bold resistance of Octavianus in a famous meeting of the Senate.³ It thus appears that Horace is glancing at events from the year preceding Actium down to the return of Octavianus and the settlement of affairs in 27. The title of Augustus was conferred in January of this year, and paeans of victory and congratulation would be in order.

It also becomes manifest, with this interpretation, why Hercules should be mentioned. Octavianus, for the first time in his public career, proved himself a daring traveller, spending no less than two years away from Italy engaged in arduous labours for the good of mankind. Moreover, since dangerous voyages were undertaken at the most forbidding season, it is appropriate to mention Pollux also, who connotes his brother, gods of the sea, gleaming stars. Augustus reclining in the company of these heroes and sipping the purple nectar affords suggestion of Bacchus, who with his yoked tigers serves for a transition to the chariot of Mars and to Quirinus.

We now come, in the speech of Juno, to a problem that must sorely have puzzled the Augustans whenever they endeavoured to acclimatise the story of Aeneas and his settlement in Italy. The legend implied, of course, the identification of the Greek Hera with the Roman Juno, but how could that spiteful goddess, the implacable enemy of the Aeneadae, ever be transformed into the benevolent Juno, endeared by such epithets as *Lucina*, *Regina*, and *Sospita*, the intimate deity of every woman, the protectress of Rome? On what occasion in history did she lay aside her hostility? Horace and Virgil offer different but similar solutions of the difficulty. The former represents the conversion of the goddess as taking

¹ Suetonius *Vita*, 17; Dio. 51, 4.

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² See *A.J.P.*

³ Dio. 50, 2.

place at the death of Romulus, or before it, when she consents to his assumption into the heavens upon condition that no attempt shall be made to rebuild the fallen Troy.

While there may be in this some reference to a project often thought of by the Romans, it is also possible that we have rather an ethical innuendo, a moral drawn from the fate of Antony, the terrible power for evil of an Oriental court, the spiritual insecurity of tyranny. East is East and West is West, and the two cannot be mingled. Juno is therefore only uttering the sound political judgment of the Italian mind enlightened by costly experience. Yet the moment is happily chosen for simulating the needed reconciliation of Juno. The Hellenic rulers of Egypt, the modern Argives, have assailed the modern Trojans, the disguised Aeneadae, and have been for once and all repulsed. What can the queen of heaven do but gracefully admit the modern Romulus and become a benevolent Juno? Such is the *natural* implication of the ode.

Virgil, who faced the same difficulty at a later date, chooses the moment before the death of Turnus for the reconciliation (XII. 791 ff.), and there is a marked similarity of treatment. Juno is reminded that Aeneas is to become a deity under the title *Aeneas indiges*, and to this she tacitly consents, just as she assented to the assumption of Romulus, but she again makes stipulations. These are the preservation of the Latin name, the Latin tongue, and the Latin dress, trifling matters, it might appear, compared with the imposing demands of Juno in the ode of Horace. Yet Virgil could not overlook the plain contradictions of the Aeneas legend, the continuity of Latin speech, the ancient glory of the Latin name, and the distinctive Roman dress. These obstacles

to the credibility of the Trojan immigration he must explain away, and he must eliminate the resistance of Juno before the death of Turnus. The gods must abandon the failing cause. These necessities afford the motives for that last conference of Jupiter and Juno. It is thereby made perfectly plain that the Oriental brought nothing to Italy but his gods. The honours are divided. The heart of the race, its garb, tongue, and name, are conceded to be Italic:

Sit Romana potens Itala virtute propago.

NORMAN W. DE WITT.

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MARTIAL II. XIV. I.

nil *intemptatum* Seliis, nil linquit *inausum*.

CAN Martial have possessed a text of the Eighth *Aeneid*, which on (VIII. 205, 206)

at furiis Caci mens, ne quid *inausum*
aut *intractatum* scelerisve dolivi fuisset

had the reading of the second hand of the Medicean *intemptatum*?

The whole epigram seems full of verbal reminiscences of the Virgilian story of Cacus' 'maesta iuvenca,' recalling Virgil's 'forma superante iuencas'; 'Grylli tenebras' a reminiscence of 'fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris'; 'fugit ilicet ocior Euro' recalled in 'currit ad Europen,' and possibly 'centum pendentia tecta columnis' was suggested by 'saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem.'

A good deal of course depends on the relation of place, the Porticus Pollae in the Campus Martius not being far from the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium.

EXUL.

Curepipe Camp,
Curepipe, Mauritius,
April 13, 1918.

REVIEWS

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI XIII.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri XIII. Edited, with Translations and Notes, by B. P. GRENFELL, D.Litt., and A. S. HUNT, D.Litt. With six plates. Egypt Exploration Fund, and Humphrey Milford for the Oxford University Press. 1919.

ANOTHER volume of these precious documents, looked for with more eager anticipation than a new *Clayhanger* by Arnold Bennett, has now appeared: this contains literary documents, and we learn with pleasure that there are more to follow—including a papyrus of Theocritus. The editors' complete mastery of their subject, and their thorough and competent treatment, are known now to all the world; and our pleasant task is not to criticise, but to indicate some of the more interesting items.

A vellum leaf (1594), containing portions of *Tobit* XII., nearer to BA than to N, appears to represent an earlier and better tradition than either B or A, and a recension deserving of respect but independent of N. The three texts are given side by side, along with the cursives and the Old Latin versions. Among the other biblical fragments, 1597 although very defective, seems to represent 'a very ancient Greek text akin to the Western'; 1601-3 come from works not otherwise known. No. 1601 is from a treatise on the Passion, the others are from homilies; the theme of the last would not please the modern feminist.

The other documents are classical. No. 1604 has new fragments from Pindar's *Dithyrambs*, one being the first thirty lines of an ode for the Thebans which is often referred to by ancient writers, the metre solemn and simple, based on the epitrite. This is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Pindar, a noble piece of verse, containing moreover an allusion to the poet himself, ἐμὲ δ' ἐξαίρετον κάρυκα σοφῶν ἐπέων Μοῖσ' ἀνέστασ' Ἑλλάδι καλλιχόρῳ εὐχόμενον βρισαρμάτοις ὄλβου τε?

Θήβαις]. A few scholia are added. The short mark on the last *a* of Οὐρανίδαι (line 7) is of course correct, as there was a distinction in the pronunciation between nom. -αι and dat. -αῖ; the editors' note does not seem quite clear on this point: the vowel *a* is short, but the diphthong *ai* long. No. 1614 is the first Egyptian document containing parts of the extant odes, namely *Ol.* I., II., VI., VII. (probably fifth century). These fragments carry back the evidence for Pindar's text seven centuries, and as far as they go confirm the best MSS.: but II. 39 reads πατρωίαν, probably for πατρώϊ' ἄν, and VI. 77 ὄρος. No. 1606 has the three last columns from Lysias πρὸς Ἱπποθέρσην ὑπὲρ θεραπαίνης and against Theomnestus; the former was concerned with the doings of the Thirty Tyrants, and it confirms Grote's view of the terms of the amnesty arranged in 403. Another orator, supposed to be Hyperides, defends Lycophron in 1607. No. 1608 is part of the dialogue Alcibiades, by Aeschines Socraticus. An important historical fragment, 1610, ascribed to Ephorus, speaks of the capture of Eion and of Scyros, the battle of the Eurymedon, and events of that epoch, and with the aid of Diodorus a good deal is made intelligible. The new fragments, the editors point out, enable us to realise Diodorus' debt to Ephorus, to whom he seems to have added little of his own. No. 1611, a piece of literary criticism, quotes the actual words of Acusilaus of Argos, proving him to have written in an Ionic dialect: the quotation is singularly interesting for other reasons.

Fragments of extant authors, besides the pieces of Pindar already mentioned, include a small fragment of the Ajax representing a good text: in 699 it reads Μύσια, in 756 [τῆνδ' ἔθ'] ἡμέραν μίαν. Other small variants are given in Eurip. *Orestes* and Aristoph. *Plutus*. In No. 1618, parts of Theocritus, there are some important readings: XV. 72 ὄχλος ἀλάθεως, 86 φιληθείς, 98 πέρυσιν amongst them. A long piece of Hero-

dotus 1619 confirms the MS. tradition on the whole, including suspected interpolations; as has been noted before with other authors. No. 1620-3, Thucydides, as usual, do not correspond with either of the two families of MSS., which indicates that the division took place later than this period (second-

third century). Some improvements upon the ordinary text are to be found in 1625 Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem*, and the conjecture *ιέρá* for *γέρá* in § 18 is confirmed, while some proposed excisions are not supported.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

THE USE OF ΦΥΣΙΣ IN FIFTH-CENTURY GREEK LITERATURE.

The Use of Φύσις in Fifth-Century Greek Literature. By JOHN WALTER BEARDSLEE, JR. One vol. Royal 8vo. Pp. 126. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1918.

THE author states quite clearly at the outset that his intention is to trace the history of the word *φύσις* from its actual occurrences in extant Greek literature rather than to attempt to follow the development of the idea of nature in early Greece; the result of the latter course must be largely hypothetical, as the context is generally very slight in the fragments of Greek philosophy before Plato, and how can we hope to learn the exact force of any word without a context? In what we possess of Homer, Aeschylus, and Pindar *φύσις* is only found seven times; these are the only instances before the middle of the fifth century, and in all of them *φύσις* refers to the outward visible characteristics of a person or object. This use of *φύσις* for 'character' or 'qualities' is predominant throughout Greek literature from Homer to Aristotle; *φύσις* = 'origin,' which is perhaps the primary meaning, but which always remained rare, first occurs in Empedocles, who is also the first to use *φύσις* for 'human character,' comprising intellectual and moral attributes. In Herodotus, in the *Hippocratica*, and in Aristotle in his books on animals, we find *φύσις* used in the Homeric significance; this the author calls the 'natural history' use of the word. But, as we might expect, in the *Hippocratica* *φύσις* most frequently means 'temperament, constitution' from the physician's point of view. Sophocles and Euripides use

φύσις for the moral and intellectual character of a person; in the latter it also begins to mean 'human nature,' and in three places (the earliest datable is in the *Troades*, 415 B.C.) it stands for 'Nature,' and is the equivalent of *ὁ κόσμος* or *τὸ ὅλον*, though this meaning is probably far older than Euripides and sprang from the schools of physical philosophy. A chapter is devoted to *κατὰ φύσιν* and kindred phrases, and another to the phrase *περὶ φύσεως*, which is discussed at considerable length. In the interesting chapter on *φύσις* and *νόμος* the author warns us against overemphasising the distinction contained in this common antithesis; it was little more than a rhetorical device which became popular in the age of the sophists; there is no evidence that the antithesis was at all used by the early philosophers; indeed we have instances in which *φύσις* and *νόμος* are identified. A brief summary of the Platonic and Aristotelian usages forms the concluding chapter. The indexes extend over seventeen pages.

Misprints are very rare, but the following on page 92 is unfortunate: 'The original distinction between *φύσει* and *κατὰ φύσιν* is nicely illustrated . . . γυνή ἥτις παχέα παρὰ φύσιν ἐγένετο. . . ἥτις δὲ φύσει τοιαύτη ἐστὶ. . .'

There are some inconsistencies and many needless and tiresome repetitions, not merely from chapter to chapter, but sometimes within the space of a few lines; it would almost appear that the different chapters were originally written without reference to their place in the book as a whole, and that the final revision and co-ordination were hasty and incomplete. But it would be unfair to the author to lay too much stress

on these blemishes in a work which otherwise exhibits much patience and care both in the collection of the neces-

sary material and in its detailed interpretation.

G. E. K. BRAUNHOLTZ.

MISCELLANEA.

Proceedings of the British Academy: *Greek Civilisation as a Study for the People*. By W. RHYS ROBERTS. *The Value and the Methods of Mythologic Study*. By L. R. FARNELL. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press.

University of Wisconsin: *Classical Studies in Honour of Charles Forster Smith*. By his Colleagues. Pp. 190. Madison: 1919.

University of Chicago: *Studies in Stichomythia*. By J. L. HANCOCK. Pp. 97. *Sycophancy in Athens*. By J. O. LOFBERG. Pp. 104. Chicago: University Press. 1917.

IF the account of this varied collection of studies is to go beyond a mere catalogue, we must keep in view some principle. And the principle we need is given to us by Professor Rhys Roberts. We are not concerned with Greek civilisation, however, in its fullest extent. Perhaps Hellenism would confine our outline within comfortable limits. Now there is some quality in Hellenism which distinguishes it from other subjects of study. On a perusal of the works already enumerated, it appears to be this. The Greeks we have in view were, as compared with other peoples, the possessors of unusually clear consciousness. They were susceptible to a large range of impressions, and they could discriminate between them. Other peoples, indeed, have had the same gifts. But the Greeks went further. Their language was the outcome of clear thinking and, in turn, clear thinking was fostered by their language. They developed on the lips of their best speakers and writers a form of expression almost adequate to all the demands of consciousness. Hence we can trace the Greek mind more clearly than any other, as it worked upon the problems of knowledge, of aesthetics, and of action. The French, of modern peoples, come per-

haps nearest to these Greek excellences. The Romans, in antiquity, were in like manner the best interpreters of the Greek tradition. But Greek literature alone is eternally modern. There is nothing so hopelessly antiquated in Greek literature as last year's newspapers. Clearly apprehended and clearly expressed consciousness is rarely to be found in our English tradition. People nowadays would accord to mathematical studies the functions which are here indicated. But the clarity of mathematics is disappearing, and this process will be quickened when mathematics forgets its Greek origin.

Candidly I suffer myself badly from confused thinking and inability to express myself. An apology is therefore due to the authors now passed under review, if I apply this personal need as a test. Mr. Farnell leads up in his admirable summary to the conclusion that even legend has a historical footing and brings us down to solid earth. With a sigh of relief we can shake ourselves free from the phantasms in which some fashionable mythologists delight. The Classical Studies from Wisconsin, in honour of Charles Forster Smith, are creditable to the recipient. We may be especially grateful to Mr. Fiske, who deals with 'The Plain Style in the Scipionic Circle,' and to Mr. C. N. Smiley for his paper on 'Seneca and the Stoic Theory of Literary Style.' But although the setting is Roman for these subjects, after all we are left sitting at the feet of Greek masters. It is enough to remember that Greek was almost supreme in Rome itself for the five centuries which are bisected at the Christian era. Chicago sends dissertations on 'Sycophancy in Athens,' by Mr. Lofberg, and on 'Stichomythia' by Mr. Hancock. Those who are specially interested in the topics dealt with by these writers will find the materials well displayed and clearly arranged.

At this moment when all the arts of

the sycophant are being brought, with or without intention, to play upon the Demos, and when, more than at any time within living memory, public statements of fact are coloured by entrenched interests or by the propaganda of innovators, the main use of Greek studies is found in the illumination which they shed upon human motives, and in the

clear judgments which the Greeks, above all other nations, passed upon them. The Greek knew when he was lying. To-day the Demos, and his sycophants, are rarely conscious of the truth even when they hit upon it. Professor Rhys Roberts goes far in his suggestion of the remedy.

FRANK GRANGER.

SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

A Greek Reader for Schools, adapted from Aesop, Theophrastus, Lucian, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato. Edited by C. E. FREEMAN and W. D. LOWE. Pp. 142. Clarendon Press. 3s.

'THE book is an attempt to make real Greek literature easy enough for those who have a fair knowledge of elementary grammar. For this purpose much of the original text has been omitted, and in some cases it has been necessary to simplify sentences and phrases, but very little that is actually new has been introduced.'

A few years ago Dr. Lowe, in an attempt to make Virgil easy, wrote the following lines:

saepe fugam Danaï Troia optavere relicta
et cupiere fatigati componere bellum,

and

turba hortatur ut effigies ducatur in urbem.

Obviously that is not real Virgil, and in the same way one feels sometimes in reading this book, though there is nothing so shocking as in the Virgil, 'That is not real Greek literature.'

Take the selection from the *Apology*, for instance, and you will feel that the quality is gone. It may be a little easier than Plato, but it is not capable of stirring the same interest and admiration. A class that is capable of reading these pieces with their large and varied vocabulary could easily be taught to read some real Greek and would enjoy it more. They would, no doubt, need a little more help, especially at first, but they would be more likely to feel that it was worth while to learn Greek. Fewer boys begin Greek nowadays, but they begin at a later age, and are more

alive to the interest of the literature and the language, and more capable of getting over the difficulties.

But the book has good points. The passages are generally well selected, the introduction to each author is very well written, the Greek is printed in a notably large, clear type.

Bell's One Term Latin Classics: (1) *Livy's Veii and the Etruscan Confederacy* (Book V. 1-32, with a few omissions). Edited by S. WINBOLT. Pp. 5+45+14. (2) *Cicero Pro Milone* (much abridged). Edited by C. E. LAURENCE. Pp. 2+33+8. 1s. 3d. each.

The aim of this series is to provide books which shall not be too long to read in a term, and which, though abridged, shall be in a sense complete. They are printed in a good, large type, and are bound in limp cloth. The brief notes are intended only to 'help the student to a quick understanding of the text.' More might be done in the few pages of Introduction to interest the reader in the subject.

Ad Limen. By C. F. WALTERS and R. S. CONWAY. Pp. 129. J. Murray. 2s. 6d.

This is a supplement to *Limen* from Ex. LXXVIII. to the end. It contains reading and exercises similar to those in the original book, and twenty-four graduated test-papers on *Limen*. There are at the end vocabularies of the additional words introduced in this book.

The Cambridge University Press has published two books by Mr. T. C. WEATHERHEAD, each in two parts:

- (1) *Biennium Latinum*, a translation and composition book for beginners (pp. 146; 2s. 6d. net), which is intended to be used with a Card of First Rules (8d. net); and (2) *Further Rules for Latin Prose* (pp. 108; 2s. net), to be used with a volume of *Exercises* (pp. 192; 2s. 6d. net).

The last-named volume includes 173 exercises of detached sentences, a number of exercises on *oratio obliqua* and 'periods,' and 51 historical passages a little more difficult than those generally set in Responsions. The writer is an experienced schoolmaster, and has evidently for a long time been interested in the teaching of Latin. He tells us that he has come to the conclusion that 'what with full Vocabularies and Notes, and the Accidence printed in the same volume,' the beginner has had things made too easy for him. Accordingly, in *Biennium* the words are introduced gradually in separate lists, which are intended to be learnt by heart, and no general vocabulary is given to help those who have failed to learn them. In the second book a Vocabulary is given, but it does not include the commonest words. The Rules, too, are bound in separate volumes, presumably in order that the pupil may be required at times to show that he has mastered them.

The Exercises are well constructed, but some of the Rules seem to us unsatisfactory. *E.g.* 'Verbs governing a Dative in the Active must be used only impersonally in the Passive.' According

to this we must not write *Epistula mihi reddita est* for *reddo* governs a Dative. The Rule is of course meant to apply only to Intransitive Verbs, but this does not stand out clearly, for as the second part of the Rule runs, 'Intransitive Verbs must, in the Passive, be used impersonally only,' the pupil may well think that the first part applies to Transitive Verbs. (2) In the Rules for *Oratio obliqua* we read, 'N.B.—Be careful to remember that in the Latin Infinitive, the Present stands also for the Imperfect.' This means, we suppose, that *Dixit se scribere* may represent *Scribebam*. We should very much like to see an example, for the doctrine is not confirmed by our own experience of Latin, nor is it supported by the better grammars (cp. Gildersleeve, § 653). But we have seen similar statements in some other elementary books, and we often find that boys have been taught to speak of the Present and Imperfect Infinitive. (3) As is often the case in elementary composition books a good many uncommon types of sentence are introduced. For instance, is there sufficient evidence for such a sentence as *Incertum est num futurum sit ut urbs capiatur*? Is it really idiomatic Latin? The fact seems to be that the Roman never took to this form of expression, because he found the present or imperfect subjunctive conveyed the meaning clearly enough (*e.g.* Cicero, *Pis.* 79); if it did not he could help it out with an adverb or turn the sentence into the active.

Σ.

POSSIDIUS' LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE.

Sancti Augustini Vita Scripta a Possidio Episcopo. Edited, with revised Text, Introduction, Notes, and an English Version, by H. T. WEISKOTTEN. (Dissertation for Doctorate.) 5½" × 8". Pp. 176. Paper. Princeton: University Press (and Clarendon Press).

THIS carefully edited rendering of the work of Possidius is based on a collation of ten of the earlier known MSS., close attention being paid to various

readings in other copies. The printed texts of the *Vita* were ordinarily included in St. Augustine's works, and no separate edition earlier than that of Salinas, printed at Rome in 1731, is known. The *textus receptus* dates back to the Louvain edition of 1564.

Written about A.D. 432 in a plain and somewhat commonplace style, corresponding to the Latinity of the period, and with no great pretension to literary merit, it yet occasionally rises to a high

level. Discarding numerous text alterations made by previous editors without authority, the present editor's purpose has been to reproduce, as nearly as possible, what Possidius wrote, rather than what some assumed he should have written. This in itself is a laudable endeavour, and serves to enhance the value of a work for which many have long waited.

The life of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, up to the time of his conversion to the Christian faith, contained in his *Confessiones*, is continued to the time of his decease in the *Vita* bequeathed to us by his faithful and intimate friend, Possidius, a native of Proconsular Africa, who became Bishop of Calama in Numidia about A.D. 400. It would appear that Possidius is only known in connection with St. Augustine and the graceful biography derived for the most part from St. Augustine himself. Both men had painful experience of the trials incidental to the troublous times through which the North African Church of the fifth century was called to pass. Upon the Vandals invading Africa in 428, Calama was taken, never again to rise. Possidius took refuge in the city of Hippo with Augustine, who died there during its siege in the arms of his devoted colleague. The influence of St. Augustine and his association with Possidius is discernible throughout the *Vita*, not only in the precise views enunciated but in the actual use of words and forms of expression. Among other features of interest which render the work serviceable are the numerous sidelights upon ecclesiastical usages and the conditions under which the early Church laboured.

Some singular points are observable in the text—e.g. the balanced antithesis employed, wherein every word in the first member of a passage is made to correspond with a word in the second member having a like construction with the same final syllable. The use by Possidius of the word *Romaniae* as applied to distinguish the world of Roman

civilisation, viewed apart from the Roman Empire, and *impraetermissae* = incessantly, are among the earliest instances of their use in Latin literature. There are several uncommon and post-classical words scattered throughout the text.

The quaint allusion to the habit of tale-bearing at the table is well illustrated in St. Augustine's domestic ordering. We are told that he set himself *contra pestilentiam humanae consuetudinis*, and had this inscription on his table :

Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam,
Hac mensa indignam noverit esse suam.
(cap. xxii.).

Possidius quotes an unidentified elegiac couplet by a secular poet desirous of remaining a living voice after death, who directed that the following inscription should appear on his monument :

Vivere post obitum vates vis nosse viator ?
Quod legis ecce loquor, vox tua nempe mea
est.
(cap. xxxi.).

It would be interesting to learn its authorship.

Mr. Weiskotten has given a body of various readings as footnotes ; those of a general character are supplied in some twenty pages at the end of the volume. The bibliography is brief and far from satisfactory. No mention is made of any English translation, but it must not be forgotten that Abraham Woodhead (1608-1678), in an English version of the *Confessions*, carried the life of Augustine to its close out of Possidius. The *Indiculus*, the earliest detailed list of St. Augustine's writings, added by Possidius to the *Vita* is also omitted. A small and poorly executed map of Provincial Africa, based upon that in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, appears at the end of the volume. The work is altogether worthy of a better 'setting' than that in which it appears.

C. H. EVELYN-WHITE.

A LATIN ANTHOLOGY.

Latin Poetry: From Catullus to Claudian.
 An Easy Reader chosen by C. E.
 FREEMAN. One vol. Octavo. Pp.
 176. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919.
 3s. net.

THE underlying idea of this volume of annotated extracts is distinctly good; for it aims at providing varied and at the same time easy reading in Latin poetry 'for those who have some knowledge of Virgil and Ovid.' The title, however, is rather too wide for a collection of extracts from only nine Latin poets, two of whom, Virgil and Ovid, are in a sense specifically subsumed. Probably the editor had limits of space assigned; but in that event I should have been inclined to advocate the reduction of excerpts from Virgil and Ovid, and—more fully to justify the title—the inclusion of suitable passages from several other authors. I should even have pleaded for a little of Lucretius to represent the hexameter of Catullus' great contemporary, *e.g.* such a passage as the opening of the second book; and, if Juvenal did not square with the editor's purpose, then a few citations from Valerius Flaccus and Martial, with something at least of the *Mosella* of Ausonius. In all these cases there are pieces where no excessive difficulty need be feared, if the pupil were fortified with notes of the excellent type which Mr. Freeman has written; and, in particular, parts of the *Mosella* would make appeal through the poet's eye for the picturesque. These suggestions are offered in a spirit of complete sympathy with the editor's commendable desire to extend the reading of Latin poetry in schools.

Biographic facts and literary characterisation are supplied in the sketches prefixed to each of the nine sets of extracts; and they are supplied adequately enough to be in themselves interesting and to make the selections more profitable subjects of study. There are in all 62 extracts: 7 from Catullus, 9 from Virgil, 10 from Horace, 7 from Tibullus, 6 from Propertius, 8 from Ovid, 5 from Lucan, 7 from Statius, 3 from Claudian; and good taste has been shown in choosing with regard to beauty and

simplicity. Horace is represented entirely as a lyric poet, and rightly so, when the object of the book is remembered: eight odes are quoted in full, and two more in part. The extracts from Lucan will bewelcome to teachers: they are well spread, being drawn from Books I., III., V., VII., and IX. of the *Pharsalia*. A comparison of the selections from Statius with a complete text will prove that, by judicious omission of more difficult or more artificial portions, a satisfactory degree of simplicity has been secured. I am glad, by the way, that the note on 'The Villa of Pollius' takes *dat natura locum* in the ordinary sense, 'Nature supplies the site' (for the house); because this appears to be more germane to the context than the artificial meaning which has been adopted by Professor Slater in his translation, 'Nature is beaten off the field.' The notes are brief and business-like, and avowedly avoid controversy of any kind.

To my mind, the first passage chosen from Statius, 'on the Anniversary of Lucan's Birthday,' would have gained in value by being continued four lines after *annos Culicis Maroniani*, so as to include Calliope's imagined prophecy of Lucan's superiority to Ennius, Lucretius, Varro Atacinus, and Ovid:

cedet musa rudis ferocis Enni,
 et docti furor arduus Lucreti,
 et qui per freta duxit Argonautas,
 et qui corpora prima transfiguratur.

A note on the metres of Catullus' *Dianae sumus in fide* and *Collis o Heliconii* would have been serviceable, and might have been expected all the more that brief comment is made on the Catullian specimens of hendecasyllabic metre and scazon (p. 8 and p. 86). In the introductory note to Propertius the name of the epigrammatist of Alexandria should be, not Philetus, but Philetas, as is clear from Propertius III. i. 1.

The usefulness of the book is enhanced by an index of proper names and a vocabulary.

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SHORT NOTICES

The Rise of the Equites in the Third Century of the Roman Empire. By CLINTON WALKER KEYES. Pp. 54. Oxford University Press (on behalf of Princeton University Press). 3s. 6d. net.

IN the above dissertation Dr. Keyes examines critically the evidence furnished by the hundred years preceding the accession of Diocletian for the gradual replacement of 'senatorii' by 'equites' in the administration of the Roman Empire, and, without going into the motives which inspired that change—which, as he says, have been discussed elsewhere—shows how far the tendency to exalt the latter order at the expense of the former had been in operation before the time of the remodelling of the Empire. The author deals with the matter first from the civil, then from the military side, and finally discusses the question, To what extent the separation of civil and military government in the provinces was connected with the change from senatorial to equestrian officials? The subject is, of course, a very difficult one, the evidence, epigraphical and other, being, as is so often the case in momentous happenings in Roman history, far from satisfactory; but Dr. Keyes uses his materials to the best advantage, and his conclusions seem very convincing. He felt himself compelled to discuss at rather great length the status and duties at different periods of that rather perplexing person, the 'praefectus castrorum,' and to show how confusion has arisen between this officer and the latter-day equestrian legionary commander. The author's remarks on this latter topic are very illuminating.

T.

The Syntax of High-School Latin: A Co-operative Study. Edited by LEE BYRNE. Revised Edition. Pp. 60. 9" x 6". University of Chicago Press. \$ 0.75.

THE object of this book is to help teachers to decide what parts of syntax

are most necessary in the first four years of the study of Latin and in what order they should be introduced. It is assumed that our chief aim will be to develop the power of reading Latin, and that therefore we must make our pupils familiar with the constructions which occur commonly in school reading. Certain books which are very generally read at an early stage in the schools of the United States are selected for scrutiny, viz. Caesar, *B.G.* I-IV.; Cicero, *in Catilinam* I-IV., *de imperio Pompei, pro Archia*; Virgil, *Aen.* I-VI. Statistics of the syntax of these books have been elaborately worked out by fifty collaborators, and the results are set before us in tables and diagrams. The Introduction is excellent.

In our own country the teaching of Latin is too much governed by tradition. The hours devoted to the subject have been much cut down of late years. Boys begin later, and in many cases leave off earlier than they used, but the course of study is not sufficiently adapted to the new conditions, and numbers of details are learned in the early stages which the pupil will probably never find useful, rare words, exceptional forms, unusual constructions. These things are well worthy of study when they occur, but a knowledge of them is not an indispensable preliminary to the reading of Caesar and Ovid nor to the writing of Latin Prose. They retard and discourage the learner so that he feels that he is making but little progress with the language, and is therefore inclined to go on the Modern Side and try some other studies.

The merit of this book is that it shows not only what parts of syntax may be omitted or passed over lightly in the first few years, but also what parts must become so familiar that they can be applied without any conscious effort.

It may be worth while to mention a few other books which are very useful to anyone who wants to answer such questions as often occur to one in teaching Latin Prose: Is this sentence really good Latin? What is the Clas-

sical usage? Is this construction common enough to be of importance to learners in their first few years? The most useful perhaps are H. Merguet's *Lexica* (1) to the Speeches (2) to the Philosophical Writings of Cicero, and H. Meusel's *Lexicon Caesarianum*. These books give under each word every example of its occurrence. They are costly, but it is well worth while to

have them at hand. Another very useful book, especially because of the large number of examples quoted, is the new edition of Volume II. of R. Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*. C. Stegmann, the reviser of this volume, often adds useful notes as to the frequency of the occurrence of a construction.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

MEETING OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION.

THE seventeenth general meeting of the Classical Association was held at Newcastle and Durham from April 14 to 17. On Wednesday evening the Lord Mayor of Newcastle received the members in the Laing Art Gallery, and short lantern lectures were delivered by Mr. W. H. Knowles on the excavations at Corbridge, and Mr. Gerald Simpson on the Roman Wall. The latter summarised the evidence which showed Hadrian to be the first builder of the wall.

On Thursday the proceedings were also at Newcastle, the Bishop presiding through the day, in the absence of the Bishop of Durham, President of the local branch. To the great regret of the members Dr. Warde Fowler, the president, under medical orders, did not attend the meeting, but his presidential address on 'The Imagination of the Romans' was sympathetically read for him by Professor R. S. Conway. While admitting that the Romans differed in this respect from the Greeks, and in particular had not the myth-making faculty which is allied to Greek anthropomorphism, Dr. Fowler dwelt on the idealised portrait as characteristic of Rome, and especially to be found in Livy's first decade. He also dealt with the imaginative power of Lucretius and Virgil. A hearty vote of thanks was passed to the President. After lunch in Armstrong College, the Association listened to two exceptionally interesting papers. Professor Wight Duff, of Newcastle, dealt with the poet Martial, emphasising his warm-hearted nature and love of natural beauty, and illustrating

his points by many most felicitous translations. Canon Cruickshank gave an interesting paper on Bentley, including a reference to his unpublished notes on Lucretius. Tea in Armstrong College was followed by a visit to the Black Gate Museum, and in the evening a reception took place at the College, the Principal (Sir Theodore Morison) welcoming the guests. Professor H. J. Rose, of Aberystwyth, read a paper on the 'Orientation of the Dead in Greece and Italy,' giving an interesting survey of the subject.

Friday's proceedings were at Durham. A debate took place on 'Latin in Advanced Courses in Secondary Schools,' and it was resolved to urge the Board of Education to restore the position of Latin as part of the 'Modern Studies' group, so that it could be combined with History, English, or French, as in 1917-18. It was pointed out that the London University stood alone in endorsing the new regulations for 1918-19, while all other examining bodies had refused to modify their own schemes of higher certificate examination, and to make Latin a subject only to be combined with Greek. A strong but not unanimous opinion was expressed in favour of a new advanced course in Latin and English only. After the discussion Canon Cruickshank kindly described the Roman remains in the Chapter Library, and the Council of Durham Colleges entertained the members to lunch in the magnificent hall of University College. At the business meeting in the afternoon the reports of Council and the Journals Board were

adopted; the Treasurer presented his report, in which he announced that the number of members had risen to 1,700, but the cost of printing made it imperative that there should be a large increase of membership, or otherwise the subscription would have to be raised. The election of Dr. Walter Leaf as President of the Association for 1920-21 was carried unanimously, on the motion of Professor Cruickshank, seconded by Professor H. Browne, of University College, Dublin. The retiring President, Dr. Wight Duff, and the Master of University College, Oxford, were added to the list of Vice-Presidents. Mr. Norman Gardiner was re-elected Treasurer. In place of Professor Slater and Professor Ure, who retired, Professor A. C. Pearson, of Liverpool University, and the Rev. G. C. Richards, of Oriel College, Oxford, were elected secretaries. The vacancies on the Council were filled by the election of Miss Higgs (Roan School for Girls), Dr. Crees (Crypt Grammar School, Gloucester), Professor G. Norwood (Cardiff), Professor Slater (Bedford College), and Mr. E. A. Upcott (Wellington College). It was announced that the next meeting would be held at Cambridge at the end of July or beginning of August, 1921, and that American scholars would be invited to attend. A cordial vote of thanks to the hosts was moved by Mr. Richards, seconded by Mr. A. Bruce Roberts, H.M.I. (Leeds). Bishop Welldon then kindly entertained the members to tea at the Deanery.

In the evening, at Newcastle, the Armstrong College Dramatic Society gave a very fine performance of Euripides' *Electra* (in Professor Gilbert Mur-

ray's translation) in the King's Hall at Armstrong College. Professor Wight Duff is to be congratulated on the brilliant success of the representation. He was fortunate in having a good trainer in Mr. Vernon Brown, a sympathetic musician in Mr. W. G. Whitaker, and a clever scene-painter in Mr. R. J. S. Bertram, who skilfully adapted an illustration in Wordsworth's *Greece*; but the whole cast rose to the occasion. The chorus, led by Miss M. Wade, sang and danced with perfect ease and grace.

In spite of the broken weather twenty-one were bold enough to visit Corbridge and the Wall on Saturday. Mr. Knowles described the excavations at Corstopitum, and the party proceeded along the Wall under the guidance of Mr. Gerald Simpson, visiting Chollerford (camp and museum), Procolitia, Borcovicus, and ending at the fort by Haltwhistle burn.

During the meetings there was an exhibition of early printed books and facsimiles of MSS. in Armstrong College Library, and Mr. S. E. Wimbolt showed two models of a Pompeian house. Special mention should be made of the hospitality shown by the Durham and Newcastle hosts, which was organised by Mr. Basil Anderton, M.A., the City Librarian, whose classical catalogue was presented to any member of the Association who desired to possess a copy. Besides Mr. Anderton, the bulk of the work fell on Professor Wight Duff and Professor Cruickshank. To those three gentlemen in particular the thanks of the Association are due, and they are to be congratulated on the great success of the meeting.

OBITUARY

ROGER JAMES CHOLMELEY.

NOT a few scholars of note won distinction as soldiers in the war. Among them was R. J. Cholmeley, the editor of *Theocritus*. His death last summer was scarcely noticed at the time. He had lived long in the Dominions, and his English friends were few in number ;

but he left behind him work of permanent value, and some of us who knew him well and admired his qualities and gifts feel his death as a grievous personal loss.

Born in 1872, educated at St. Edward's School, Scholar of Corpus

Christi College, Oxford—where he won the Chancellor's Prize for a Latin poem—Cholmeley held masterships, first at Manchester Grammar School, and afterwards at City of London School. In 1900 he went out in the Imperial Yeomanry to serve in the South African War, and later he became Professor of Latin at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. August 1914 found him Lecturer in Classics and Librarian in the University of Queensland at Brisbane.

Cholmeley was ever a fighter—his combative spirit reveals itself in his writing; well past forty, he was rejected for service by the Australian authorities; but he came to England, and obtained a commission in the Cheshire Regiment. He could have had, no doubt, some secure administrative post, but he was out for the real thing: he must be in the trenches, better still—out beyond the trenches exploring the enemy lines. For his daring and resource as Brigade Intelligence Officer near Messines, he was awarded the Military Cross. In the trenches he read Homer, Herodotus, and Caesar *Bell. Gall.* ('one of the best books ever written,' he called it.) He was wounded twice. Visited in hospital he was found, while in great pain, to be reading Plato's *Republic*.

Early in life he had acquired some knowledge of Russian. After the armistice he was sent to the Murmansk coast, and in that melancholy sequel to the war he lost his life. He was drowned in August, washed overboard on a wild night while overhauling guns required for action at daybreak, and the Service 'deplores the loss of a very capable and gallant officer.'

No attempt can be made here to deal adequately with the merits of his *Theocritus*. Yet it may be said the first edition (1901) was acclaimed by the late Professor Butcher as 'full of sound scholarship.' In later editions some immature judgements have been revised, and the results of recent research reckoned with. At the Antipodes, and even on active service, Cholmeley succeeded in keeping abreast of modern criticism. The last edition, 'revised and augmented,' issued since his death, represents his final judgements, and embodies not only the results of an exhaustive study of the continental commentators, but much original matter, including emendations which are almost certainly right. He has given us the standard English edition of the poet, which is not likely to be superseded for many years to come.

J. M. S.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Annual General Meeting of the Northumberland and Durham Classical Association was held in Armstrong College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on February 28, the chief business being the confirmation of arrangements for the entertainment of the Classical Association in Newcastle and Durham in April. Professor J. Wight Duff, who presided, announced the main details of the programme, which includes the reading of papers; inspection of the Roman inscribed stones at the Black-gate Museum, Newcastle, and in the Cathedral Library of Durham; demonstration of lantern-slides illustrative of the Roman Wall; receptions by the Lord Mayor of Newcastle, by Armstrong

College, and by the University; and, finally, the production in English of a Greek play. The play selected is the *Electra* of Euripides, which will be rendered by the Armstrong College Dramatic Society. Dr. Duff explained the progress made by the various sub-committees on problems connected with staging, dress, and music, and reported the arrangements proposed for hospitality and the establishment of a Guarantee Fund to cover expenses.

The business meeting was followed by a paper which Mr. Basil Anderton, M.A., read on 'The Lure of Translation.'

THE Prime Minister has appointed a Committee to inquire into the teaching

of Classics, and no doubt also to suggest what is their proper place in English education. The Chairman is Lord Crewe, and the members represent a large variety of opinions, amongst whom some are friends of the study, some perhaps not so. We hope Mr. Henderson may learn something, but it is not well to be too confident. However, this Committee, taken in conjunction with the pamphlet of the Reconstruction Board, in which the merits of Classics are set forth, is a sign that the fanatics of materialism will not have things all their own way.

Discovery has made its appearance, and very attractive it is. The scientific papers are written so that an ordinary man can understand them; even chemical elements cease to be the mysterious things of our school memories. The classical man need puzzle no longer over the secret of Philae, and it is to be hoped that that will not be the only secret revealed. But the March number has nothing specially for our delectation. May we suggest as a subject the pretty toys of Hero Alexandraeus?

CORRESPONDENCE

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION, LIVERPOOL BRANCH.

TO THE COUNCIL OF THE CLASSICAL
ASSOCIATION.

Classical Lectures to Secondary Schools.

GENTLEMEN,

We are desired by the President and Committee of the Liverpool Branch of the Classical Association to bring to your notice the following series of lectures to the senior pupils of Secondary Schools, which were arranged by the Branch during the autumn term of 1919. It is suggested that any publicity which you might care to give to the scheme might lead to its adoption by other Branches. If such were to be the case, the Committee of the Liverpool Branch would welcome any suggestions based on the experience of other Branches, since it was from a somewhat similar proposal put forward by the Leeds Branch in 1914 that the present series arose.

The following series of lectures was advertised in October:

THE GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD.

Lecture I.: Land and Sea, Professor Halliday.

„ II.: Towns and Temples, Professor Bosanquet.

„ III.: Social Life, Mr. Ormerod.

The lectures were held by permission in the Arts' Theatre of the University.

A circular letter was sent to thirty-one schools in the Liverpool area, of which twenty-two sent parties to the lectures. The first lecture was attended by 768 pupils, and, owing to the difficulty of accommodating so large an audience, it was decided that the audience should be divided for the second and third lectures, the number averaging 300 for each of the last four lectures.

In view of the request from the schools that the series should be continued, it has been decided by the Committee to offer the following courses during the Lent Term of the present year:

(a) *Junior Course* (for pupils below the School Certificate Standard):

Lecture I.: Ancient Athens, Professor Halliday.

„ II.: Ancient Sparta, Mr. Ormerod.

„ III.: Ancient Rome, Dr. Caton.

(b) *Senior Course*:

Lecture I.: Ancient Rome, Professor Bosanquet.

Lectures II. and III.: Roman Public Life, Mr. Smiley.

E. K. EAST,

N. A. ORMEROD,

*Hon. Secretaries,
Liverpool Branch, Classical Association.*

LIDDELL AND SCOTT.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIRS,—Is there any permanent body which collects materials for new editions of Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*? Every scholar must discover a number of errors in that work, admirable as it is, and the persistence of some of these seems to show that the editors do not get the benefit. Here are a few: αἶρειν θεούς, Plato *Crat.* 425D, means 'lift up' (on the μηχανή), not 'call up'; ἀνάκρισις = 'quarrel,' Hdt. VIII. 69 (omitted); διόρισμα, Porph. *de abst.* 1. 7 (omitted); ἑγγύς, with participle, ἑγγύς τυφλῶν, 'nearly blind,' Plat. *Rep.* 508C (τυφλῶν is an adjective, not a participle); ἐνδεξιόμοι, 'to grasp with the right hand,' Eur. *I.A.* 1473 (it means 'to go round an altar' ἐνδέξια); εὐρείτης, Eur. *Tro.* 810 (omitted); προδρομή, 'a sally, sudden attack,' Xen. *Anab.* 4, 7, 10 (it means 'a stone projection'); σκυρωτή, Hesych. cited, Pind. *Pyth.* V. 93 ignored; ὑποτείνεισθαι, 'to propose a question,' Plat. *Gorg.* 448E (it means 'to give a lead'). To whom should such corrections, not to mention notes of false references, dubious readings, etc., be sent?

I would further suggest that in future editions the redundant references to Homer should be cut down, and all the obsolete philology omitted. The space so saved might be partly used to quote, or at least refer to, the definitions of words given by ancient authors, especially the philosophers' definitions of moral and psychological terms.

F. M. CORNFORD.

Cambridge.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIRS,—The following details, from an American source, of the attempt to fortify classical studies in that country, may be of interest to readers of the *Classical Review*. The centre of propaganda is the American Classical League, founded in 1919, under the presidency of Dean West, of Princeton. This association, besides its normal activities, publishes pamphlets, enlists the interest of editors of leading daily newspapers, furnishing them with timely news, and gaining their editorial support. Classical Clubs have been formed in great centres of the population, including not only teachers of the classics, but representatives of science, political and historical studies, law, medicine, engineering, architecture, etc., as well as leading men of affairs. The aim is to enlighten and influence public opinion.

It is to be hoped that our own Classical Association, to which classical studies in this

country already owe much, will plan and organise propaganda over here to bring home to the British public the significance of Greece and Rome to the modern world.

It is interesting to note that Princeton, which recently abolished its Compulsory Greek requirement, is making the following statement in its annual calendar: 'While provision is made whereby a substitute for Greek may be offered for admission to the course leading to the degree of B.A., and a substitute for Latin may be offered for admission to the course leading to the degree of B.Sc., students preparing for admission are strongly advised to take both Greek and Latin, as constituting with mathematics the best foundation for a liberal education in college studies.'

R. W. LIVINGSTONE.

CATULLUS XXI. 1. 11.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,—The following emendation of
meme (Ω) puer et sitire discet

I have been unable to find printed in any edition of Catullus with which I am acquainted. Can any of your readers tell me who is responsible for it?

Niraeus puer et sitire discet.

I found it in a contemporary hand in the margin of a copy of Guarinus' commentary (1521). The note runs as follows:

'Ergo hoc loco fortasse rectius Niraeus puer. ut derivatur a Nireo, ut Orphaeus, Thesaeus ab Orpheo et Theseo. Nireus formae splendore celebrari ab homero ignorat nemo, prop. Nireus non facies. Quid. sit licet antiquo Nireus adamatus homero. hor. Quint. et reliqui.'

I am, sir,

Yours faithfully,

E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN.

ΔΑΙΜΩΝ IN HOMER.

I REGRET that I was unable to check all the statements in my paper before the article went to press, not having access to the necessary books. The following correction was sent, but arrived too late for insertion:

In vol. 33, p. 135, col. 1, l. 19, read: 'All that can be said is that in all these instances, with a single exception (ε. 396 στυγερὸς δαίμων, in a simile where the adjective removes the necessity of understanding δαίμων as *per se* an evil power) . . .'

S. BASSETT.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Aristotle*. By Professor A. E. Taylor. $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 126. Edinburgh: Nelson, 1919. Cloth, 1s. 3d. net.
- Beazley* (J. D.) The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems. $8'' \times 10\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xii + 124. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. Paper boards, 38s. net.
- Bulletin Philologique et Historique*. No. 1, January, 1920. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Brussels: M. V. Tourneur, 5, rue du Musée.
- Bywater* (J.) Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 20. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919. Paper, 1s. 6d. net.
- Flosculi Graeci*. By A. B. Poynton. $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii + 162. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. Paper, 7s. 6d. net.
- Forster* (E. S.) *Oeconomica*. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 128. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. Paper, 5s. net.
- Heath* (Sir Thomas L.) *Euclid in Greek*. Book I. $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. vii + 239. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Holland* (F.) *Seneca*. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. vii + 206. London: Longmans, 1920. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Hoppin* (J. C.) *A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases*. Vol. II. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii + 600. Oxford: University Press, for Harvard University Press, 1919. Cloth, 35s. net.
- Kavanagh* (Ethna). *The Priest of Isis*. $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 45. London: John Long, 1920. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Livy* (Books VI.-X.) *Oxford Text*. Edited by C. F. Walters and R. S. Conway. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xxviii + 384. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1919. Paper, 5s. net; cloth, 5s. 6d. net; India paper, 7s. 6d. net; interleaved, 10s. net.
- McFayden* (D.) *The History of the Title Imperator under the Roman Empire*. $9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. ix + 67. Chicago: University Press, 1920. Paper, 75 cents net.
- Meuwese* (A. P. M.) *De Rerum Gestarum divi Augusti Versione Graeca*. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xiii + 128. St. Michiels Gestel: O. Meuwese, 1920. Paper.
- Pasquali* (G.) *Orazio Lirico*. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii + 792. Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1920. Paper.
- Phaedrus*. By J. P. Postgate. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 144. Oxford: University Press, 1920. Paper, 4s. 6d.; cloth, 5s.; interleaved, 7s. 6d. net.
- Ramsay* (A. B.) *Inter Lilia*. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 123. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. Cloth, 6s. 6d. net.
- Rostagni* (A.) *Giuliano L'Apostata*. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 399. Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1920. Paper, L. 28.
- Sargeant* (J.) *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil*. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. vii + 149. Oxford: Blackwell, 1920. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Sikes* (E. E.) *Hero and Leander*. $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 27. London: Methuen, 1920. Paper, 2s. 6d. net.
- Studies in Philology*, XVI., No. 4. $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 289-384. Published by the University of California. 75 cents.
- Studies in Philology*. Vol. XVII., No. 1, January, 1920. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 120. Boston, U.S.A.: Ginn and Co. Paper, \$1.00.
- The Anglo-Hellenic League*. No. 40: *The Turks, Cardinal Newman, and the Council of Ten*. By the Very Rev. Canon W. Barry. No. 41: *Address of W. A. Lloyd*. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. 16. 3d. net each.
- Theander* (C.) *Ὀλολυγή and ἰά*. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 99-160. Upsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1916. Paper.
- Warren* (H. L.) *The Foundations of Classic Architecture*. $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xvi + 357. London: Macmillan. Cloth, 32s. net.
- Willis* (G.) *The Philosophy of Speech*. $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$. Pp. 256. London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1920. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Xenophon*. By E. C. Marchant. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 248. Oxford: University Press, 1920. Paper, 5s. net; cloth, 6s.; interleaved, 10s.

The Classical Review

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1920

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

NOTES ON THUCYDIDES, BOOK VI.

23. 1 Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐνθὲνδε μὴ ἀντίπαλον μόνον παρασκευασάμενοι, πλὴν γε πρὸς τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντες τοῖς πᾶσι, μόλις οὕτως οἶοι τε ἐσόμεθα τῶν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διασωσάι.

ALMOST every possible explanation has been given of this sentence in the last hundred years, but nearly all based on the assumption that in the words πλὴν γε . . . ὀπλιτικόν Nicias is mentioning a disadvantage to the Athenians which they cannot hope to overcome. So the scholiast, πρὸς μὲν τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ὀπλιτικόν οὐδ' ὅλως δυνάμεθα ἀντιτάξασθαι· πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα κ.τ.λ. The objection to this simple view is obvious: the Athenians in fact find no difficulty in facing the Sicilian hoplites, and no one (except perhaps Athenagoras—cp. 37. 1) was surprised.

Goeller did not feel any difficulty, but he had to distort the Greek sadly to obtain his rendering: 'i.e. wenn das einzige, worin wir ihnen nicht gleich stellen, sondern sie übertreffen, unsere Hoplitenmacht ist, und wir sie nicht in jeder Truppengattung übertreffen, etc. Poscit igitur ab Atheniensibus ut non solum hoplitarum numero superiores sint, sed omni genere copiarum . . . [the scholiast quoted]. Verum cum robor Graecorum in gravi armatura situm esset, qui graviter armatos scriptor excluderet numero eorum, quibus ab Ath. hostes exsuperari debeant, si sperari possit, hostes victum iri? . . . Maiorem numerum hoplitarum Ath. a Nicia tribui, indicant etiam verba τοῖς πᾶσι, non unis hoplitis par est nos praestare, sed omni genere militum.'

Arnold: Because on the one hand it was impossible for the Athenian expedition to match the Syracusan (*sic*) infantry in point of numbers, so on the other hand they were so superior in

discipline, that even with a great disparity of numbers they were fully able to cope with them. So also Poppo.

Haacke on the other hand: 'verba πλὴν γε κ.τ.λ. restringunt Niciae postulationem, augent vero timorem, vel certe periculum eorum gravius designant, quibus numero quidem pares Siculis milites conscribi possint, fortitudine non item.'

Boehme: 'also die Hoplitenmacht der Feinde wird auf alle Fälle stärker sein.' So Krüger.

Urlichs (*Philologus*, 17, p. 347) proposed to read τὸ ἵππικόν in place of τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, so that Nicias then says that the Athenians must outnumber the Sicilians in everything except cavalry, which he has often insisted they cannot hope to match (20. 4, 21. 1, 22. 1). This is adopted by Stahl (ed. Tauchnitz, 1873). But to it Classen rightly objected that for no Greek state could τὸ ἵππικόν be equated with τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν; and in fact the Syracusans do almost all their land fighting with hoplites. Classen reverted to the scholiast's view, with the modification that Nicias is asserting the impossibility of the Athenian hoplite force alone being a match for the whole fighting force of the Syracusans, hoplites, light-armed, cavalry, 'ihrer gesamten streitbaren Mannschaft.' But why should they, seeing that they must prepare a large force of light-armed to assist the hoplites? As Stahl objects in his turn (Thuc. ed. Poppo-Stahl, *ad loc.*): 'nam etiamsi gravi armatura omnibus Sic. copiis Ath. pares non essent, possunt toto exercitu, et si hoc quoque non possent, omnino pares esse non possent, quod tamen Nicias sumit. Profecto ita copiarum comparatio in-

stituenda est, ut pars cum parte, non pars cum tota componatur.'

Hude and Stuart-Jones revert to the MSS. reading, the former recording the conjecture of Gertz τὸ ὀπλιτικόν τε καὶ ἰππικόν, which is still open to the objection that Stahl raised to Classen's rendering. So is Jowett's: 'It is better to suppose the words to be a qualification introduced somewhat out of place by N., and in harmony with the general spirit of his speech. "You must do all you can to be a match for your opponents" is the general drift of the previous chapter, and yet he throws in by the way "but in the great arm of war you cannot be a match for them."' This at least shows clearly the absurdity which we must attribute to Nicias by the ordinary interpretation of this sentence.

The explanation of Goeller fits in most closely with the true facts of the case, but cannot be got from the Greek. Arnold's implication that the words πλὴν γε κ.τ.λ. are of an optimistic tendency (cp. Haacke's 'restringunt Niciae postulationem') suggests an easier explanation. Why cannot Nicias mean that in everything except the hoplite force the Athenians must outnumber the enemy, but in the matter of hoplites—for the actual fighting—an equal number of Athenians will be all that is necessary for victory? He has been insisting that in light-armed troops, in food, in money, in ships, it would be of no use to send a force only equal to that of the enemy: they must far outnumber them. In summing up he throws in the reservation that for the ordinary hoplite fighting force an equal number would suffice. He adds τὸ ὀπλιτικόν το τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν to explain and restrict the meaning of the latter, because in light-armed they ought to outnumber the Sicilians, and in cavalry they will anyhow be outnumbered. This gives a perfectly simple and natural rendering, and does away with the difficulties found in the usual view of the passage.

That the failure of the Sicilian expedition was, after all, mainly due to the numerical weakness of the Athenian hoplites (to besiege such a city a force superior to the enemy's was required),

is I think clear from Thucydides' narrative. But it is not unnatural that Nicias should not have foreseen this, and Thucydides himself seems to have been of a different opinion (II. 65. 11). It would be part of the irony of the career of Nicias that his one touch of optimism should have been so ill-judged.

The last words of the sentence, τῶν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διασῶσαι, should not be taken, with the scholiast and many editors, to mean 'to conquer Sicily and indeed to preserve our empire here,' which would require κρατῆσαι and διασῶζειν or διασώζεσθαι; but 'to have the mastery over our enemies and to secure the loyalty of such friends as we may win over'—both in Sicily. The friends would probably feel a little doubtful about διασῶσαι; cp. Hermocrates' words τὴν ἐκείνου φιλίαν βεβαιώσασθαι, 78. 1, and VIII. 1. 3 τὰ τῶν ζυμμάχων ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.

24. 3 ὁ δὲ πόλυς ὄμιλος καὶ στρατιώτης ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι ἀργύριον ὀλεῖν καὶ προσκτήσεσθαι δύναμιν ὅθεν αἰδιον μισθοφορὰν ὑπάρξειν.

The great influx of slaves into Athens after the Persian Wars must have thrown out of employment large numbers of poor citizens, and imperilled the position of many small capitalists with whom men with large numbers of slaves would have been able to compete very easily. That the distress was not immediately apparent was probably due to the energetic military policy of Athens, by which many men were employed as soldiers and more as sailors. As peace was slowly being restored, attempts were made to find a remedy, partly by temporary measures, such as Pericles' great building activities, by which, as Plutarch tells us, nearly the whole of the citizens came into the employ of the State, partly by the permanent institution of payment for public services. A very large body of citizens was henceforth to do the work of the Empire in the law-courts, the ecclesia and the boulé, as γραμματεῖς, officials of all kinds, and as soldiers and sailors; and the subjects of this as of other Empires were to pay for the privilege of being ruled. Aristides, says Aristotle ('Αθ. Πολ. 24. 1), συνεβούλευεν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ κατα-

βάντας ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν οἰκεῖν ἐν τῷ ἄστει· τροφήν γὰρ ἔσσεσθαι πᾶσι, τοῖς μὲν στρατευομένοις, τοῖς δὲ φρουροῦσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ κοινὰ πράττουσι. Yet the pay the citizen ordinarily received for this in peace time was not large: only two and then three obols for service in the courts, whereas a soldier got anything up to a drachma *plus* his food. And service in the courts was not a daily matter. The position then was not good from the point of view of citizens who needed sufficient pay and security of position, and wanted their work to be confined to the public services. The Many at Athens, like the many at other times and places, did not try to improve their economic position by removing the cause of the evil; they did not agitate against slavery or try to modify its economic effects (for that cheap slave labour was at the bottom of the mischief has, I think, been made abundantly clear by Mr. Grundy and others). They only tried to better their position by taxing the subject allies, or, as in the fourth century, the rich, who had gained their riches by the very system which kept *them* poor. The addition to the number of their subjects of such a wealthy island as Sicily was likely therefore to give just such an increase to the pay and the security of the poor of Athens as they desired.

This then is the meaning of *αἰδῖος μισθορορά* in this passage of Thucydides, not just 'they hoped to get permanent employment out of the acquisition somehow,' as Gilbert, followed by Marchant, renders it; still less 'permanent military employment' only, with Dobree, Böhme, Classen and Stahl. These editors take *καὶ στρατιώτης* predicatively with *ἀργύριον οὔσειν* and *προσκτήσεσθαι δύναμιν* (equivalent to *καὶ στρατεῦόμενος*): 'dazu auch die Macht Athens zu vergrössern; wodurch es nie an Gelegenheit zum Kriegsdienste fehlen würde' (Classen). But the average Athenian no more than the average man of other countries wanted to be a soldier for the rest of his days. Heitland (*Journ. of Phil.* 24, p. 6), though thinking that the *μισθορορά* is not wholly military, still would render *στρατιώτης* 'paid soldier,' almost professional, though not mercenary, soldier,

and would take it attributively, *πολὺς καὶ στρατιώτης ὄμιλος*, 'the great mass of those who lived by soldiering.'

But it is simpler to take *στρατιώτης* as a substantive joined with *ὄμιλος* by *καί*, when *ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος* will mean the bulk of those remaining behind, and *ὁ πολὺς στρατιώτης* the bulk of the soldiery, in so far as these two classes are really distinguished. Those who remained in Athens on this occasion to carry on as dicasts and in the ecclesia had been or would be soldiers on other occasions; those who were going to Sicily were to come back to do public work in Athens; all alike hoped for *αἰδῖον μισθοροράν*. *ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος καὶ στρατιώτης* is then 'the average citizen and soldier' of a city-in-arms, where every citizen was or had been a soldier. Very similar is VIII. 9. 3 *οἱ δὲ ὀλίγοι καὶ ξυνειδότες* (the reading of B, adopted by Stahl and Goodhart, against *οἱ δὲ ὀλίγοι ξυνειδότες* of the other MSS., and *οἱ* for *καί* of Hude), where though *οἱ ὀλίγοι* are not identical with *οἱ ξυνειδότες*, yet nearly all the oligarchs would be conspirators, and nearly all the conspirators oligarchs. Compare *παρὰ τοῦ καπήλου καὶ ἐμποροῦ*, Plat. *Protag.* 314A.

34. 7 τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ αἱ γινώμαι ἴστανται, καὶ τοὺς προεπιχειροῦντας ἢ τοῖς γε ἐπιχειροῦσι προδηλοῦντας ὅτι ἀμυνοῦνται μᾶλλον πεφόβηται, ἰσοκινδύνους ἡγούμενοι.

Ἰσοκινδύνους is generally taken to mean 'equal to the danger,' 'a match for it' (so Haase, Bauer, Poppo, Böhme, Classen, Stahl, Jowett, Liddell and Scott); and words like *ισόθεος*, *ισάργυρος*, or even *ισοχειλής*, are supposed to be sufficient parallels. Others translate 'equally ready to face danger' (Bloomfield, Marchant), and quote *ισοτελής*, *ισονομία*, etc., as parallels. But is either of these meanings possible? For the first rendering the first half of the compound, for the second the other half is not analogous. *Ἰσο-* in *ισόθεος*, etc. = 'like,' 'having equal powers with' a god, 'having equal value with silver,' etc. But 'equal to the danger' does not mean 'having the same power as danger' or 'like danger,' but 'able to face it'; and *ἴσος* does not mean 'able to face' a thing (*ἴσος τοῖς παρούσι*, Thuc. I. 132. 2, is perhaps the nearest to this meaning, but still very far

distant). Again, in order to establish the alternative rendering 'equally ready to face danger,' the second half of the compound should be from *κινδυνεύω*, which would have to mean 'to be ready to face danger,' or at least 'to face danger bravely'; whereas it means 'to run a risk,' whether bravely or not, 'to be in danger.'

There is only one natural meaning to *ἰσοκίνδυνος*, 'running equal risks,' 'in equal danger.' This the scholiast clearly felt: *ἦτοι ἐν ὁμοίῳ κινδύνῳ καταστήσαντας ἢ ἰσοπαλεῖς*. Krüger, 'nicht in grösserer Gefahr schwebend als sie', Arnold, and Jowett in an alternative rendering, 'remembering that the enemy are in no greater danger than they,' follow the scholiast. This is not a satisfactory translation of the Greek, which says 'in equal danger,' not 'in no greater danger'; and the Athenians (the implied subject of *ἡγοούμενοι*) would not 'reflect that the Syracusans were in as great danger as themselves,' but 'that they were in as great danger as the Syracusans.' For this it would be necessary to read *ἰσοκίνδυνοι*, and I would accordingly suggest this emendation. For it is not possible to take *ἰσοκίνδυνος* transitively with the scholiast.

In the passage in Dio Cassius in which the word recurs (41. 55), it again means 'running equal risks' (and therefore *ἰσοπαλεῖς*, as the scholiast on Thucydides), not 'equal to the danger': *ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν μέγας καὶ οἶος οὐχ ἕτερος . . . προύχοντος δ' οὖν πολὺ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῷ πλήθει, ἐξισοῦντό σφισιν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ ῥώμῃ. καὶ οὕτως ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου πλεονεξίας καὶ ἰσόρροποι ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνοι ἐγίγνοντο*.

40. 1 'Ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ὧ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι, εἰ μὴ μανθάνετε κακὰ σπεύδοντες, ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων, ἢ ἀδικώτατοι, εἰ εἰδότες τολμᾶτε. ἄλλ' ἦτοι μαθόντες γε ἢ μεταγνόντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμπασι κοινὸν αὐθετε, κ.τ.λ.

So the MSS. and the Oxford editor, but no one else. The objections to it are well stated by Stahl (in Poppo-Stahl), who brackets *ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε*: 'Verba Madvigio auctore [also Dobree] seclusa pro interpretamento habenda sunt verborum ὧ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι non solum propter intole-

rabilem eiusdem sententiae repetitionem, sed etiam quod ἔτι καὶ νῦν cum illis iunctum idoneam sententiam non praebet, quoniam antea nihil dictum est, unde expectari possit eos non iam stultissimos esse; accedit quod εἰ μὴ μανθάνετε κακὰ σπεύδοντες ita duobus membris ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε ἢ ἀδικώτατοι praepositum est, quasi ad utrumque pertineat, quod ne cogitari quidem potest. Profecto qui accuratius totam sententiam examinaverit facile intelleget verba ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν adhortationem quae sequitur inducere et post interpositas compellationes ἄλλ' infra per epanalepsin iterari.'

Yet the resultant reading is not satisfactory either. It is intolerable to separate *ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων* from *ὧ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι*, especially as the latter is intelligible without the former. Other editors therefore remove *ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων* from where the MSS. have it, and place it after *ἀξυνετώτατοι*, at the same time adhering to the exclusion of *ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε* (Cobet, Hude, and so Lamb, *Clio*, p. 302). By this time we have an intelligible sentence, but a great dislocation in the MSS. to account for; moreover *ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε* is not a natural *interpretamentum* of *ὧ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι* by a scholiast or anyone else. If the sense can be saved by a simpler emendation, it will be so much the better. But good sense is obtained by assuming that *γάρ* (or *δέ*) has dropped out after *εἰ*, and that the whole sentence from *εἰ* to *τολμᾶτε* is in parenthesis: 'Ἄλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ὧ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι—εἰ γὰρ μὴ μανθάνετε κακὰ σπεύδοντες, ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων, ἢ ἀδικώτατοι, εἰ εἰδότες τολμᾶτε—ἄλλ' ἦτοι μαθόντες γε ἢ μεταγνόντες κ.τ.λ. If it is necessary to make Athenagoras strictly logical, we must also cut out *ἢ* before *ἀμαθέστατοι*. But it is not necessary; moreover VI. 59. 1, *τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ δι' ἐρωτικὴν λυπὴν ἢ τε ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἢ ἀλόγιστος τόλμα ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα περιδεοῦς Ἀρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐγένετο*, is very similar. There is too a certain point in the repetition of *μανθάνετε* . . . *ἀμαθέστατοι* ('if you can't learn this, you will never learn anything') for a downright, vulgar speaker like Athena-

goras, who talks like a schoolmaster to rough boys.

Early editors saw or felt the necessity for the parenthesis, but did not, so far as I know, suggest the emendation. Arnold, in his first edition (1835), suggests omitting *ἔστε*, but in his translation puts *εἰ μὴ . . . τολμᾶτε* in parenthesis. In later editions he wanted to exclude *ἄξυνετώτατοι* and *ἔστέ*. Poppo in his first edition (1828) suggested *οὐ* after *ἄξυνετώτατοι* and a parenthesis; in his second (1847) *οὐ ἢ εἰ μὴ, κ.τ.λ.*, with a full stop after *τολμᾶτε*, or alternatively

cutting out *ἢ ἀμαθ. ἔστε*. Böhme actually prints *εἰ μὴ . . . τολμᾶτε* in parenthesis, with the note: 'ἔτι καὶ νῦν lässt sich nur mit dem Imper. *αὔξετε* passend verbinden. Es ist daher, wenn man nichts ändern will, *εἰ μὴ—τολμᾶτε* als parenthetische Erläuterung von *ἄξυνετώτατοι* zu nehmen.' It is better to return to this earlier view of the sentence, but it will then be necessary to insert *γάρ* or *δέ* after *εἰ*.

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SOME EMENDATIONS OF PINDAR.

(The numbering of odes and lines follows Gildersleeve and Bury.)

Olymp. XIV. 15 :

ἐπάκοι νῦν, MSS.

One short syllable and a verb are required. Bergk coined a verb *ἐπηκοέω* and read *ἐπακοούτε*. Such a drastic expedient seems unnecessary, when it is open to us to read *ἐπάκοοι ἔστε*, by prodelision or aphaeresis. I conceive that *ἐπάκοοι τε* was the first stage of corruption, and that *τε* was then struck out as needless.

Pyth. I. 52 :

φαντὶ δὲ λαμβάνειν ἔλκει τειρόμενον μεταλλάσσοντας
(with a variant *μεταλάσσοντας*) *ἐλθεῖν ἡρώας . . . MSS.*

μεταβάσσοντας (Kayser) hardly accounts for what confronts us in the MSS. I propose <Fe> *μεταλλῶντας*, the corruption being due to attempts to crowd the more familiar *ἀλλάσσω* into the line. The sense 'inquiring after' seems appropriate, as the heroes would naturally have to make a few preliminary enquiries before finding a wounded man who had been marooned on the island years before. We should then place a comma after *ἀντιθέους*.

Pyth. III. 106 :

δλβος οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν ἀνδρῶν ἔρχεται,
†ὅς πολὺς εὐτ' ἂν ἐπιβρίσαις ἐπηται.

ὅς seems to be the seat of corruption; *πολὺς* is probably sound, for, as Bergk remarks, Pindar is paraphrasing the proverb, *τίκτει τοι κόρος ὕβριν, ὅτ' ἂν πολὺς δλβος ἐπηται*. Disson's *παμ-*

πολὺς is too far from MS. testimony. I would suggest *τέως πολὺς*, 'when for a while. . . .' The syllable *τε-* seemed to be hypermetrical, and was probably confused with *τε* 'and,' and therefore struck out. The suggestion *σὼς* seems unsatisfactory, since the word, comma'd off at the beginning of the line and carried over from the previous one, would have a strong emphasis, which its weak sense does not qualify it to bear.

Pyth. XI. 57 :

μέλανος ὁ δ' ἔσχατὸν
καλλίονα θανάτου ἔσχευ ἐν (some MSS. omit ἔσχευ)
γλυκυτάτῃ γενεᾷ MSS.

Whilst not denying the merits of Wilamowitz' *στείχοι* for *ἔσχευ*, I think that *ἔσχευ* derives some support from the fact that Pindar associates *ἔσχατος* and *ἔσχευ* in *Nem. X. 32* (*v. Bury ad loc.*) and *Isthm. VI. 36*. If Pindar did not actually connect the words etymologically, he may very possibly have liked the assonance. Therefore perhaps he wrote here *θανάτοι' ἔσχευ*. For the elision of genitive termination in *-οιο cf. Nem. IX. 55* (*σκοποῖ' ἀγχιस्ता*), *Ol. XIII. 35*, *Pyth. I. 39*, *Isthm. I. 16*, *Bacchylides V. 62* (*ἀπλάτοι' Ἐχίδνας*), and *X. 120*. The omission of *ἔσχευ* in some MSS. is perhaps due to an erasion preparatory to making a correction of the hiatus, which was never carried

out; cf. the omission of *πλούτῳ* by B and B in *Nem.* XI. 41.

Nem. IV. 90:

τὸν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραίος προπάτωρ	89
† ὁ σὸς αἰέσεται, παῖ. †	90
ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι.	91

Metre requires in 90 $\cup - \cup - \cup - \cup -$. Read perhaps either *εὐὸς αἰέσέ κ' ἑταῖς*, 'with a ready spirit Euphanes have sung of him to his comrades' (had he had the chance before death cut him off), or *εὐὸς αἰεσεν ἑταῖς*. The *ἑται* will correspond to the *ἄλικες* of 91. In either case *εὐὸς αἰέσεται* would be the intermediate stage of corruption (in the first suggestion, perhaps in uncials, ΑΕΙCΕΚΚΕΤΑΙC). *εὐὸς*, being then devoid of sense, was altered to *ὁ σὸς*, *παῖ* being added to explain the reference of *σὸς* and fill out the line to the requisite number of syllables.

Nem. VII. 33:

βοαθῶν, τοὶ γὰρ ὤ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν κ.τ.λ.

Didymus' *παρὰ* for *γὰρ* seems too easy a word to suffer alteration. Perhaps *τοί γ' ἄρα, τοί* then being relative.

Nem. IX. 25:

δ δ' Ἀμφιάρῃ { *σχίσαις* (B first hand, B) *κεραυνῶ* . . . 24
σχίσεν (D)
σχίσε (B second hand).
Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα, κρύψεν δ' ἄμ' ἵπποις
 (all MSS.) 25.

Professor Bury argues very soundly that *σχίσεν* could not give rise to *σχίσαις*; the converse process, I hope to show, would be easy. *σχίσαις* with *κρύψεν δ'* in 25 gives an anacoluthon. *κρύψ' <ἄνδρ'> ἄμ' ἵπποις*, Professor Bury, on the strength of a supposed responson; but again the word is too common to be likely to suffer corruption. More probable, perhaps, would be *Fe*, thus: *κρύψεν F' ἄμ' ἵπποις*. The digamma was of course lost, and the metre restored by the insertion of *δ'* in its place. This involved the further alteration of *σχίσσαις* (the form necessary for metre) to *σχίσεν*.

Isthm. I. 41:

ἀρεταῖ	} κατάκειται B
ἀρεταῖ	
ἀρετᾶ	κατάκειται D.

The received explanation that *κατάκειται* = 'incumbit 'expends his efforts on,' is very dubious. Professor Bury receives Bergk's *ἀνάκειται* into his text,

in the sense of 'is devoted, dedicated to deeds of excellence.' Its use, however, apart from inanimate offerings, is hard to parallel. In Eur. *Bacch.* 934 *σοὶ γὰρ ἀνακείμεσθα δῆ*, the words seem to imply merely that Pentheus is a helpless thing in the god's power. More plausible as sense, and not much worse palaeographically, would be *ποτίκειται*; for confusions of *π* and *κ* compare perhaps the scholiast's *κατὰ* for *παρὰ* in *Pyth.* X. 4.

Isthm. V. 36:

ἀλλ' Διὰκίδαν καλέων.	35
ἐς πλόον κήρυσε δαινυμένων B	36
ἐς πλόον κήρυσε δανυμένων D	

The scholiast might seem to imply *δαινύμενον*, but in view of the consensus of MSS. and the improbability that it would give rise to *δαινυμένων*, I think we may regard *δαινύμενον* and conjectures which depend on it as out of court. No attempt to supply the metrical deficiency can be more than plausible, but it may be suggested that *<κούρων> κύρυσεν δαινυμένων* would be a more plausible solution than some that have been advanced. As Telamon had no child, he is probably conceived as a *κούρος* himself. This suggestion leaves a loophole for lipography, which other conjectures do not (e.g. Triclinius' *πάντων*). *Il.* Δ 385 *κιχήσατο Κασμεΐωνας | δαινυμένους* supports *κύρυσεν* here as against *κήρυσεν, κάρυξε*, etc.

Isthm. VI. 8:

ἦτ' ἀμφὶ Τειρεσίᾳ πικιναιῖς βουλαῖς MSS.

The simplest cure for the metre would seem to be *ἦτ' ἀμφὶ Τειρεσίᾳ πικναῖσι βουλαῖς*.

Isthm. VI. 28:

ὅστις . . . χάλαζαν αἵματος . . . ἀμύνεται,	27
λοιγὸν † ἀμύνων † ἐναντίῳ στρατῷ.	28

Metre and sense are violated by *ἀμύνων*, which is evidently a dittography from *ἀμύνεται* above. Metre requires $\cup - \cup -$. As *ἀμύνεται* in MSS. would not fall immediately above the corrupted word, it is probable that the latter bore a considerable graphical resemblance to it; otherwise it would scarcely have been affected by it. The conjectures *ἀντιφέρων* (Bergk), *ἀντιπύων* (Hermann), *ἄντα τρέπων* (Bury), *ἀμπεπαλὼν* (Mommsen), hardly satisfy this

condition. I suggest that the truth is *ἀντανύων* (= *ἀνα-τανύων* = *ἀνατείνων*). The form *ἀντανύω* occurs in Callim. *hymn. Jov.* 30. For the sense of *ἀνατείνω* = 'to hold out threateningly,' cp. *τὴν μάχαιραν ἀνατεταμένους* Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 1. 2; οὐδὲ Πολυδεύκεος βία χεῖρας ἀντείνειτ' ἂν ἐναντίον αὐτῷ Simonides 8 [20] (Bergk); οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν εἶχε ἀνατεῖναισθαι φοβερόν Demosth. 389. 1, etc. Corruption of *ἀντανύων* was perhaps due to a lipography in the first instance, resulting in *λοιγονανυων*; the remnant was then either altered to *ἀμύνων* on the model of *ἀμύνεται* above, or simply further corrupted from it by a ditto-graphy.

Isthm. VII. 13:

τὸ δὲ πρὸ ποδὸς ἄρειον ἀεὶ | χρῆμα MSS.

Again metrically deficient. Here, too, most of the suggestions can show no motive for loss. The scholiast has *πᾶν δὲ προσήκει τὸ παρὰ πόδας πρᾶγμα σκοπεῖν καὶ εὖ διατιθέσθαι. § ἀεὶ δὲ βέλτιον ἔστι πᾶν τὸ παρὰ πόδας πρᾶγμα προσβλέπειν.* Hence ἀεὶ <σκοπεῖν> Dissen. But the fact that the scholia paraphrase by three different words makes it unlikely that any one of those words occurred in their text. It may be suggested that they had before them ἀεὶ <νοεῖν>: cp. *Ol.* XIII. 48, *Nem.* V. 18. That this should prove a stumbling-block to copyists would be no matter for surprise (ΑΡΕΙΟΝ ΑΕΙΝΟΕΙΝ).

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LYKOS AND CHIMAIREUS.

IN the *Oxyrhynch. Pap.*, no. 1011, 12 ff., we read about Cydippe that she was seized by the sickness 'that we send out into the wild goats and falsely call sacred.'

... τὴν δ' εἶλε κακὸς χλός, εἶλε δὲ νοῦσος
αἶγας ἐς ἀγριάδας τὴν ἀποπεμπόμεθα,
ψευδόμενοι δ' ἱερὴν φημιζόμεν, ἥ τότε ἀνιγρῇ
τὴν κούρην α[ὐτ]έω <ν> μέχρις ἔτηξε δομῶν.

Dr. Hunt, in his annotation to the verse, refers to Hesych. *Philostr. her.* p. 148, Boisson. *εὐχόμεθα οὖν Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκίῳ τε καὶ Φυξίῳ, . . . τὴν νόσον δὲ εἰς αἶγας, φασί, τρέφει*, and Suid. s.v. *κατ' αἶγας ἀγρίας*, finally to Hippocr. *de morbo comit. ad init.* We may add Plin. *h. n.* VIII. § 115 and XXVIII. 226 (against epilepsy you have to fumigate with goat's or stag's horn; you heal it with *carnes caprinae in rogo hominis tostae*), Kyran. II. 1, 47 de Μέλυ *καπιζομένη* (sc. goat's skin) *ληθαργικοὺς διεγείρει καὶ τοὺς πίπτοντας ἐπιληπτικοὺς καὶ τὰς ὑστερικὰς πνιγμονάς, καὶ αἱ τρίχες καπιζόμεναι τὰ αὐτὰ ποιοῦσι κατ' ἐνέργειαν.* The disease of the Proitides—that according to Roscher's view was a sort of falling sickness—is said to have been cured by the milk of goats which were fed by helleborus, Plin. *h. n.* XXV. 21. The same observation holds good of goat's

blood, cp. Ps. Victor, *de vir. ill.* 66, Marcus Livius Drusus trib. pl. : ' . . . repente in publico concidit sive morbo comitiali seu *hausto caprino sanguine*, semianimis domum relatus.' That wolf's skin or hair sometimes produced a similar effect we may guess from the general superstitious character that the ancient attached to this animal, cp. e.g. Plin. XXVIII. 157 and 257, from Kyran. II. 11, 12 (drinking wolf's blood makes the drinker incurably insane—that is the reverse side to the same idea). It is tempting to compare a personal name as Ἀλκο-λύκα (J.G. IX. 2, nr. 1337) with the Ἀλεξίδα, the ancestress of a family which believed to possess a curative method against epilepsy (*Plut. quaest. Gr.* 23). We may also refer to the Grove of *Lycus*, where the *mystae* of Andania were purified, Paus. IV. 1, 6, *Λύκου δρυμόν ἐτι ὀνομάζουσιν ἔνθα ἐκάθηρε τοὺς μύστας* (in the same way in Athens the *λύκοι* or 'outcasts' may originally have been purified in the Lykeion).

Then we have, according to Callimachus in the *Aetia* (see above), Apollo Lykios, and Phyxios. Moreover, we know from Eleutherai on the Cithaeron Dionysos Μελάναιγος who had made the daughters of Eleuther insane. But Apollo, as well as Artemis, is the proper

god for healing such diseases. In Lokroi and Rhegion there once broke out an epidemical frenzy amongst the women, and by order of the Delphian oracle they had to sing sixty pæans of spring on the twelfth day in order to be cured (*Apoll. hist. mir.* 40, p. 113, West.). The combination of wolf and goat are met with in *Pap. Berol.* II. 141, just in the invocation of Apollo: *ποίησις τῆς πράξεως· τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὄνυχας προβάτου, τῇ δευτέρᾳ αἰγὸς ὄνυχας, τῇ τρίτῃ λύκου τρίχας ἢ ἀστράγαλον* (you note the climax, wolf's hair is the strongest ingredient of them all). But in the cult of Asklepios and Apollo in Erythrai (Wilamowitz, *Nordionische Steine*, nr. 11, l. 9) exactly the contrary way of offering was enforced: [μῆ]δὲ αἰγείῳ μ[ηδὲ . . .

We have to bear all this in mind when we read in the inscription of the Delphian Labyadae (*Ditt. Syll.*² 438, 194 ff.) about the *χίμαιρα* of the *δυωδεκαῖς* and *τὰ τῶι Λυκείῳ δάρματα*, which forthwith shall fall to the share of Buzyga, daughter of Phanotos. According to a different tradition, Buzyga was the daughter of Λύκος, not of Phanotos (or Panopos, Phanoteus), schol. Apoll. Rhod. I. 185. Then a young billy-goat plays a rôle in the story of Harpa-λύκη; this heroine, as well as Harpa-λύκος, belongs to the same town on the frontier of Phocis and Boeotia (cp. the articles 'Harpalyke,' 'Harpalykos,' in Roscher's *Lex.* and the *Realencykl.*, then Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol.* 220 and 1294). This combination of λύκος and χίμαιρα we meet again, remarkable to state, in the brethren Lykos and Chimaireus in Troas, sons of Prometheus (*Lykophr.* 132, with schol. and Tzetzes). During a pestilence in Sparta Menelaos was sent off to Troas to propitiate the brethren, *τοὺς ἐν Τροίᾳ κρονίους δαίμονας*, schol. min. II. V. 64 (in Thymbra? s the sagacious supposition of Gruppe, basing upon *θύμβρα* or *cunila* as food of goats, *l.c.* 306 and 1390, note 5). Consequently we have to suppose that this pair of daemons can cause and heal pestilence (perhaps we have to think of λιμός too [this is the writing of codd. *LT*], not only of λοιμός, and refer the *κρόνιοι δαίμονες* to Kronos as the god of harvest, although

κρονοδαίμων, according to Bekker, *Anecd.* 46, 30, only is used ἐπὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ εὐθεοῦς). Their parents are said to have been Prometheus and Kelaino, and Prometheus takes us back directly to Panopeus in Phokis, where they told of Prometheus as the maker of man (Paus. X. 4, 4), but as to the cultstatue in the same place, they questioned whether to call it Asclepius or Prometheus (Paus. *ib.*). Prometheus himself was in Delphi the ancestor of the sacerdotal family, out of which the Ὀσίοι were elected.

It would be tempting here to make use of Gruppe's hypothesis that Chimaira carried the divine fire in its mouth, and had to be killed before the fire could be brought to man (*Berl. phil. Woch.* XXV. 1905, 387). But this acute hypothesis is too uncertain to clear up the near relationship of Prometheus and Chimaireus. But a personal name as Αἰγίπυρος (s. Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der Eigenn. s.v.*) might favour the same view (the name probably is to be referred to the 'fiery' nature of the goat, or to the colour, cp. Πύριππος and Πυρίππη, Bechtel, *Die histor. Personennamen*, 392).

We have not here to track the intercourse of Boeotia-Phokis and Troas in prehomeric times (cp. Hektor buried by Thebes; Epeios, the son of Panopeus, who made the wooden horse, just as Prometheus in Panopeus made man—and perhaps animals too), nor to follow the ways of the renowned Phlegyans from Orchomenos who founded Panopeus (Chryse was the mother, Chryses the son of Phlegyas, perhaps we may connect this genealogy with the 'gold' that was said once to have been found by the Phoceans on the frontier of Panopeus, Paus. IX. 40, 12), and then set fire to the temple of Apollo in Delphi (more friendly relations to the Apollinic religion appear from schol. Nik. Ther. 685—the different perception of the Phlegyans may be due to the struggle for the hegemony at Delphi between the neighbours Krisa and Panopeus), v. O. Müller, *Orchomenos*, 134, 141, and Höfer in his article 'Phlegyas' in Roscher's *Myth. Lex.* Phlegyas himself was killed ('in Euboea') by Apollo, or, according to

Apollod. II. 5, 5, by Lykos and Nykteus (in this legend Apollinic heroes, as we may suppose)—heroes especially known to us from the myth of Antiope. Moreover, a Λύκος in stone might be seen on the frontier of Phokis and Lokris, according to Anton Lib. 38, probably an old apotropaeic safeguard against enemies, daemonic and human. Further, we hear of Αὐτό-λυκος as the son of the Phoecean princess Philonis and Apollo (or Hermes), schol. *Od.* XIX. 432. Other reminiscences of Lykos in Phokis may be seen in Lyk-oros, Lyk-oreia, on the Parnassus (s. art. 'Lykoros' in Roscher's *Lex.*, and cp. Paus. X. 6, 2 about λύκοι as the guides and saviours from the overhanging inundation), and we may add the very son of Prometheus, Deukalion, if we bear in mind the confusion of the stems λυκ- (λευκός, thence Leukarion, or Deukalion) 'light,' and λυκ- 'wolf.' We find a Δεῦκος, alongside with Λύκος, a Δεύκαρος with Λυκάριος (s. Bechtel, *Die histor. Personennamen*, pp. 278 and 290). Although Usener's quite improbable hypothesis of a 'Radikalmetapher' to account for the melting together of the two stems with their many derivations in mythology has not been favoured, as far as I know, by mythologists, yet the fact itself is beyond doubt (Λύκος is opposed to Νυκτεὺς, to Χθόνιος, Λύκος is son of Αἴγυπτος, or son of Κελαινά, etc.).

But the combination and opposition of λύκος and αἴξ or χίμαιρα is also beyond doubt (cp. e.g. *Anth. Pal.* IX. 558, λύκος χιμαίροσφακτήρ). We know from Thebes and Sparta Αἰγυεύς as the son of Οἶο-λυκος (son of Theras), Paus. IV. 7, 8; the Οἶο-λύκη as the daughter of Αἰγαίων (cp. a shortly forthcoming article in the Swedish *Eranos* by the author of these lines); finally, Λύκος as the brother and antagonist of Αἰγυεύς in Attica (Suid. s. τὸ τοῦ Αἰγέως μαντεύειν hints to his nature as a mantic daemon). Perhaps we may add Αἰγαίων as the son of Λυκάων (Apollod. III. 8, 1) and an Αἰγίος as the son of Αἴγυπτος (Apollod. II. 1, 5)—Aigyptos, 'the dark one,' is himself the son of Λευκ-ίππη, according to *Plut. de fluv.* 16.

Wolf and goat are both animals of Apollo (s. Wernicke in the *Realencyklopädie* II. col. 111, Farnell, *Cults*, IV.

254 f.). The supposition of Wide, *Lak. Kulte* 89, that the family of the Aigeidai was especially interested in the cultus of Apollon Amyklaios and his goat, may be correct. A personal name as Λύκων Πυθία from Byzantium (*J.G.* XII. 5, 540) or Λυκῖνος as the son of Archandros on Naxos may be referred to the same cultural connexion (Apollo himself was on Naxos named Τράγιος). In the second oracle of Phlegon, mir. c. 10, l. 47, a white goat is sacrificed to Apollo, and Diels in his *Sibyll. Blätter* 51, compares Liv. XXV. 12 (the sacrifice of two white goats at the Apollinarian games).

Now when we turn to Rome and Italy, we find that the obscure cult of *Vediovis* and the performances of the *hirpi Sorani* bear some resemblance to the cult of Apollon Lykios and Phyxios and an Apollon Tragios. The cult-statue of Vediovis looked like an Apollo (Wissowa, *Religion u. Cultus der Röm.*,² 237, A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I. 712), the site of his first temple on the Tiber isle, his arrows and his goat may all be referred to his character as a god that can heal and evoke pestilence. The 'wolves of Soracte' with their jumping over burning wood perform cathartic rites, which likewise tend to avert pestilence (Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² III. 311; W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 84, the material was completely collected by Mannhardt, *A. W. u. F.* 318 ff.). No doubt the legend told by *Serv. Aen.* XI. 785, about the wolves that seize upon the flesh on the flaming altar and run away with it to the cavern which exhales the deadly putrid smell, will just explain the running of the 'wolves' (*hirpi*) over the flaming fuel as the proper way to get rid of menacing pestilence. Finally, the *creppi* of the Lupercalia, the feast for 'keeping the wolves off,' may be mentioned in this connexion.

The goats and the wolves, in Italy as well as in Greece, clearly provoked similar superstitions, and for the Vediovis in Rome the affiliation to Greek cults (e.g. to an Apollo in Cumae who had the same religious character as the Callimachean Lykios and Phyxios) may still be open for discussion.

S. EITREM.

Kristiana.

A NUMISMATIC NOTE ON THE LELANTIAN WAR.

THAT the war between Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea for the possession of the rich Lelantian plain was an outstanding event in early Greek history is proved by the mention of it in Thucydides.¹ He says that as a rule the wars in Greece in early times (*πάλαι*) were mere quarrels between neighbours; but on the occasion of the Lelantian war, other Greek cities joined each of the parties as allies (*συνμάρχου*). Herodotus tells us that the people of Samos sided with Chalcis, and those of Miletus with Eretria. Plutarch² informs us that Thessalian knights, under the leadership of Cleomachus, came to the help of the Chalcidians, and determined the battle in their favour.

We are, of course, obliged to take the statement of Thucydides seriously; but I think that some of the modern historians of Greece have built too much on his phrase. Duncker speaks of the war as a long and stubborn one; Beloch³ takes the same view. Holm⁴ extends the field of conflict to Italy, and supposes that the people of Sybaris took part with Eretria, and the people of Croton with Chalcis. Other writers have gone further still, and supposed that the war broke up Greece into two hostile camps.

All this is exaggeration. The evidence does not seem to point to a continued war. That a party of Thessalian knights should have joined in on the side of Chalcis is not unnatural; they were probably connected in some way with the Hippobotae, the aristocratic rulers of the city. As to the aid brought by Miletus to the Eretrians, and by Samos and the Euboic cities of Chalcidice in Thrace to Chalcis, we have no particulars. It can scarcely have been on a large scale, and whatever it was it consisted only of land-troops: there is no mention whatever of a war by sea. We hear only of one battle, decided in favour of the people of Chalcis by the valour of the Thessalian Cleomachus,

and the result of that battle appears to have been the lasting possession by the Chalcidians of the territory in dispute, until the Athenians deprived them of it shortly before the Persian wars.

Nor is Holm's suggestion that the Crotoniates took the part of Chalcis and the Sybarites that of Eretria happy. It is true that Sybaris was conquered and destroyed by Croton about 510 B.C. But the cities had before been on good terms. We even have coins, dating from about the middle of the sixth century, which record a monetary union of the two cities, the name and type of Croton appearing on the obverse and those of Sybaris on the reverse. After 510 there are no coins of Sybaris.

There is practically no external evidence to fix the date of the Lelantian war. Duncker argues, from the use of the word *πάλαι* by Thucydides, that he supposed it to have taken place in the seventh century: Beloch, though he allows that the evidence is quite inconclusive, inclines to 600-570 B.C.⁵ A passage of Theognis⁶ has been cited as showing that the poet of Megara was a contemporary of the war. But that passage does not bear such an inference. Theognis laments the destruction of Cerinthus and the ravaging of the Lelantian plain, and if a doubtful reading be accepted, in some way blames the Cypselidae of Corinth for it. But there is no ground at all for connecting this destruction with a war between Chalcis and Eretria. Another view connects the building of four triremes by the Corinthian Ameinocles about 700 B.C. for the Samians with the same conflict; but as the war was fought by land and not by sea, there is no point in this.

Strabo says⁷ that the cities of Euboea generally lived in harmony, but that Chalcis and Eretria quarrelled about the Lelantian plain. The evidence seems entirely to confirm this statement. In the days when Chalcis and

¹ I. 15.

² *Amator*, p. 760.

³ I. 1, p. 339.

⁴ Papers on the occasion of the seventieth year of E. Curtius.

⁵ I. 1, p. 339.

⁶ II. 891-4; cf. E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, p. 292.

⁷ X. p. 448.

Eretria founded colonies in Thrace in Italy and in Sicily, they appear to have worked in harmony, Chalcis taking the lead, and smaller towns, such as Cyme in Euboea, falling into line. From the time of the introduction of coinage, late in the seventh century, to the time of the Persian wars, they had a uniform though not identical coinage.

It is curious that it did not occur to Holm, who was an accomplished numismatist, to consider the question in relation to the coinages of the cities concerned, the testimony of which is important. Late in the seventh, and early in the sixth, century the cities of Euboea and their neighbours issued coins; and we might fairly expect that if the Lelantian War had been a long and important one it would have left traces on the coinages of the cities involved, as did the Ionian revolt and the confederacy of the Greek cities of South Italy in the sixth century. No such traces are to be found. The indications are all in another direction.

About 600 B.C. the monetary conditions of central Greece were very clearly marked out. Aegina had a monetary standard of her own which spread over the islands of the Aegean to Chios and Rhodes and some cities of the Asiatic mainland, such as Teos and Cnidus. Corinth had a system of her own, the influence of which spread to her colonies in the west and north. The third system was that of a group of cities, the cities of Euboea, Athens, and perhaps Megara. These towns struck uniformly didrachms of about 130 grains (gr. 8.42), bearing

on one side the type belonging to the city which issued them, on the other side an incuse square. From this uniform coinage Athens broke away in the time of Pisistratus;¹ but the cities of Euboea seem to have continued it down to the Persian wars. It is most improbable that Chalcis and Eretria would have adhered to this uniform coinage if there had been a standing feud between them.

A fact mentioned by Strabo suggests the real character of the war. He observes² that the two cities made an agreement, which they inscribed on a slab set up in the temple of Artemis Amarynthia, to use no missile weapons, but only swords and spears. Such an agreement was unique, so far as I know, in ancient history; and it is very suggestive. Probably the war was undertaken as the only way of settling the dispute as to the possession of the plain. A near parallel would be the contest between three hundred Spartans and three hundred Argives for the possession of the Thyreatis. It was a kind of fighting-match or ordeal by combat; and did not permanently embitter the relations between the two cities. It was a knightly combat which taught the cities to respect one another, but left little rancour. The Chalcidians were noted for their knightly character.

P. GARDNER.

¹ For proofs of these assertions I must refer the reader to my *History of Ancient Coinage*.

² X. p. 448.

TICIDAS THE NEOTERIC POET.

In the interesting group of new poets there was one Tidas who wrote lines to Metella disguised under the name of Perilla (Apul. *Apol.* 10; Ovid, *Trist.* II. 433-7), composed at least one Epithalamium (Prisc. *Gram.* II. p. 189) and paid his respects in verse to Valerius Cato (Suet. *de Gram.* 11). Some slight indication of his date may be drawn from a sentence of a letter of Messalla's quoted by Suetonius: 'non esse sibi

rem cum Furio Bibaculo, ne cum Tida quidem aut litteratore Catone.' Presumably he belonged to the period of Virgil's and Messalla's youth when the influence of Catullus and Valerius Cato was still strong.

The name is otherwise unknown, though a Roman knight of the name of Tida is mentioned in Caesar, *Bell. Afr.* 45. A freedman he could hardly have been, despite the name, for it is

not conceivable that a man of low station could have paid suit to a Metella. Doubtless he was a Roman of some position who wrote under a pseudonym. Ovid suggests as much when he says

Quid referam Ticidae, quid Memmi carmen,
apud quos
Rebus adest nomen, nominibusque pudor?

One may well suppose that the name of the writer, as well as of the recipient, needed in this case to be concealed, since the reputation of a distinguished woman was involved. The circumstances were obviously quite different from those in which Tibullus, Gallus, and Propertius wrote.

The methods of concealing names were many. Delia is a translation of Plania, Cynthia is apparently but a metrical equivalent of Hostia, Lycoris seems to be derived from Cytheris by legendary association, Lesbia from Clodia by a literary suggestion. Tidas derives Perilla from Metella by a simple word-play in Greek *μετά~περί*. It is not unlikely that the word Tidas is formed in the same way. The suffix is doubtless the Sicilian Doric form of the patronymic ending as in Lycidas. The rest of the word seems to be a colloquial form of *τύχη*, since Latin inscriptions not infrequently give *Tice*¹ for the very common Tyche. If this be the formation of the word, then Tidas is very probably none other than Clodius Aesopus, the spendthrift son of the actor Aesopus, already known to us from several anecdotes as the lover of Metella, the wife of Lentulus Spinther. The word-play is simple: *τύχη* = *αἷσα* (Aesopus — *αἰσῶπος* = 'the lucky eye'), so that Tidas is intended to be the equivalent of 'filius Aesopi' (Hor. *Serm.* II. 3. 239; Cic. *Ad Att.* XI. 153). The semantic equivalence of the names and the appearance of a Metella as the object of devotion in both instances would seem to warrant the identification proposed.

This son of Aesopus has hitherto been known mainly from stories of his extravagance in connexion with Metella.

Horace's lines, *Serm.* II. 3. 238 ff., are well known,

filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,
scilicet ut deciens solidum absorberet aceto
diluuit insignem bacam.

From his father, the foremost actor in Rome, he had inherited twenty million sesterces and proceeded to waste it with ostentatious lavishness (Macr. *Sat.* III. 14. 14; Val. Mac. IX. 1. 2; Pliny, *N.H.* IX. 122; XXXV. 163). Cicero in the year 46 was grieved to hear that his son-in-law Dolabella was being led astray by the young prodigal, in company with Metella (*Ad Att.* XI. 15. 3, and 23. 3), and two years later reports that Metella's husband, Lentulus, had secured a divorce from his faithless wife (*Ad Att.* XII. 52. 2; XIII. 7. 1). We may, then, assume that the verses of Tidas were written during the last years of Caesar's rule. Porphyrio, who to be sure is frequently inaccurate, in commenting on Horace's lines calls Metella the *uxor* of Aesopus. It may seem pedantic but not wholly unsound literary criticism to suggest that the marriage may be taken as the date *ante quem* of the verses in question.

We may add that there seems to be no good reason for assuming that the famous actor Aesopus was once a slave. Had he been a freedman the fastidious Cicero would hardly have spoken of him in such terms of high respect as he frequently did. Possibly he had been brought to Rome as a captive in war, but it is far more likely that he had been a free citizen of some south Italian Greek town which gained municipal rights in 89, or that he had as a free Greek secured his Roman citizenship through the favour of some Claudius. In that case it is readily understood how his son could associate with such Romans as Dolabella and Metella.

Finally, let me make what may seem a meteoric conjecture that the voluminously discussed *simius iste* (Valerius Cato's ape, cf. Hendrickson, *Class. Phil.* 1919, p. 334) of Horace, *Serm.* I. 10. 18, may be this very Tidas-Aesopus. I make the suggestion because Messalla connected the names of Valerius Cato and Tidas so closely in the passage quoted by Suetonius: 'non esse sibi

¹ Cf. *C.I.L.* 8, 3158; 10, 8249; 7816; 12, 5699¹⁰.

rem cum Furio Bibaculo, ne cum Ticide quidem aut litteratore Catone.' Professor Hendrickson has already suggested that this quotation of Messalla's seems to be taken from a letter intimately connected with Horace's *Serm.*

I. 10. Perhaps some reader may be able to forge the missing link of the incomplete argument.

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SOME READINGS IN ACHILLES TATIUS.

I. 2. 3. πάντως δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος τόπος ἡδὺς καὶ μύθων ἄξιος ἐρωτικῶν.

Should we not read ὅτι οὗτος ὁ τόπος?

I. 4. 3. τοιαύτην εἶδον . . . ἐπὶ ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Σελήνῃν.

Europa is referred to. Is not the original Σιδωνίαν (a Sidonian girl)?

I. 15. 5. τὰ δὲ ἄνθη ποικίλῃν ἔχοντα τὴν χροίαν ἐν μέρει συνεξέφαινε τὸ κάλλος, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς γῆς πορφύρα καὶ νάρκισσος καὶ ῥόδον· μία μὲν τῷ ῥόδῳ καὶ τῷ ναρκίσσῳ ἡ κάλυξ, ὅσον εἰς περιγραφὴν· καὶ ἦν φιάλη τοῦ φυτοῦ. ἡ χροιά δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν κάλυκα φύλλων ἐσχισμένων, τῷ ῥόδῳ μὲν αἵματος ὅμουν ἰῶν καὶ γάλακτος τὸ κάτω τοῦ φύλλου.

For ἦν τοῦτο we should read ἐν ταύτῃ = 'on the same spot of earth. In § 6 the violet is described. Hence we should read πορφυρᾷ ἴα καὶ ν., the error having arisen from haplography. § 4 has καὶ ἦν βόστρυχος τοῦ φυτοῦ, of which ἦν φιάλη is an echo. We should read as a parenthesis (καὶ ἀμφιλάφει τῷ φυτῷ) 'these two are big flowers,' the opposite of the violet, whose leaves were οὐδαμοῦ (§ 6). The next words seem to contrast the edges of the rose-leaves with the bottom of the same. May we read αἵματος ἄνωθεν, καὶ κτλ.?

2. 2. 2. διηγοῦνται μῦθον, οἶνον οὐκ εἶναί πω παρ' ἀνθρώποις, οὐπω παρ' αὐτοῖς (GH ὅπου μήπω παρ' αὐτοῖς) οὐ τὸν μέλανα κτλ.

GH is 'a better text,' as Mr. Gaselee says. Is it not likely that underlying it is the reading οὐ φῦναί πω παρ' αὐτοῖς? The repetition is effective (ο = ου, μ = ν as often).

2. 4. 2. τὸ αὐτόματον ἡμῶν προῦνός· σεν ἡ τύχη.

ἡ τύχη = 'how things are to turn out' would make good sense.

2. 10. 3. προσεῖμι θρασύτερος γενομένος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης προσβολῆς, ὥσπερ στρατιώτης ἡδὴ νενικηκώς.

Is not πρὸς ἦτταν the true reading = 'in respect of being defeated'? α and η may have changed places; ν and τ are very similar in uncials.

5. 22. 3. Ποῖον ἄνδρα; οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἐστὶν ἢ τοῖς λίθοις.

We should read κοινὸν στηλίταις λίθοις, especially as ἀλλά με παρευδοκίμει τις νεκρά follows. ε = σ, σ = τ, ι = η, ν = λ as often.

5. 25. 8. εὐνοῦχε καὶ ἀνδρόγυνε καὶ κάλλους καλοῦ βάσκανε.

Should we not read κήλη β. = 'ruptured beauty'?

6. 9. 3. φέρε πάντα τιμῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὰ νανάγια.

ναύτου would make good sense.

6. 19. 4. φύσει τε ὦν ἄσπονδος.

γε, causal, would be idiomatic.

6. 22. 1. καὶ ἡ Λευκίππη εἶπεν 'Εἰ παρθένος καὶ μετὰ Σωσθένην'.

ἦ, a strong asseveration, would suit her passionate claim to purity.

7. 3. 1. ἐποιοῦμην δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Σμύρνης ὁδόν.

ἐφερόμην is possible, ι often resembling ρ.

7. 3. 7. παραδίδωσι τῷ νῦν ἔφη κακῇ τύχῃ μοι συνωδευκότε.

ἐπὶ κ.τ. is the original.

7. 9. 13. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, μαθεῖν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐξέσται.

οἶμαι is the original, σ being misread for ι.

7. 10. 3. λάθρα τινὰ τῶν προστατῶν . . . ἀποστέλλει.

I.e. προπετῶν, στ having supplanted π as often.

7. 13. 1. This passage should be read as follows: ὡς δὲ ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, θάρσος αὐτῇ καὶ ἐλπίς ἢ συνήθης εἰσέρχεται (μνημη γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦ πολλάκις παρὰ δόξαν σεσῶσθαι πρὸς τὸ πάρον τῶν κινδύνων τὴν ἐλπίδα προὔξεν) ἀποχρησθαι τῇ τύχῃ.

PARTHENIUS.

V. περὶ Λευκίππου. § 2 τῆς δὲ παραχρήμα τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν φάμενης τελευτεῖν ῥῶν ἤδη γέγονεν.

I.e. τελεῶσθαι, τ being misread as σ.

§ 5 Θετταλοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν . . . ἡγήσατο.
ἱππόταις is the original.

IX. περὶ Πολυκρίτης. § 8 τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ οἱ Νάξιοι πάντες πολὺν πόθον εἶχον βιάσασθαι τὴν κόρην· καὶ οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτὴν μίτραις ἀνέδουν, οἱ δὲ ζωναῖς κτλ.

ἐπιέσασθαι must be the true reading, the Middle expressing the action of a whole people.

XIII. περὶ Ἀρπαλύκης. § 3 . . . θυσίας . . . ἐν ᾗ δημοσίᾳ πάντες εὐωχοῦνται καὶ τότε σκενάσασα τὰ κρέα . . . παρατίθῃσι . . .

Should we not read ἐκάστοτε, σκ.?

XIV. περὶ Ἀνθέως. § 5 καὶ ἐκαθαψαμένη γούνων ἀτέλεστα κομίσσαι πείσει (ll. 13-14).

I.e. ἃ τ' ἄλαστα, τ' idiomatic in a relative sentence.

XV. περὶ Δάφνης. παρεσκευασμένη δὲ πύκνας ἐθήρευν.

I.e. λύγκας. π and λ are often confused.

XXII. περὶ Νανίδος. μὴ ἀθροισθὲν τὸ συμμαχικὸν αὐτῆς τῷ Κροίσῳ κτλ.

I.e. Λυδίας, 'from Lydia'; α = λ.

T. W. LUMB.

HORACE, Odes I. 34, 7.

namque Diespiter
igni corusco nubila dividens
plerumque per purum tonantis
egit equos volucrumque currum.

When the ordinary Roman citizen bought a copy of Horace's *Odes* and carried it home to read, how far was his understanding helped by any system of punctuation supplied by the author or the publisher? I have no first-hand acquaintance with Latin manuscripts, but I infer that the commas, which spring so plentifully in the path of the modern reader, were unknown to Horace's contemporaries. Let anyone read through the *Odes*, 'thinking away' the commas, and he will find that they were after all unnecessary for the understanding of the text, except in one line. Everywhere else he has two unfailing guides—the syntactical construction and the rhythm of the metre.

The solitary exception is the passage I have quoted. How was our Roman to know that *plerumque* qualified *dividens*? Now the earlier editors of Horace, reasonably enough, took *plerumque* with the succeeding words, and, less reasonably, tried to explain it as equivalent to *saepe*, a use established for Silver Latin. Bentley fancied that he was the first to

put a comma after *plerumque*, but found that he had been anticipated by one Thomas Bangius, *cuius*, as he remarks rather testily, *ne nomen quidem antea audiveram*.

If Horace had any commas at his disposal, no doubt he put one after *plerumque*. Thomas Bangius shall have the credit for his sagacity, and the case is closed. But if Horace had no comma or its equivalent, there are two objections to inserting one. (1) The metre is dead against it. (2) The position of *plerumque* requires some explanation. Bentley seems to have felt this, and quotes *Epist.* II. 2, 84:

statua taciturnius exit
plerumque et risu populum quatit;

and *Lucr.* 5, 1131:

invidia quoniam ceu fulmine summa vaporant
plerumque et quae sint aliis magis edita cumque

These passages are hardly in point, because in each *plerumque* clearly qualifies the second, as well as the first, clause. (He might have added *Hor. A.P.* 14: *inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis*.) When a word in Latin is intended to qualify two groups of words, its most effective position is at

the end of the first group. Outside Lucretius, *plerumque* is rare in Latin poetry, and I have yet to find a clear example of it placed last in its clause.

It may be said in justification that at Rome poetry was disseminated rather by the ear than by the eye; the pause after, instead of before, *plerumque* may have been established by the author's own manner of recitation. Horace at any rate rarely gave his readers that advantage: *non recito cuiquam nisi amicis idque coactus*.

Or again, it may be argued that common sense would prevent anyone from taking *plerumque* with *egit* rather than with *dividens*. But has any author a right to go out of his way to create even a possible misunderstanding? Why could not Horace have written

plerumque nubes fulmine dividens?

He puts *plerumque* exactly in the right place in the only other passage in the *Odes* where he uses it, III. 21, 14:

*tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
plerumque duro.*

Of all writers Horace is the least likely to put the right word in the wrong place.

My object is not to propose emendation, but to raise the wider question of punctuation as it affects textual criticism. Ought we not to be perfectly clear about the extent and limits of classical punctuation before we emend Latin texts? Will some competent scholar boldly print this ode exactly as he supposes it to have appeared when it dangled from the Sossii's doorpost?

I turn to Professor Housman, and I find that he would print in *Sat.* I. 3, 103:

*donec verba, quibus sensus, vocesque, notarent,
nominaque invenere.*

This is very ingenious; but could Horace have written or even recited it so? I turn to Professor Postgate, and I find him inserting a comma in Catullus 6, 7:

*nam te non viduas iacere noctes,
nequiquam tacitum, cubile clamat.*

Perhaps this is what Catullus meant, but is it what his readers understood him to mean?

Let me give an illustration. Mrs. Leo Hunter's Ode, as every scholar knows, is preserved in a single carelessly written manuscript *V* (*Cod. Vorobibiensis*, now in the Municipal Library of Eatonswill). The first two lines appear thus in all the early editions:

*Can I view thee panting, lying
On thy stomach without sighing?*

Satisfactory as this may appear to the ordinary reader, it affords an opportunity to a Bentley or a Bangius. He deftly inserts a comma after 'stomach,' a *palmaria emendatio* indeed! It is a real *restoration* of the text, because that comma was, or ought to have been, part of the equipment of the gifted authoress for the exact expression of her meaning. But is it possible to restore the text of Horace or Catullus in the same way by inserting a comma?

As Rosa Dartle would say: 'Is it really, though? I want to know.'

J. H. VINCE.

SOME PASSAGES FROM THE *METAMORPHOSIS* OF OVID.

Met. VIII. 117:

*nam quo deserta revertar?
in patriam? superata iacet. sed finge
manere:
proditione mea clausa est mihi. patris ad
ora,
quem tibi donavi? cives odere merentem,
117 finitimi exemplum metuunt, exponimur
orbe
terrarum, nobis ut Crete sola pateret.*

117 sic M et unus Heinsii. exponimus orbem N, Paris 8001, *Spirensis*.

obstruximus orbem . . . nobis: (cf. 185 sq. infra) cum dett Naugerius. orbi coniecit Heinsius.

In this passage, once it is agreed that we should, as Heinsius urged, adopt 'exponimur,' the reading of the best MS., M, much—if not everything—will depend upon a correct punctuation. Now M places a stop after 'terrarum' in line 118, showing that here (as at *Lucr.* 5. 1166 f.) the expression 'orbis—

terrarium,' though divided between two lines, is clearly to be regarded as a single word.¹

Heinsius in his manuscript collation of M duly noted the stop: so did Merkel in the text of his second edition. Dr. Magnus, the most recent editor, does not. He either ignores or overlooks the evidence and, following a modification of Bentley by P. von Winterfeld, is led to print 'exponimur orbae, terrarum nobis,' etc., *i.e.* . . . 'marooned' (? or 'exposed,' 'modus loquendi sumptus ab infantibus,' Heinsius: *cf. ad* 9. 779 [780] Schepper), 'forlorn, for Crete alone of lands to shelter.' The true reading and interpretation seem to hinge on a slight transposition, for which we must turn to two other witnesses, one of them beyond question a 'testis locupletissimus,' viz. Kings 26 (saec. xi.), the British Museum MS., which Mr. Housman unearthed. In that, and in a much later MS. (*anni* 1472), copied from a good original, No. 1045 in the Arsenal Library in Paris, the order of the second and third words in the line is reversed.² Adopt that change with the reading *and the punctuation* of M and you come, with the change of a single letter, either to the truth itself or, at least, next door to the truth:

cives odere merentem
finitimi metuunt, exemplum exponimur orbi
terrarium, nobis ut Crete sola pateret.

Scylla dwells upon the widening circle of her own infamy, in order to emphasize the heartlessness of Minos. 'My fellow-citizens hate me, the neighbouring peoples fear me, yes, and I let myself be proverbial for a warning to the whole world, all in the hope that

Crete would be vouchsafed to me.' There seems to be an authentic echo of the true verse and view in S. Augustine's famous prose-phrase:

'securus iudicat orbis
Terrarum.'

For the syntax see Catullus 101. 3 and *Aeneid* 6. 534, with Dr. Reid's note on Cicero, *Pro Sulla*, § 57, and for 'exemplum' in the sense of 'a warning,' if the use needs illustration, compare *Met.* IX. 455, 'Byblis in exemplo est, ut ament concessa puellae'; Plautus, *Rudens* 620; Prop. 4. 1. 109. Heinsius *ad loc.* exemplifies the meaning of 'exponere.' Add Cicero, *Phil.* 2. 114, which links the two words 'exemplum' and 'exponere' together, though in a different sense, in one context.

I said above 'next door to the truth': for is 'exponimur' a 'freak' word, representing an original text 'expo ponimur?'³ Cappelli gives 'EXP' as a recognised abbreviation in early MSS. for 'exemplum,' and in that case we can account at once for the corruption (the abbreviation tacked on by haplography to 'ponimur' and the 'expansion' interpolated in the wrong case at the wrong place in the line), but Professor Lindsay⁴ traverses Cappelli's assertion, and I mention this view therefore with all due reserve. It is a luxury, not a necessity.

Last, it should be observed that Dr. Magnus makes some atonement for overlooking the point in M by giving publicity in his note to a conjecture which deserves attention, viz. Santen's '. . . Crete nobis ut sola pateret'—an order of words which would certainly round off well the rhetoric of a highly rhetorical passage.

Met. VIII. 411-413:

misit et Aesonides iaculum, quod casus ab illo
vertit in inmeriti casum tlatrantis et inter
ilia coniectum tellure per ilia fixum est.

How little Heinsius believed in the assumption that in a context like this 'latrans' is legitimate or acceptable Latin for a hound is shown by the fact that after adopting the above reading

¹ This device is more frequent in the Horatian than in the Ovidian Hexameter. *Cf.* Hor. *S. i.* 2. 62; 9. 51; *ii.* 3. 117 and 179; *Ep.* *ii.* 2. 93 and 188; *A.P.* 290 and 424. Here it seems to me to help most effectively the ascending scale: 'cives—finitimi—orbis!' The 'overflow' is in every sense of the word momentous. It is akin to the fine 'hypermeters' in Horace, *C.* 2. 3. 27; 3. 29. 35 f., and Vergil, *Aen.* 4. 625. With the authority of the best MS. behind it, is not to be gainsaid.

² Elisions of the type 'finitimi exemplum' are rare in the *Met.*—1 in 1000 lines *about*—a minor point in a difficult problem, but nevertheless worth weighing.

³ *Cf.* Prop. 2. 3. 42, 'Hic dominam exemplo ponat in arte meam.'

⁴ *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 426.

from the 'Cantabrigiensis' as a *pis aller* in the text he proceeds to argue in his note that a proper name is required and tries to supply the need by conjecturing Celadontis. Hounds have been mentioned a few lines above (332, 343 f.), but not by name; and why it should be thought that a dog's name is concealed, it is not easy to apprehend. No Argus or Gelert had earned an immortality in the Annals of the Caledonian Hunt. But we know, or should know, from the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus, that before the boar was killed one of the hunters was accidentally shot. This is how Apollodorus presents the facts: *περιστάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν κάπρον Ἰλεὺς μὲν καὶ Ἀγκαῖος* (cf. *supra* 391-402) *ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρὸς διεφθάρησαν, Εὐρυτιῶνα δὲ Πηλεὺς ἄκων κατηκόντισε* (*Bibl.* i. 8. 2. 6). Elsewhere (iii. 13. 2) he refers again to the incident thus: *ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ Καλυδωνίου κάπρου μετ' Εὐρυτιῶνος ἔλθων (Πηλεὺς), προιέμενος ἐπὶ τὸν σὺν Ἀκόντιον Εὐρυτιῶνος τυγχάνει καὶ κτείνει τούτου ἄκων*. As Ovid appears to be drawing on Apollodorus for the essentials of the story,¹ I take it we should restore 'Eurytionis' for 'Ilatrantis,' almost without a moment's hesitation. The variant 'in mentum' for 'inmeriti' may point to 'intenti' (cf. 311 *supra*, *inpiger Eurytion*), but that is a detail which need not be pressed. The name 'Eurytion' puzzled the scribes when it occurred before. There, however, they gave us something that was not—like the traces here where the *vetus lectio* in MN is erased beyond recovery—altogether unrecognisable, without the help of external evidence. But if 'Eurytionis' is right, then 'Aesonides' in the line before is wrong. Ovid² knew the story too well to make such a blunder; but his scribes did not. Jason has already (349 *supra*) shot his bolt and played his part. The 'et' ('misit *et* Aesonides') suggests a fresh

participant. On these grounds Tan. Faber conjectured Oeclides, a suggestion which Burmann seems only to condemn in order to offer an emendation of his own. The remedy is to be found in a slighter change. Read *Aeacides* and the wound is healed.

misit et Aeacides iaculum, quod casus ab illo vertit in inmeriti fatum Eurytionis, et inter ilia coniectum tellure per ilia fixum est.

At *Met.* XI. 714 read:

mane erat: egreditur tectis ad litus et illum maesta locum repetit, de quo spectarat euntem.

dumque moratur ibi, dumque 'Hic retinacula solvit, 'hoc mihi discedens dedit oscula litore,' dicit,

714 *quae cunctata loqui est, reminiscitur acta, fretumque prospicit.*

714. *quae dum tota locis M (locis et Spirensis); dumque notata oculis cett. fere, Naugerius, Madvig (cl. Quint. II. 2. 17), edd.*

It is strange that this passage has not been emended before. The context cries out for a sharper antithesis between the *words* and the *thoughts* of Alcyone (else why the stress on 'dicit'?), and though both readings are manifestly corrupt, yet they help one another out in a most accommodating spirit. In other passages of the poem the text has been vitiated by loss of the first word in a line. For one striking instance—viz. 9. 415—see *C.R.* 29. 58b. Less controversial and more 'luciferous' is 10. 68. There we can watch the genesis of the corruption—'quam qui in se recte M; qui (que *man. al. s.s.* quam) in se *Urbinas* 341: qui (que *s.l. man. sec.*) in se *Pal. Vat.* 1669 [*omisso τῷ quam, interpolatum est—vide ad 9. 718; 10. 264; alibi—τὸ -que, ne claudat versus:*] quique in se N, *Paris* 8001, *cett. fere.*'

Here Malone has preserved the 'quae'; while *per contra* 'notata (= nctata)'³—a relique of 'cunctata,' the key-word and stumbling-block—comes from the *deteriores*. 'Loqui' is corrupted into 'oculis' at 5. 678, and, as 'locor' for

¹ Compare with the corrupt line (317a) in M 'venit Athalantis cenei pulcherrima virgo' the words of Apollodorus *loc. cit.* Ἀταλάντη Σχοινέως ἕξ Ἀρκαδίας, from which one might conceivably conjecture that the line should run Schoenëis || Atalanta venit, etc.; cf. *Am.* I. 7. 13.

² See Book XI.

³ *o=c.* So the scribe of Harley MS. 2610 gives Ovid's name on his first page as P. C. Naso.

'loquor' occurs in π^1 at 2. 142 and in *Pal. Vat.* 1669 at 14. 172, the 'loqui est' may at one stage of transmission have been written 'locist,' from which it is but a step to 'locis.'

Very fascinating, but far more difficult and dubious, is the problem of VII. 115 f.:

115 deriguere metu Minyae: subit ille nec ignes
sensit anhelatos (tantum medicamina pos-
sunt)
pendulaque audaci mulcet palearia dextra
suppositosque iugo pondus grave cogit
aratri
ducere *e.g.s.*

sic fere edd. 115. Min. subit ille, *Fragm. Voss. deperditum et 'veteres' Naugerii.* subito Min. ille, *codices qui extant omnes, nisi quod subito om. Marcianus 223 man. pr., addidit man. al.* nec ignes Naugerius, *cll. Her. 12. 15.* nec illos, *codd. fere.* nec ullos, *Paris 8001 et Spirensis.*

116. anhelatos M^1N . an(h)elatus, *Paris 8001, Spirensis, Urbinas 341, man. al. item pro div. lect. M^1N^2.* Here Naugerius may be right, but 'subito' is 'Ovidianissimum,' and 'subit ille' tame by comparison, after 'obvius it' just above: while for the words 'nec—anelatos' Planudes has the remarkable variant οὔτε τοῦ τῶν ταύρων ἄσθματος¹ ἤσθετο. Now at 15. 230 for the true text 'tororum,' 'ferorum' is read in all good MSS. but one, and that one has 'ferorum s.s. taurorum.' Is not

that just what Planudes is translating here?

/ taurorum
deriguere metu subito Minyae; ille ferorum
nec sensit flatus *e.g.s.*

The initial 'nec' (line 116) was misplaced, and 'flatus,' corrupted into 'elatus' (the same confusion occurs in the MSS. of Suetonius),² was 'padded out' into 'anhelatus,' to scan the line, possibly from the parallel passage in the *Heroides* on which Naugerius founded his conjecture. The elision (see above) is against the proposal, but *cf.* 8. 97; 2. 475; 7. 338; 10. 623; and 6. 596—all five are similar, and the two last very similar, to the instance before us.

One passage more. At II. 154 there is good MS. evidence for a similar disturbance in the opening of the verse; for the words 'solis equi,' which may certainly be said 'glossatorem sapere' (*cf.* 162 *infra*), are from a later hand in π =Parisinus 12246, the noble fragment which Ellis discovered, and in ϵ =Harley MS. 2610 they are read *contra metrum* after Phlegon. It is not unreasonable therefore to infer that the two words were not in the text of the source from which $\epsilon\pi$ derive,³ and Dr. Henry Bradley makes the attractive suggestion that we should read in their stead 'auricomus,' an epithet of Aethon in the line before.

D. A. SLATER.

² *Nero 37.* The letters *e* and *f* are repeatedly confused in the *Met.*

³ *Cf.* Housman on Juvenal 8. 7, and for a similar interpolation in Sophocles, *Ajax* 771, where the expression *δίας Ἀθάνας* repeated from 757 would seem to have ousted the true text.

NOTES

THE MEANING OF ΑΦΑΤΕΙΝ IN A SPARTAN INSCRIPTION.

THE inscription is one of three discussed on pages 19 and 20 of the *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace. The inscriptions are assigned to the first century B.C. on page 18, whereas on pages 118 and 158 the reliefs over the inscriptions are ascribed to the second century B.C.

The reliefs represent the Dioscuri at right and left of a female figure in a long robe, which represents their sister Helen. The inscriptions give the names of persons who took part in the feast connected with the sacrifice in honour of the Dioscuri and Helen. I summarise here the account of the inscriptions given on pages 18 to 20 of the *Sparta Museum Catalogue*. Five of the names of the list are those of the family

in whom is vested the hereditary priesthood of the Dioscuri; five others are officers of the guild. A third group follows, of the higher grade of functionaries, religious and artistic, attached to the guild, such as herald, prophet, lyre-player. Fourth, there is a group of eleven men and one woman, of whom two are slaves, while six others are freemen. These occupy the lowest position, or are craftsmen whose services are required to carry out the cult celebration. Among them are the spinner, the dyer, the purifier, the cook, etc. Finally, there is the general servant of the guild and a slave whose function is not stated. After his name comes *ἀφατεῖν*, which has been interpreted by Meister as an infinitive from *ἀφατος* in the sense of οὐχ ὅσιον φάναι (sc. ὅτι ποιεῖ).

This interpretation of Meister's appears to me to be far-fetched, and to put too heavy a weight of meaning on the alleged derivative from *ἀφατος*. I suggest that the word is a false or dialectic spelling of *ἀφετεῖν*. Other errors in spelling occur in the inscription, and for the West Greek tendency to use *a* for *ε* see Thumb, *Handbuch*, p. 125, and Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 21, para. 13. The word *ἀφετεῖν* would mean to be an *ἀφέτης*, just as *νομοθετεῖν* means to be a *νομοθέτης*.

The word was used in Sparta to denote a class of slaves. A quotation is given in Athenaeus to the effect that the Lacedaemonians set many slaves free, of whom some were given the name *aphetae*, others *adespoti*, and still others *eryctae*.¹ The first and last of these evidently have to do with the racecourse, as the two verbs *ἀφίημι* and *ἐρύκειν* mean to start and to hold back to the line respectively. The Dioscuri at Sparta had the title *ἀφετήριοι*, 'starters of the race.' Pausanias found their shrine at the beginning of the course in Sparta. He also finds a statue of *Aphetaios*, and goes from the Market-place by the street *Aphetais*.

If my interpretation is right, the last-named person of the inscription is to

act as *ἀφέτης*, 'starter,' in the festival of the two gods *ἀφετήριοι*, 'starters of the race.' It is perhaps right to infer from the passage cited from Athenaeus that such slaves became free and kept the name *aphetae*.

The word *ἀφέτης* is further attested by Constantine² Porphyrogenitus, *de Caerimoniis aulae Byzantinae, καὶ φέρουσι ἡνιόχοι τοὺς ἀφέτας*.

And Eustathius II. p. 1024, says that *ἀφέτας* are *Εἰλωπας ἐλευθερωθέντας*.

I think that this Spartan custom may well throw light on the mysterious infinitive which ends the Dioscuri inscription.

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

Apollo 59 :

	Κύλη δέ τοι ἄσπετος ἀλεῖ	58
μ	δῆρ' ἄναξ εἰ βόσκοις περὶ τας . . . σ' ἔχουσιν	ET
γρ.	εἰ βόσκοισθε οἱ κε σ' ἔχουσιν	margo E
μ	δῆρ' ἄναξ εἰ βόσκοις σ' ἔχουσιν	L
	δῆρ' ἄναξ εἰ βόσκοις· θεοὶ κε σ' ἔχουσιν	DK

The line, emended by various scholars, appears in Sikes and Allen's edition as:

δημοῦ ἀναΐξει, βόσκήσεις θ' οἱ κε σ' ἔχουσιν

Prien conjectured *βόσκοις δέ κε*, neglecting *θεοί*; Mr. Agar *βόσκησθα δέ χ'* . . . I think it is possible to get a step nearer the MSS. than any of these:

δημοῦ ἀναΐξει, βόσκοις χ' ὅθεν οἱ κε σ' ἔχουσιν

'whereon thou couldst feed them that inhabit thee. . . .' I conceive that, as often, the first *κε* was at some stage written in full, and that lipography due to -οισκε- and -οικε- led to the version of ET and L.

After the corruption of *ἀναΐξει* to *ἄναξ εἰ*, the first *κε* seemed redundant and was dropped, whence DK's readings, -*θενοί* becoming *θεοί* through a contraction, perhaps.

Demeter, 99 :

Παρθενίῳ φρέατι, MSS. : φρέατι Παρθενίῳ, Porson.

The well in question is not elsewhere called by this name : Pausanias (i. 39. 1)

¹ πολλάκις φησὶ ἡλευθέρωσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δούλους καὶ οὓς μὲν ἀφέτας ἐκάλεσαν οὓς δὲ ἀδεσπότους οὓς δὲ ἐρυκτῆρας, Athen. 5, p. 271 f.

² Constant. *Caer.* 336, 10.

says it was called *Ἀνθιον* in the hymn of Pamphos. There seems some reason to think that, here and elsewhere, Pausanias may have confused the Homeric and the Pamphos hymns; for (1) his description of the plot of Pamphos' hymn coincides closely with that of ours; (2) according to him (ix. 31. 9) the flower by which Persephone was beguiled in Pamphos was the narcissus, and he regards this as the earliest mention of the flower: it seems strange then that he does not mention the occurrence of the narcissus in the Homeric version also, unless he is again confusing the two works in his citations from memory. It may be doubted, moreover, in the present passage, if either the MSS text, or Porson's correction is really satisfactory; for while the latter removes a gratuitous barbarism from the metre, it leaves us with a vague local dative—in *φρέατι*—to which *τραπέζῃ* (φ 35) seems the only discoverable parallel, and even so it may be urged that such a brachylogy might be permissible in a stereotyped phrase, 'at table,' where it would not be admissible in a more general application. It had occurred to me originally, therefore, that perhaps the truth in the present passage was something like *πὰρ φρέατ' Ἀνθείῳ*; but Mr. Agar points out to me that in old epic the stem of nouns in-*ar* is long (cf. *Homericæ*, pp. 353-6), and he suggests *φρέατ' ἐπ' Ἀνθείῳ*, which seems within easy conjectural distance of *παρθενίῳ φρέατι* if we suppose an error of misdivision in the first instance, and a subsequent transposition of the words, through the addition of *παρθενίῳ*, as a correction, *in margine*.

Hermes, 106:

ἀθροῦς οὔσας.

Though it is perhaps just conceivable that *ἀθροῦς* might be due to Hesiodic influence, and that *οὔσας* might be a late form, a combination of such incongruous licences seems unlikely; and the resulting sense, 'being collected,' is in any case extremely weak.

I would suggest *ἀθροισθείσας*, 'rounded up,' though the corruption may perhaps lie even deeper.

Hermes, 280:

*ἄλιον ὡς Μ. } μῦθον ἀκούων,
τὸν cell. }
τὸν δ' ἀπαλὸν γελάσας προσέφη κ.τ.λ.*

It seems to me indispensable to a straightforward interpretation of the passage that *ἄλιος μῦθος* be understood of Hermes' words.

Perhaps then: *ἄλιον δ' ὡς μῦθον ἀκούσας* (so Mr. Agar, remarking: 'Even Hermes could not speak and whistle simultaneously') *τοῦ ἀπαλὸν γελάσας προσέφη*, etc. For *τοῖα* referring to a speech which follows cf. *Bacchylides* V. 160 (Housman, Ludwig, Jebb).

Hermes, 457:

Ἴξε, πέπον, καὶ θυμὸν ἐπαίνει πρεσβυτέροισι.

I am disposed to suggest that this line conceals a double pun, and should be read—

Ἴξε, πέπον, θυμὸν τε πεπαίneo πρεσβυτέροισι,

with a play on the literal and the idiomatic senses of *πέπον*, and on the normal and the metaphorical senses of *πεπαίνω*; cf. *πεπᾶναι ὀργήν*, Ar. *Vesp.* 645; *ἦν πεπανθῆς*, Eur. *Heracl.* 159. The intermediate stage of corruption would be *θυμοντεπαίneo*, altered to *καὶ θυμὸν ἐπαίνει* to restore the metre and a familiar word: cf. Bentley's *θυμὸν τε ἐκάστου* in the recurring *μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου* (E. 470 etc.).

Hermes 57-58:

*ἀμφὶ Δία Κρονίδην καὶ Μαϊάδα καλλιπείδιλον
ὃν πάρος ὠρίζεσκον ἐταιρείῃ φιλότῃ,
MSS. (ὡς corr. ex. ὄν, Γ.)*

For *ὄν* read perhaps *ὦ*, 'who twain . . .' Clarke's *οἱ* does not carry much conviction. For dual subject with plural verb, cf. e.g. M. 131-2: and for confusion caused by unfamiliar dual forms, Θ. 378, M. 127. Here *ὦ* perhaps first passed into *ὦ*, and was then accommodated to the accusatives in the preceding line.

Hermes 383:

*μέγαν δ' ἐπιδέομαι ὄρκον, Μ.
ἐπιδαίωμα cell.*

The best emendation is Barnes' *ἐπιδώσομαι*, but it is evidently unlikely. In 381 Hermes has said *Ἥελιον δὲ μάλ' αἰδέομαι*; therefore, I suggest, we should read here:

μέγαν δὲ τ' ἐπαιδέομ' ὄρκον,

'And besides, I reverence a great oath.' The elision was perhaps written in full at some stage, so that the intermediate step would be μέγαν δ' ἐπαιδέομαι ὄρκον. Attempts to restore metre at the expense of sense then produced the *voces nihili* which appear in our MSS.

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'PLATO'S DEFINITION OF COLOUR' (C.R. XXXIV. p. 31).

WHY should this be called 'Plato's'? Socrates makes it quite clear that he wants something better. He says that he is answering Meno in the manner of Gorgias (κατὰ Γοργίαν) simply to please Meno. The theory of ὑπορροαί is traditionally attributed to Empedocles, and the exposition of it is presumably in the manner of Gorgias.

The remark, τραγικὴ γὰρ ἐστίν, ὦ Μένων, ἢ ἀπόκρισις, comes in quite naturally. The sense is, 'Please remember I am speaking in the character of Gorgias.' The actor's mask for Gorgias would surely be a tragic one. An American, asked about 'self-determination,' replied, 'That's a highbrow stunt,' and the suggestion of disagreement is the same. Mr. Wright's translation of τραγικὴ as 'theatrical' misses the point, and is not supported by the context.

It is sufficient to point out that the Empedoclean definition of colour is extended to sound and smell in the passage just before τραγικὴ. Even if the definition of colour is in terms that suggest the stage, which seems improbable, the mention of smell breaks the thread.

The three words selected, σχήματα, ὄψις and σύμμετρος, do not call up recollections of the stage. They would not occur to the ordinary man in the meanings thrust upon them to support Mr. Wright's translation; σχήματα, as figures in a dance, least of all, for surely a 'speaking' part is implied.

It is a pleasant coincidence that Sir Thomas Heath's *Euclid*, Book I., in Greek came to hand just as one was reading the *March Classical Review*, and Mr. Wright's note has given the hint

to look up the use Euclid makes of σχήματα and the other geometrical terms in the *Meno*. There are many helpful notes of the use made by Plato and Aristotle of terms, later defined by Euclid, and they supply a link that is missing in the equipment of most of us.

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BACCHYLIDES V. 142.

καί τε δαιδαλέας
ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον
φιτρὸν ἀγκλαύσασα· τὸν δὲ

KENYON: 'It may seem inconsistent that Althaea should weep for the death which is her own act; but it is an inconsistency true to nature, and a striking touch.'

But why then ἀτάρβακτος γυνά, 139? ἀγκλαύσασα, i.e. ἀγκλάφσασα, from κλαF: 'clavis:' 'schliessen:' 'slot.' 'Having unlocked the λάρναξ.'

The ἀνα in 'unlock' meant originally 'up.' Cf. *Odyssey* 21, 47 θυρέων δ' ἀνέκοπτεν ὀχῆας, 'knocked up the bolts.' Inserting the κληίς, shaped Grecian key pattern  so as to miss the staples which held the δοιοὶ ὀχῆες (*Il.* 12, 455), Penelope 'knocked up' the bolts out of the staples, so that the doors could open.

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DIOGENES LAERTIUS I. 104.

καὶ τοῦτο ἔφη θαυμασιώτατον ἐωρακέναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν καπνὸν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καταλείπουσι, τὰ δὲ ξύλα εἰς τὴν πόλιν κομίζουσιν.

IN the *Class. Rev.* for 1917, p. 97, I suggested that emendation of καπνὸν was unnecessary, because Anacharsis was referring to the charcoal industry. May I now supply the proof? ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ σοφὸς Ἀνάχαρσις ἄλλ' ἅττα τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεμφόμενος ἐπῆναι τῶν ἀνθρακῶν ὅτι τὸν καπνὸν ἔξω καταλιπόντες οἴκαδε πῦρ κομίζουσιν (Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* VI. 7, 2). For ξύλα in this sense compare Euripides, *Autolykos*,

fr. 283 (Nauck): τοὺς ὄνους τοὺς λαρ-
καγωγοὺς ἐξ ὄρους οἷσιν ξύλα.

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PLATO, *THEAETETUS* 188B.

καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τῷ μῆτε Θεαίτητον μῆτε Σωκράτη
εἶδῶτι εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν λαβεῖν ὡς κτλ.

IN his note on this passage in the May-June number of the *Class. Rev.* Dr. Rouse draws attention to the difficulty of squaring Jowett's translation with the Greek text, and by way of relieving the situation he proposes to emend the text by inserting <ταὐτὸ> between καὶ and τοῦτ' and by changing εἶδῶτι to εἰδῶτα. While admitting the ingenuity of this suggestion—which certainly seems at first sight to restore grammatical coherence to the clause and to simplify the task of giving a literal construe—yet I venture to think that no change is needed. Nay more, the passage as it stands seems to me more Platonic than Dr. Rouse's revised version. The old Latin translation gives some aid: 'et qui neque Th. neque S. agnovit, cogitare unquam potest S. Th. vel contra Th. S. esse.' This shows that ἔστι was taken as equivalent to ἔξεστι, which serves to explain its construction with the dative (cf. *Theaet.* 201B περὶ ὧν ἰδόντι μόνον ἔστιν εἶδέναι); and on referring to Ast's *Plat. Lex.* I find this view endorsed by him. But the τοῦτ(ο) still remains ignored by the Latin *et*. We can only take it as an adverbial accus., much like οὕτως or ἰτα in sense. Though the plur. ταῦτα is more common in this use (almost=διὰ ταῦτα), yet several other examples of τοῦτο are to be found—e.g., *Laws* 686c, *Symp.* 204A; and obviously the sing. is the more suitable here. It is, perhaps, worth while to add that Carlill ('that is, for a man who knows neither Th. nor S.,' etc.) and Dyde, in their translations, are no more illuminating than Jowett.

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VIRGIL, *AEN.* II. 567-588.

As is well known, these lines, which contain the episode of Helen, are lacking in the best MSS., and are said by the Servian commentator¹ to have been deleted by Tucca and Varius. Whether in reality they were present in the copies of the *Aeneid* which were in common circulation in the period before 79 A.D. is a question raised by an interesting bit of archaeological material, the bearing of which in this connexion appears hitherto to have escaped attention. I refer to an ornamental helmet from the gladiatorial barracks at Pompeii,² bearing four series of scenes in high-relief.

The representations upon this helmet form the subject of a valuable article by the veteran Domenico Comparetti,³ in which it is his great merit to have demonstrated that they illustrate not the *Iliupersis*, as had previously been thought, but the *Aeneid*. For the present purpose, we are concerned only with the main band of figures, which consists of five groups, viz. (from left to right): Ajax dragging Cassandra away from the altar of Minerva (*Aen.* II. 402-406); Pyrrhus slaying Priam (II. 550-558); in the centre of the band, Venus exhorting Aeneas to turn from the scenes of Troy's downfall and take his family to a place of safety (II. 589-620); Aeneas carrying Anchises (II. 721-723); Creusa, Iulus and Aeneas (II. 679-691). The background is formed by the city walls, within which these various scenes are enacted.⁴ The correct interpretation of the central group, which had previously been taken to represent Helen and Menelaos, is due to Comparetti, and his demonstration is quite conclusive; with this help the composition of the whole five groups of figures is revealed as one of the most carefully arranged and perfectly balanced in the whole repertory of

¹ *Serv. in Aen.* II. 566, 592; *id.*, *Vita Verg.*

² Several helmets were found together; see the official guide to the antiquities in the Naples Museum, edited by A. Ruesch (1908), pp. 414-416.

³ *Atene e Roma*, XXII. (1919), pp. 113-127.

⁴ Comparetti's quotation, 'Troiae sub moenibus altis,' is not altogether apt, as the lines *Aen.* I. 95, X. 469, refer to the plain outside the city.

Roman imperial art: one may surmise that it was originally designed for some nobler and more conspicuous purpose than the adornment of a gladiator's helmet.

In one particular, the distinguished Florentine scholar seems not to have grasped the bearing of his interpretation—namely, its relation to the testimony which this series of scenes affords to the constitution of the vulgate text of the *Aeneid* in the early imperial epoch. Comparetti takes it for granted that the artist, in composing the central group, had in mind the episode of Helen (ll. 567-588) as motivating the wrath of Aeneas and the exhortations of his divine mother. Such a supposition, however, not only necessitates the further assumption that the figure of Helen was left to the imagination of the beholder, but through the intrusion of an additional element of interest disturbs the perfect symmetry and balance of the whole band of figures. Moreover, it is quite uncalled for, since just as in the text of the poet with ll. 567-588 omitted the agitation of Aeneas (ll. 559-563) which is soothed by the intervention of his mother (ll. 589-620) is motivated by the dire sights he has beheld, and in particular by the rape of Cassandra (ll. 402-406) and the slaying of Priam (ll. 550-558), so on the helmet these two scenes lead up to the central group, which in its turn serves as transition from the horrors of the last night of Troy to the migration toward Latium.

The artist of the Pompeian helmet or its prototype thought out his composition without reference to the episode of Helen; there is no reason for assuming that the text before him contained the lines in question; and although it is not permissible to draw the absolute conclusion that it did not contain them, the balance of probabilities seems to incline in this direction.

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¹ Since writing the above, I have seen two important discussions of the lines in question, which appeared in Germany during the War: R. Heinze, *Virgils Epische Technik*, third edition, pp. 45-51; and A. Körte, 'Zum Zweiten Buch von Vergils Aeneis,' in *Hermes*, li.

SULLA AND CISALPINE GAUL.

'*Data erat et Sullae provincia Gallia Cisalpina.*' This snippet from the scrap book of Licinianus (ed. Teubner, p. 32, v. 14), which Mr. E. G. Hardy has brought to light again in his recent article on 'Transpadane Gaul,'² is one on which historians have mostly turned a blind eye.³ It stands in apparent conflict with the fact that Sulla never was governor of Cisalpine Gaul; and it comes from a relatively late author whose unsupported evidence it is tempting to disregard altogether.

Yet Licinianus is not a wholly negligible writer. His materials are presented by him in an utterly chaotic form; but they appear to be derived from a good authority.⁴ Moreover, his chapters on the age of Sulla, from which the above notice is drawn, are particularly full of accurate and credible information.⁵ It is, therefore, worth inquiring whether his statement about Sulla and Cisalpine Gaul really deserves to be rejected off-hand.

Now Licinianus does not assert that Sulla actually went to Cisalpine Gaul: he merely says that this province was assigned to him. On what occasion could such an appointment have been made?

According to the received version, Cisalpine Gaul did not become a province until 81 B.C. In this case there is only one occasion on which it could have been offered to Sulla, viz. in 80 B.C., when Sulla held his second consulship, and so became qualified for a second proconsulship. Now it is expressly stated that the Roman people offered to elect Sulla to a third consulship in 79 B.C., although the tenure of two successive consulships would have

(1916), pp. 145-150. Both these writers are positive that the Helen episode is un-Virgilian, but they differ in their ideas as to what may have stood in its place, and as to Virgil's method of composition in this book.

² *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1916, pp. 66-7.

³ It has not found a place even in Greenidge and Clay's *Sources of Roman History*, 133-70 B.C.

⁴ His ultimate source is usually supposed to have been Livy.

⁵ See book 35 (Teubner, pp. 15-30), relating to 87-4 B.C., and the passage on the rebellion of Lepidus (Teubner, pp. 33-5).

infringed Sulla's own laws.¹ In view of this fact, it does not seem too rash to assume that Sulla should also have been offered a proconsulship to which he was certainly entitled. And in this case Cisalpine Gaul would have been a peculiarly suitable province to select for him; for next to the possession of an army in Italy itself, the command of a force in Cisalpine Gaul was the best means by which a military man could dominate politics in Rome. It therefore appears at least possible that Sulla should have been appointed proconsul of Cisalpine Gaul during his second consulship.

But another course lies open to us if we accept the theory which Mr. Hardy has recently advanced on strong grounds, that Cisalpine Gaul became a province in 89 B.C.² In this case we may connect Sulla's appointment to that province with his first consulship in 88 B.C. True enough, the province to which Sulla was originally appointed, and to which he eventually repaired, was not Cisalpine Gaul, but Asia. But shortly after his original appointment Asia was taken away from him and given to Marius. Yet Sulla's claims to

a proconsulship of some sort were undeniable, and on being deprived of Asia he was plainly entitled to compensation. Moreover, the tribune Sulpicius, at whose hands Sulla lost Asia, was fair and conciliatory where his obligations to Marius did not tie his hands.³ Though he made use of force to overcome the opposition of Sulla, he eventually came to an understanding with his adversary, and it is expressly stated that he forbore to deprive Sulla of his consulship.⁴ All this creates a presumption that he did not disallow Sulla's claims to a proconsulship. We may, therefore, conjecture that Sulpicius, instead of simply dispossessing Sulla, effected a 'permutatio' which gave Sulla Cisalpine Gaul in lieu of Asia.

Thus, whatever date we adopt for the constitution of Cisalpine Gaul as a province, we can accept Licinianus' statement that Sulla was appointed governor of it. This statement is quite compatible with all the known facts of the case.

M. CARY.

¹ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* I. 103.

² *Loc. cit.* p. 63 sq.

³ The Sulpician laws, taken as a whole, look like the work of a real statesman, and not of a mere partisan.

⁴ Plutarch, *Sulla*, chap. viii. This admission comes from a writer whose ultimate source is manifestly unfriendly to Sulpicius.

REVIEWS

THE *ICHNEUTAE* OF SOPHOCLES.

The Ichneutae of Sophocles. With Notes and a Translation into English, preceded by Introductory Chapters, etc. By R. J. WALKER. 8vo. Pp. xviii + 664. London: Burns and Oates, 1919. £3 3s.

I

MR. WALKER'S elaborate study of the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles, which has just made a welcome appearance, includes some very positive assertions concerning the text of the papyrus which seem to me so erroneous and so misleading that I am impelled to lose no time in expressing dissent. The passages which I have chiefly to criticise occur on

pp. 450 and 517-522. Mr. Walker's view is that the second hand has in lines 116-7 (Col. V. 13-14) deliberately set out to disguise the original reading; and it is suggested that this process has been applied to the text elsewhere. On p. xv of the Preface he writes: 'Alterations, not only avowed, but also, as I am convinced from the facsimile of Column V., in some cases unavowed and disguised, have been effected. How far such camouflage extends I have no idea. . . . the secrets of the papyrus have not yet been fully probed.' Were these suspicions well founded, it would be evident that my work as decipherer and editor, notwithstanding the generous

tribute on p. xv, has been but indifferently performed, and that a thorough revision is urgently required. The object of the following remarks is to reassure scholars on this head and to show that Mr. Walker has been deceived.

In the first place it should be observed that these novel and disquieting views are not based on a study of the original. So far from having made a minute examination of the papyrus (as was, perhaps not unnaturally, inferred by the writer of the notice of his book in *The Times Literary Supplement* for November 20), Mr. Walker has not even seen it, and his statements about lines 116-7 depend entirely upon the facsimile of Column V. given in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* IX. Now photographic plates of MSS. and especially of papyri are notoriously untrustworthy for palaeographical minutiae. Not only do they obscure differences in colour of ink (an important criterion for determining variations of hand), but they not seldom conceal what in the original is clear and turn small holes and other blemishes in the material into apparent traces of writing. Decipherments of partially effaced or broken letters and fine distinctions of hand are worthless unless confirmed by reference to the actual papyrus. The disadvantage of relying on photographic reproductions is well illustrated in another part of Mr. Walker's edition. On pp. 163-9 a lengthy discussion on the stichometry of the *Euryphylus* (*Pap. Oxy.* 1175) rests on the mistaken supposition that l. 28 of Frag. 5. Col. ii. was not the last of the column. 'The space (*i.e.* that below this line) is not blank,' he writes on p. 169. I reply that it is absolutely blank. Whatever 'unmistakable traces of a letter' he or others on whose opinion he relies may imagine that they detect in the facsimile, there are certainly none in the original; moreover both the preceding and following columns afford corresponding evidence, and the columns thus determined coincide in height with those of the *Ichneutae*, which, as Mr. Walker agrees (p. 169), was a sister manuscript. Reference to the papyrus would here have obviated several pages of fruitless discussion, just as elsewhere it would have

eliminated a number of inadmissible suggestions. For instance, on collating the five passages in Columns I. and II. of the *Ichneutae* where Mr. Walker proposes to modify my readings (ll. 15, 38, 44, 46, 50), I find that all these modifications are invalid; again, the combination adopted of Frags. 7 and 14 at ll. 386-7 and the amended readings in the latter fragment are patently impossible.

Let us now turn to the verses which Mr. Walker re-reads by the aid of the facsimile and analyses in detail on pp. 517 ff. (*cf.* p. 450). They are as follows:

τίν' αὐτεχνῆσυστην[. . . .]. υρεσ' τιν' αὐ
πρόσπαιον ὥδε κεκλιμ[ένον] κυνηγετεῖν

(the paragraphus above τίν' indicates a change of speaker.) These lines I interpreted thus:

(Σίληνός) τίν' αὐ τέχνην σὺ τήν[δ'] ἄρ' ἐξ[εῖ]ρες, τιν' αὐ;
πρὸς Πανός ὥδε κεκλιμ[ένον] κυνηγετεῖν.

Mr. Walker writes them

ξεῖν' αἰγ(κ)νημ', εὐ τηλ[όθεν μ' ο]ύρει. [Σι.] τιν' αὐ;
πρὸς Πανός ὥδε κτλ.,

with the following comments, to which I add comments of my own.

'At the beginning of l. 116, where there is now a dash surmounted by a paragraphus, P² has erased, though very imperfectly, the handwriting of P, viz. ξ with a paragraphus underneath it. P presented no paragraphus above l. 116: the existing paragraphus over the line . . . has been manufactured by P² out of the top stroke of the ξ written by P.' The error of these statements seems to me fairly obvious even from the facsimile. The paragraphus is too high for the top stroke of the supposed original ξ; and the vertical stroke of my τ (Mr. Walker's dash) can be clearly traced. In the original there is no indication whatever of erasure or alteration.

'After the ξ of P . . . P² erases the handwriting of P which formerly stood in the second place in the line, and substitutes an ι bearing an acute accent. At the bottom, however, of this ι, on either side of it, he has left vestiges of what P wrote . . . they are portions of two separate letters written close together in the space appropriate to one letter only. That is as much as to say

that they are the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$.' These supposed vestiges of original writing are the edges of two small worm-eaten holes in the papyrus. The ι is clearly the unaltered writing of the first hand, and all that P² has done is to add an accent.

'In the fifth place of the line stands a ν . There exists no proof on the face of the papyrus that this ν is not the unaltered handwriting of P. But it is equally possible that it is made up of an ι written by P and of two top strokes added, without any erasure, by P².' I cannot agree that it is equally possible. The ν has all the appearance of having come unaltered from the pen of P.

'In the sixth place of the line stands a τ . There exists no proof on the face of the papyrus that this τ is not the unaltered handwriting of P. But it is equally possible that it is made up of a γ written by P, and of an extension of the top stroke effected, without any erasure, by P².' Again I must disagree, and with still greater conviction. Not only is there no sign of the τ having been retouched, but the γ would be an abnormal distance from the preceding letter, especially if that letter were, as supposed by Mr. Walker, originally ι .

'In the seventh place of the line stands an ϵ . A minute examination of this seems to establish that it was originally an ι . A very short but clearly visible straight stroke projects upwards from the point where the higher portion of the ϵ begins to curve round . . .' Minute examination establishes no more than that the top of the ϵ was formed by a separate stroke, which was the scribe's usual practice.

'In the eighth place of the line stands a χ . . . the first stroke is not in this instance continuous. . . . The upper half meets the other stroke and then stops. The lower half of it starts independently from a point in the other stroke appreciably below that at which the juncture with the upper half is effected. The conclusion from this alone would probably be that the χ was originally a κ . . . But we have more than this to go on, seeing that in the centre of the χ a portion, though a very small portion, of the κ remains un-erased.' The χ is normal and un-

touched, the appearance of irregularity in the facsimile being due to small holes in the papyrus.

'In the eleventh place of the line stands a ν . It is fully legible, but the ink-marks are not sufficiently well preserved to indicate anything as regards alteration or erasure, except for the fact that the final stroke of the letter is singularly short. The shortness of this stroke would be explained by the hypothesis that P wrote a μ and that P² converted this μ into a ν . . .' The ν is slightly rubbed, but I have no hesitation in attributing it to the first hand.

'In the twelfth place of the line stands a σ In the middle of it are two faint marks which might very well be the remains of the imperfectly erased cross-bar of an original ϵ .' This letter, like the preceding, is a little rubbed, but I believe it to be untouched.

'In the sixteenth place of the line stands a letter that is certainly λ , though Hunt gives it as ν .' This is perhaps the most obviously unwarranted of Mr. Walker's bold affirmations. It seems sufficiently evident even from the facsimile that the inclination of the two strokes is appropriate to ν and inappropriate to λ . In the original the base of the third stroke is clearly visible. I gave the letter as ν because it is ν and could not be read otherwise.

It would be tedious to carry the discussion further, and I will only add that there is no sign in the papyrus of any alteration of the remaining letters in this line or of those in the line following. What has been said may suffice to indicate that Mr. Walker is not a safe guide in matters of this kind. He is wonderfully erudite and ingenious, and it seems a pity that a book so full of these admirable qualities should be disfigured by the defects to which I have endeavoured to call attention.

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II

IT is a matter of congratulation that in these days when Greek studies seem to be losing their hold of our schools scholars should still be found who are ready to devote a large part of their lives to the

reconstruction and elucidation of even the second-rate products of the Greek genius. Mr. Walker is one of these scholars, and he has produced a book which goes into the greatest detail about all manner of questions that arise in connexion with the fragmentary play of Sophocles which was discovered in a papyrus some twelve years ago. That the play as we have it is unworthy of Sophocles does not matter. It is undoubtedly a valuable piece of evidence as to the nature of the satyric drama, and is thus closely connected with the great question as to the origin and development of tragedy and comedy in Greece. The whole subject is, as Mr. Walker says (p. 351), perplexed; we do not even know exactly what the definition of a 'satyric' drama is. As to the ultimate origin of tragedy—whether it originated in a passion play with Dionysus as its centre or, as Professor Ridgeway thinks, in the worship of dead heroes such as Adrastus (Herod. V. 67)—this is a question on which Mr. Walker does not pronounce an opinion. He is content to accept Pratinas as the inventor of 'a new genre, viz. satyric drama' (p. 314).

The chapter entitled 'The Vocabulary of the Play' is very carefully done, and ought to be useful to future editors. As to the text I am astonished to find how greatly Mr. Walker departs from his predecessors. Readings which had been generally accepted are here often rejected in favour of entirely new reconstructions of the fragments. To discuss these in detail would demand a very long review. But I am bound to say that I have often felt misgivings as to the soundness of Mr. Walker's methods and the validity of his results. For example in 197 *ἐφθ' ἐλεῖς* is surely very strange Greek for 'thou wilt receive fine gold'; so, too, *αἰγῶν τὴν ἄποιον* for 'the she-goat that hath no pasture,' 95; and *στίφρωμ' ἐν* for 'our only strength,' 96. I do not think Mr. Walker throws any new light on the speech of Cyllene (213 ff.), which Professor Pearson calls the most puzzling passage of the text;

εἶπες, l. 216, seems to me impossible. A curious feature of the translation which Mr. Walker has printed opposite his text is its predilection for biblical words and phrases. One often wonders whether they are really appropriate to a satyric drama.

Two chapters deal with the metres: (1) Choric metres, (2) Non-Choric metres. The latter is associated with a discussion of the practice of Pratinas, and five conclusions are drawn as to this matter (p. 248 f.). Considering that it is at least doubtful whether any specimen of the satyric verse of Pratinas survives, the structure is necessarily built upon a succession of hypotheses. For example, it is a large assumption that the lines preserved from the satyric play of Sositheus (p. 190) are any guide as to the practice of Pratinas. Nor can the practice of Pratinas decide any question as to the metrical structure of lines of the *Ichneutai* of Sophocles. Mr. Walker does not here show any skill in the 'ars nesciendi.' He is too ready to trust to a chain of evidence with weak links in it. Incidentally one reads with astonishment the suggestion (p. 213) that l. 967 of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and other lines in the neighbourhood, including l. 943, were written by the poet not in iambic trimeters, but in the dochmiac metre. This suggestion is based simply on the multiplication of trisyllabic feet in a single line. 'Trisyllabic feet' is a term of which Mr. Walker is very fond; but the different kinds of trisyllabic feet stand on very different footings. The tribrach (with resolution of the 'rise') is a very different thing from the anapaest (with a disyllabic 'fall').

This brief notice fails, I know, to do justice to the learning and patience exhibited by the writer in a difficult piece of work. I can well believe that in 'driving his random plough through fields already ploughed' he may, unlike 'the silly Cylicranian,' have really found some cups of gold (p. 269).

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

BEITRÄGE ZUR GRIECHISCHEN RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE III.

Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte III. By S. EITREM. One volume. 10" x 7". Pp. 202. Kristiania, in Kommission bei Jacob Dybwad, 1920.

THE debt of scholarship to the activities of the Scandinavian savants grows steadily. In this book, largely a supplement to the *Opferritus* of the same author, we have a not inconsiderable contribution. A series of articles of varying length discuss the use of water in ritual, the avoidance of foreign elements in cult—with some curious exceptions to the general rule that whatever is not native is unacceptable—the *δολυγῆ*, and religious and other processions; while the last three essays ('Aineias und die Kaukonen,' 'Zwillingspaare und mythische Doppelbildungen,' 'Die mythische Kolonialbegründer der Griechen') also include points of literary and historical criticism. We do not propose to give a full analysis and critique of these works, a task which could not be completed in a moderate space, but simply to draw attention to a few points of interest, particularly those on which we think that the views of the author might be enlarged or modified.

One matter which calls for notice is what seems to us to be a tendency to explanations simpler than the facts will allow. The chief illustration of this is the frequent assumption (*e.g.*, pp. 22, 24, 25, 33, 37) that hero-cult is the oldest and simplest form of ritual, at any rate of chthonian ritual, and that the more elaborate forms may be supposed to derive from or replace it. Now we would by no means deny that such development or replacement has often taken place in Greece and elsewhere; what we would emphasise is, that to picture an early stratum of cult consisting wholly of ghost-worship is to give a one-sided and incomplete view. It needs no very deep research into anthropological data—a kind of research which our author can and does make with profit—to teach us that, while we find no example of human beings quite without any ideas of magic

or religion, we find not a few wholly without a cult of the dead, or even a fear of ghosts or a regular ritual of burial. Hence we should not lightly assume that if the Greeks mostly avoided using any material from over the local border in ritual, it was because the border, and the land within it, were sanctified by ancestral graves. They were indeed so sanctified, and the resulting cult was usually an intensely local one; but the idea of avoiding anything foreign may be older yet. This place is holy ground; it has *mana*, as shown by its power to produce food-plants or what not; that place also has *mana*: both are mysterious and potent forces, and to mix them is dangerous. What if they should not agree? A more analytical age told tales of strife between two heroes, or reflected, *χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν*; but the idea is so widespread and so ancient that it may well have appeared among the Greeks before hero-cult began, early as that undoubtedly is. Especially, we would not assume that the cult of Gaia is later than the cult of heroes or other local daimones. To personify and worship the Earth, meaning thereby the whole planet, or such part of it as is known to the worshippers, involves indeed a considerable power of abstraction; but we very much doubt if originally Gaia was anything more than the particular plot of ground with which the celebrants were most familiar; just as Demeter seems to have been originally no goddess of corn in general, but the Corn-mother of some particular field. Eitrem well remarks (p. 27) that the intense fondness for the native soil is likely to last as long as 'die Menschen ein Heimatgefühl kennen,' and draws attention to the very vague Latin expression *tutela huius loci*. We would suggest that a potent factor in such feelings was originally that liking for the known which every child shows, and in particular the strong preference for known magic.

While dealing with this essay, we would point out what seems to us an ill-advised comparison—namely, that

which is drawn on p. 22 between human sacrifices to chthonian powers, whether ghosts or other, and the Roman *devotio*. The former seems to us to be originally a simple gift of blood, or life, to strengthen the power of the soil or its spirits; the latter is much more sophisticated, for it is a contract whereby the infernal deities are offered a life on condition that they take at the same time the hostile army. They must have both or neither.

The discussion of the *ὁλοθυγή* brings out the important fact that it is not necessarily, though it is often, a cry of joy, still less one of grief, as some have tried to make out. We would suggest that it is in its origin nothing more than a natural cry of excitement, and that this explains its utterance at a critical moment of a religious ceremony, such as the death of the victim or the manifestation of a divine presence. In either case the rite has succeeded in producing a magically potent force, and in face of this it is no easy task to keep quiet. We feel that a close investigation of sacrificial ritual by a good psychologist, especially one who had studied the psychology of crowds, would yield very instructive results.

The excellent discussion of processional ritual suggests the following, among other considerations. The Greek funeral procession differs but little in its arrangements from any other; contrast, *e.g.*, our own military funerals, in which the cortège seems to make an elaborate pretence of going backwards (senior officers in the rear, arms reversed, etc.), presumably with the original intention of misleading the ghost. It would seem, then, that the Greek dead were but little feared, but rather treated like any other honoured persons, human or divine, and that consequently we should not be too ready to deduce their ritual from terror of the ghost.

The least satisfactory of all the essays seems to us that on Aeneas, which rests upon what we venture to characterise as the exploded separatist theory of the authorship of the *Iliad*, and also upon the idea, less common in Great Britain than on the Continent, that much information about Greek cult and saga is to be found in small details of the

Homeric poems, such as the exact names of the actors in minor episodes. Why, the author asks, does Poseidon, in T 328, rescue Aeneas from Achilles, and bring him to the ranks of the Kaukones, who elsewhere appear only in the 'late' Doloneia? He suggests that it is because the Kaukones are really a Peloponnesian tribe and Aeneas a Peloponnesian divinity. We do not criticise the arguments—to our thinking, often very hazardous—by which these conclusions are arrived at; we merely ask why, in that case, the author of T, whoever he was, supposed that Aeneas was a Trojan prince and the Kaukones an Asiatic people. If the theory of Eitrem rid us of real difficulties of interpretation, we might be content to waive such objections; but we fail to find any such difficulties. Poseidon's quarrel is with the reigning House of Troy, not with its junior branch, to which Aeneas belongs; he knows that that prince is destined to rule over the remnant of the nation which survives the war, and like all the gods, even Zeus when the latter is not identified with Moira, he bends to its decrees and rescues the future king. And how could he do this more effectually than by snatching him from his post of danger opposite Achilles, somewhere about the centre of the line, to the extreme left, where the poet has placed the Kaukones, whoever they may be (K 430)? That the same obscure name is to be found in the Peloponnesos, and that Aeneas had a cult there, are facts which strike us as no more extraordinary than that in later times there were Lokrians in Italy as well as in Greece, and that in that same country the worship of Herakles and Diomedes flourished.

The appendix to this article contains some interesting remarks on the cult of Hades in the Western Peloponnesos, and its probable conjunction with solar ritual; this last being a possibility to which some of us are perhaps apt to pay too little attention, now that it is no longer fashionable to find solar myths everywhere. The sixth essay we could have wished longer, especially in view of the researches of Dr. Rendal Harris on the 'Heavenly Twins,' since it deals with an allied subject; while the last to

some extent continues the same subject, owing to the large number of pairs of brothers who are credited with founding colonies in very early times. In this connexion more might perhaps have been made of the magical importance of twins or, as is seen in the legend of Herakles, of the elder twin. Much of the material naturally consists of names,

which the author rightly characterises (p. 171) as 'spröden Stoff, der . . . viele Irrwege bietet'; but to criticise his conclusions, many of which are not at all obvious, would involve going into much detail and extending this notice beyond due limits. H. J. ROSE.

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BYWATER'S *FOUR CENTURIES OF GREEK LEARNING IN ENGLAND.*

Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England. Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on March 8, 1894. By INGRAM BYWATER, Regius Professor of Greek 1893-1908. 8vo. One vol. Pp. 20. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1919. 1s. 6d. net.

THIS lecture, which Bywater probably thought too slight for publication, has been found among his notebooks and is issued from the press of his University. It is the business-like performance of a good scholar who did not aspire to be an indifferent man of letters; and readers who wish to hear about the Greek spirit may leave it alone.

The greatest part of it is occupied with matter of the least importance. The renaissance of learning in England is history in which Bywater was at home, and he collects a large number of details which I presume to be accurate and which have some interest of a purely antiquarian sort. But those were the years when we were learning Greek and were not yet in case to teach it: our contribution to the European fund begins with the seventeenth century. In Bywater's account of this period there is nothing which I can gainsay of my own knowledge; though I should have thought that Pearson, of whom Bentley said that the very dust of his writings was gold, and Porson that he would have equalled even Bentley as a critic in Greek if he had not muddled his brains with divinity, deserved more prominence than is given him. The two pages on Bentley himself are excellent; and laymen who wonder at the fame of this tasteless and

arbitrary pedant, and the reverence paid him by every competent judge, will hardly find elsewhere in so small a compass so clear a definition of his unique originality and greatness.

But in Bywater's sketch of Greek scholarship after Bentley there are places where I find his judgment or his knowledge defective. He says with truth that Bentley's chief successors, excepting Taylor and in some measure Toup and Tyrwhitt, were mostly occupied, like Bentley himself, with the poets; and I surmise that for this very reason they were not familiar to Bywater.

The school of Bentley, if the expression may be hazarded, Markland, Dawes, Musgrave, Warton, and the rest, allowed itself to be absorbed in the study of the Greek poets. If I were asked who was the strong man and chief figure in this company, I should say with little hesitation, Richard Dawes.

Warton makes a strange appearance here, though far be it from me to blame Bywater or anyone else for ignorance of his large and empty Theocritus; and I should have liked to watch Bentley from a safe distance in Elysium when he heard the expression hazarded that Warton was one of his school. Although the preeminence assigned to Dawes is disputable, I will not dispute it, and I grudge him no praise; but *strong* is not the right word to praise him with. His special virtue was a preternatural alertness and insight in the two fields of metre and grammar, the more extraordinary because his mere learning was not profound. The *strong* man of the company was Markland, devoid of these peculiar qualities, but superior in range and vigour and general activity of mind.

It is probable that Englishmen are right in counting Porson the second of English scholars, but many judges on the Continent would give that rank to Markland. He is the only one except Bentley who has been highly and equally eminent in Greek and Latin; and I believe that Bentley did him the honour, extravagant I admit, to be jealous of him.

Porson . . . is . . . a model of caution and patience, not an impetuous genius like Bentley or Dawes.

Certainly Porson had less genius and less impetuosity than Bentley, but he had as much genius as Dawes, and Dawes had not much more impetuosity than Porson: those who think he had are misled by the effervescence of his style, and its unlikeness to Porson's constraint. There may have been impetuosity, or at least some lack of caution, in Dawes's canon about ὄπως μῆ with the 1st aor. subj. active and middle and his alteration of Ar. *Ach.* 633 and *Pac.* 918, but so there was in Porson's pronouncement on the form of the 2nd pers. sing. pres. indic. passive and his destruction of the metre of Eur. *Med.* 629.

The Porsonian school, Blomfield, Monk, and Elmsley, if I may include him among them, continued Porson's work on the dramatists, though with little of Porson's freshness or felicity of touch.

This is true of Monk, if not of Blomfield, but of Elmsley it is false and

unjust. Elmsley no doubt was distinctly inferior to Porson as an emendator, though still a good one, but he was not much inferior as an observer and discoverer in grammar and metre, and his writing has a candour and a pleasant irony which are graces not easily to be matched. See how Nauck and Wilamowitz speak of him, or hear the words of his great antagonist Hermann:

Est enim P. Elmsleius, si quis alius, uir natus augendae accuratiori Graecae linguae cognitioni, ut cuius eximia ac plane singularis in peruestigandis rebus grammaticis diligentia regatur praeclaro ingenio, mente ab auctoritatibus libera, animo ueri amantissimo, neque aut superbia aut gloriae studio aut obtrectandi cupiditate praepedito. his ille uirtutibus id est consecutus, ut, cum doctrina eius maximi facienda sit, non minus ipse sit amandus atque uenerandus.

And this one slighting mention is all that the Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford could spare for the most famous scholar that Oxford ever produced. He continues 'if the mantle of the master descended on anyone, it was rather on Dobree.' It is very hard to decide between the merits of Dobree and Elmsley: I should say that the mantle came in two and half of it fell on each; Dobree was the shrewder emendator and Elmsley the subtler grammarian.

The statement on p. 15 that 'Porson edited Photius' is not strictly true, and on p. 18 the death of Badham is post-dated by five years.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

MY COMMONPLACE BOOK.

My Commonplace Book. By J. T. HACKETT. Pp. xvii+403. Fisher Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.

THIS interesting *farrago* of memorable extracts, both in prose and verse, will be reviewed in other journals upon its general merits; here we have space only to notice what concerns us most. This is Mr. Hackett's diatribe against the 'classical enthusiast' who fails to see 'the inferior state of civilisation among the Greeks, their non-moral character in certain respects, their ignorance and superstition, and their low standard of morality generally'

(p. 371). Not that Mr. Hackett is inimical to classical scholarship—on the contrary, he appreciates 'the beautiful Greek language and its glorious literature'—but he holds that the admiration of the 'classical enthusiast' for these things has perverted his sense of truth. His animadversions are contained in some half-dozen notes in which he criticises adversely the enthusiasm for Greek things of writers like R. W. Livingstone, George Gissing, F. W. Myers, Gilbert Murray, and A. E. Zimmern. Thus he has the courage of his point of view, and might have said with Cicero, '*Amicus Plato,*

amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas.' This point of view is always interesting, and is advanced by Mr. Hackett with such obvious sincerity that it deserves great respect; but it seems to me to be vitiated partly by the peculiar conditions of the time in which it was formed, partly by the fact that 'a little learning is a dangerous thing,' and, lastly, by a failure to see the wood for the trees. Thus Mr. Hackett tells us that a large proportion of his extracts were collected some thirty or forty years ago, when the influence of Darwin and of Herbert Spencer still caused an upheaval in the minds of men, and his own judgment is not unshaken by that commotion, as for example, when he approves (p. 209) of the dismissal of Ancient Ethics as 'almost entirely grossly wrong and great rubbish' (p. 208), in a letter written by his friend Richard Hodgson in 1881. Again, his knowledge that the Greeks indulged in unnatural vice, and were a sensual race generally, leads Mr. Hackett to give a suggestion of impurity to things like Sappho's *ἡμερόφωνος ἀήδων* (p. 292-3), and the Charites themselves. There is no getting away from the existence of these unpleasant aspects of Greek life, but the important thing is that *the Greeks were never morbid about them*. Someone has said that when a modern writer, such as Ibsen, looks out of his window his gaze becomes riveted upon a dead dog which happens to be decaying in the foreground; a Greek would overlook the dog and see the beauty beyond. Christian ethics preach 'If thy right eye offend, pluck it out'; the Greeks taught—as, for example, Plato in the *Symposium* on this very question of *παιδεραστία*—that, if a man's body impedes the activity of his soul, he should set it at rest by giving it, so far as *σωφροσύνη* allows, its desires, so that it may cease to worry the soul. The result in both cases is the same—*i.e.*, spiritual *ἀταραξία*—attained, in the one case by the mortification of the flesh, and in the other by the highest development of all our faculties. That the Greeks were wrong on this particular point we all admit, but their attitude

was at any rate better than a morbid one, and it is a mistake to imagine, as Mr. Hackett does, that their whole attitude to life was coloured by it. Similarly, with the exposure of children, for the practice of which Mr. Hackett (p. 173) would have us regard the Greeks with the same horror with which we would regard those who practised it to-day, it must be admitted that, from a eugenic point of view, modern sentimentality upon the point is not entirely a virtue; and it is not to be wondered at that it should have been practised by a race who were necessarily strangers to the peculiarly Christian conception of the worth of the individual soul as such. Our attitude upon the matter is an ethically higher one than the Greek, but knowledge of this is indeed a dangerous thing when it leads Mr. Hackett to attribute to the Greeks a 'low standard of morality generally.' Moreover, his knowledge of the facts is sometimes not complete—*e.g.*, on 'the seclusion of women,' he seems unaware that by the time of Euripides it was beginning to be assailed, and he omits all reference to Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* upon the general question of women—and even when his facts are right his conclusions are apt to be rash. Thus, in an examination of Professor Murray's translation of the *Bacchæ* of Euripides (pp. 371 ff.), he has no difficulty in showing that certain words and phrases in that 'translation' constitute a misrepresentation of the original Greek words and phrases; consequently, he argues, the whole of Professor Murray's rendering misrepresents the spirit of Euripides. This is what I mean by his failure to see the wood for the trees. At times his criticism is rather captious, as of Mr. R. W. Livingstone's *Greek Genius and its Meaning to us* (pp. 290 ff.), where, in criticising the preference of the elements of 'directness' and 'truthfulness' (by which Mr. Livingstone characterises the best Greek poetry) to the imaginative element of modern poetry, he objects that such a preference would lead to the 'scrapping' *inter alia*, of 'all Greek statuary'!

R. B. APPLETON.

ASPECTS, AORISTS, AND THE CLASSICAL TRIPOS.

Aspects, Aorists, and the Classical Tripos.

By JANE E. HARRISON. Cambridge University Press, 1919. Price 2s. 6d.

IN this little book a theory of the Russian Perfectives is presented, which, if not new, is yet developed by Miss Harrison with so much eloquence, cogency of argument, and brilliance of illustration, that the general truth of it shines clear.

The similarity, however, both in structure and function, of the Russian 'Perfective' to the Greek Aorist has been recognised by Slavonic scholars from the time of Lomonosoff, Miklovitch, and Morfil, while the strong general resemblance between the two languages in the matter of prepositions, participles, oratio obliqua, diminutives, and even specific idioms, such as 'sam tchetvert' = τέταρτος αὐτός (but these have been, probably, directly borrowed), is at once obvious to all who possess both languages. The Russian version, for example, of the New Testament fits the Greek like a glove: Aorists and Perfects are answered by 'Perfectives,' Imperfects and Presents by 'Imperfectives,' cases by similar cases, compound Greek words by similarly compounded Russian words, diminutives by diminutives, and so forth; so that the many mistakes in tenses, etc., to be found in our Authorised Version (*cf.* Acts ii. 47, etc.) do not occur in the Russian. It retains, moreover, the directness and homely simplicity of the original, of which so much has evaporated in West European translations.

But it is especially about the subtle and systematic way in which the Russian language discriminates between fact and process, between the *actum* and the *actio*, that Miss Harrison discourses with much learning and charm, finding in the omnipresence of the 'Imperfective' in the Russian Verb system, not merely a stark linguistic fact, but the indication of a people's temperament. Nor is there anything fantastic in such a theory; for the Russian is proclaimed, both by his language and by his literature, to be a

born Bergsonian, a Heracleitean by nature, whose care is not for the 'stiff and dead' fact, but for the perpetual flux, for the stream of things on which, not having yet developed the hard and cutting will of the Westerner, he is perhaps too prone to drift. He loves the great river, whether dark and turbid in storm or 'dimpling innumerable' in calm—all of it from the shining surface to the darkest depth. Hence his warm 'Imperfectives,' the gripping power and poignancy of his acting—and there is none other like it in the world. Hence, too, the singular amorality of his literature; for the Russian writer, keenly conscious of the vast life-stream flowing through and about him, is content to feel and describe it, without wishing in the least to measure its immensity with a moral foot-rule—ὡς τῷ μὲν θεῷ καλὰ πάντα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ δίκαια, ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἃ μὲν καλὰ ὑπειλήφασιν, ἃ δὲ αἰσχροί.

Russian literature is pronounced by Miss Harrison to be found disappointing by the learner. As to this judgment opinions may differ; but what will chiefly interest students of language is the fact that Miss Harrison roughly equates the Russian Perfective with the Greek Aorist.

Now in the autumn of 1916 your reviewer was fortunate enough to discuss the question of Aspects at some length with certain professors of Moscow University; and these were the conclusions reached:

- (1) Russian grammatical terminology is cumbrous, antiquated, and unnecessarily perplexing to the foreigner. Reform is urgently needed in many directions.
- (2) All Russian linguistic phenomena are paralleled in other members of the Indo-European family.
- (3) There are but two essential 'Aspects' of the Russian Verb: one the 'Perfective,' indicating the naked fact without reference to its duration, etc.; the other the 'Imperfective,' connoting continuance, duration, process, frequency, etc.

But this (3) is the precise difference between Aorists and Imperfects in Greek. And many of the subtler tense usages of Latin and Greek are closely paralleled in Russian, as, for example, the Gnomic Aorist, the Aorist of Indefinite Frequency (+*av*), the so-called Epistolary Past Imperfect in Latin, etc.

The fact, therefore, that a Joint Committee representing the Standing Committee on Grammatical Reform, of which Professor Sonnenschein is the indefatigable chairman and guide, and the Modern Language Association has recommended the disuse of the terms 'Aspect,' 'Perfective,' 'Imperfective,' and the use of the terms 'Aorist Stem' and 'Imperfect Stem' in their stead, is one of great interest and importance, which seems to be unknown to Miss Harrison.

It is good that Russian grammar should at last be brought into line with the grammar of its sister languages; it is even better that the study of the Russian language should be made much easier than it has hitherto proved owing to the use of grammatical terms which are perplexing to the general. In one school in this country where sixty boys are studying Russian, the reformed terminology has been in use for nine months, with the most satisfactory results.

The reformed terminology, once its clearness, simplicity, and adequacy are realised, should find ready acceptance, and overcome the constitutional inertia of even the most conservative amongst grammarians.

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LE CULTE DES HÉROS.

Le Culte des Héros chez les Grecs: Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Tome XLII. By M. P. FOUCART. One volume. 4to. Pp. 166. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1918. 6 fr. 20 c.

THE greater part of this work (pp. 34-166) consists of an account, set forth with the clearness of expression and unostentatious learning of which the French are masters, of the origin and growth of hero-cults from Mycenaean times to the end of paganism. All the features of the normal worship of this kind—*ἐναγίσματα*, nocturnal rites, the *ἑσχάρα*, and so on—are recounted with a sufficiency of example; and a clear and plausible, if not startlingly original, explanation is given of the beginning of the cult in the reverence paid to great chiefs and kings after their death, the continuance of the worship of these prehistoric figures, looming all the more majestic across the intervening centuries, the gradual extension to more recent but still remarkable persons such as Aristomenes, and the degradations, vagaries, and confusions which attended the ritual in later times. With all of this we can only agree, save here and

there in detail, for the author, as he is rather fond of reminding us, clings closely to what the Greeks really said and did. It is a merit in anyone, but especially in one of such wide knowledge as M. Foucart, to find out and explain exactly what it was that they did say and do. Here common sense, patience, and critical ability serve the author well. It is when he tries to explain why they said and did such things that we find him less satisfactory.

The first thirty-four pages, and many passages elsewhere in the monograph, are devoted to lively polemic against certain comparative mythologists whose combinations have aroused M. Foucart's wrath. The first chapter proclaims in its heading that 'les Héros ne sont pas d'anciens Dieux déchus de leur dignité,' and the author then proceeds to prove to his own satisfaction that Erechtheus is not Poseidon, that Pandrosos and Aglauros are quite credible princesses, that Hyakinthos is no vegetation-deity, and that Lykurgos is as real a legislator as Sulla. Opinions differ as to what is probable; for our own part, a king who is born direct from the ground and a princess who is named All-dewy must bring fairly solid credentials before we

will accept them as figures of ancient chronicle or saga, and when we are told that no Athenian ever regarded them as anything but real human beings, however much he may have disbelieved in certain fabulous details of their stories, we remember that St. Demetra's worshippers seem to have no doubt that she was a real woman who lived in Levsina and suffered from Turkish misrule. That some of the views M. Foucart combats are absurd we do not deny; but we maintain most strongly that the true answer to such absurdities is to be found in a better understanding of the Comparative Method, not in its rejection because some have abused it. Thus, we venture to state that the Hyakinthos whom our author demolishes (p. 10) is a man of straw, as repugnant to sane comparative mythology as to his critic's common-sense, the offspring of an ill-assorted alliance between solid ritual fact and late aetiological myth; and that to prove the equation of Erechtheus with Poseidon unsatisfactory, as indeed we think it to be, leaves it as likely as ever that the 'hero' was a water-daimon of some sort and no king of the Mycenaean or any other epoch.

Indeed M. Foucart's dislike of the hero who is a faded god leads him almost entirely to forget the much more substantial figure of the hero who is a vigorous and flourishing, if renamed, daimon. The Taraxippoi are a case in point; the one at Nemea, where materialism seems to have been rampant, was nothing but a stone; Olympia had a daimon, the Isthmus revered Glaukon, son of Sisypheos, who made the horses shy in the chariot-races (Paus. VI. xx. 19). Similar transformations of Roman 'sondergötter' into dead men are fairly common. This is Euhemerism or Spencerianism, if you will; but long before either of those philosophers saw the light it was a common thing to explain a vague and unknown power by supposing him to be a ghost. Some such tendency would appear to have been particularly active in the case of Herakles. He may have been the rough but good-hearted captain of condottieri that M. Foucart supposes him; by anyone who reads through the

brief account of his rituals in Nilsson's *Griechische Feste*, for example, will be much puzzled to explain on merely heroic lines how he came to be metamorphosed into a quasi-feminine deity of fertility. M. Foucart indeed (p. 21) is inclined to accept with modifications Herodotos' view that there were two persons of that name, one a Greek hero and the other a foreign god; which to us is very like saying that the Hebrews worshipped two Yahwehs, one a deity of their own and the other a by-form of Dionysos introduced from Greece.

The author's neglect of comparative religion is nowhere more deplorable than when his views are probably right. He insists that the cult of heroes and the ordinary tendance of the dead are two different things, and we agree with him. But by way of proof he has little but an *ipse dixit*; in early days the kings were all-important, their subjects of no account; therefore the former were naturally worshipped, the latter were not (p. 44). But individually the Romans were of little importance, after their death in particular, in early times; hence there are no hero-cults in Rome. But the Di Manes were collectively formidable and to be propitiated. Why are there no such figures in Greek cult? We think the answer is to be found in a careful interpretation of the Greek facts in the light of the practice of other nations. That the Greeks generally, or at least the Athenians, expected their dead to be reborn is highly likely (see *Classical Review*, 1895, pp. 247 ff.) for the early times in which the best-known of the hero-cults grew up. But if we glance at other peoples who have such beliefs for the generality of their dead, we find that they hold as strongly as any Pythagorean that certain of the dead are too important ever to come back to earth as babies. To a Greek these exalted spirits, captains, kings, and so forth, were permanently in the other world and to be worshipped as heroes. Thought about such beings is always more or less confused and contradictory; how confused neither M. Foucart nor many other investigators fully realise, or the idea that cremation and inhumation imply different beliefs would not

die so hard; and consequently the same hero might easily be placed in a vague underworld and in a perfectly locatable grave. In either case, he occupied much the same position as many spirits who had never been in human bodies,

and upon whom such things as the harvest depended. Thus we have one of the factors leading to the confusions and border-line cases which make investigation in this field so difficult.

H. J. ROSE.

THE LEWES HOUSE COLLECTION OF ANCIENT GEMS.

The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems. By J. D. BEAZLEY. 4to. Pp. xii + 124. 12 collotype and 2 half-tone plates. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1920. 38s. net.

ENGRAVED gems are a branch of art little known except to professional archaeologists, and that for two reasons: first, they are troublesome to examine, especially in museums; and secondly, the fine pieces are apt to pass undetected among the mass of indifferent work. Yet, though the names of Polyclitus and Euphronios sit lightly on many lips innocent of Dexamenos and Epimenos, the great sculptors and vase-painters are not more surprising artists than the great gem-engravers. Consider only stones reproduced in this book—Mr. Warren's Archer, for instance, or his Achilles and Penthesilea; the exquisite Eros on a New York scaraboid, or the British Museum Goat from Lecce, where in a square inch of intractable material the unknown artist has wrought a design comparable in sweep and grandeur with Simone Martini's Guidoriccio da Fogliano—and the artistic supremacy of Greece will be as evident as in the finest red-figured vases or in the Parthenon frieze. And if a knowledge of gems is important for the understanding of Greek achievement, for the understanding of Etruscan it is essential, since it is in gems and bronzes alone that that art-loving people has left an adequate memorial of itself.

In addition to the reasons given above for the neglect of gems by all but specialists, there has hitherto existed a third—that there is no book in which their beauty and importance are at once apparent. The books mingle the indifferent with the good in a proportion more sparing indeed than most museums,

but still too great to encourage a timid enquirer. That cause, however, exists no longer, and we can imagine no more fascinating introduction to the subject than this catalogue. Mr. Warren's cabinet, which contains 132 intaglios and 7 cameos, is surpassed in numbers by other private collections—Lord Southesk's, for instance; but in average quality it is superior to any collection known to us, public or private, and if the British Museum be excepted, far superior. It is, moreover, particularly rich in Greek and Etruscan work, and the proportion of really first-rate pieces is quite astonishing. The excellent plates of this book should be a revelation to every one in any way interested in ancient art.

If the reader turns from the plates to Mr. Beazley's text with an expectation, aroused by the author's epoch-making work among vases, of finding the artistic personalities of various gem-engravers reconstructed, he will be disappointed. Minute scale and high finish together make the application of Morellian methods to gems extremely difficult, and though Mr. Beazley has a few suggestions of this kind to make, his results do not seem to us very certain, and it is not upon them that the merits of his commentary depend. We say commentary advisedly, for his text is much more than a mere catalogue. Mr. Beazley supplies an unusually elaborate account of each stone, and deals fully, though concisely, with any question raised by it. It is rarely that he allows himself to be drawn into stylistic digression—too rarely the reader will probably think, for his digressions are extremely interesting—but he displays in interpretation and illustration not only a very remarkable command of all branches of ancient art

and its voluminous literature, but also much curious information on other subjects. This is hardly the place for detailed criticism of a very scholarly piece of work, but archaeologists will note the attention here for the first time devoted to the backs of scarabs. The verbal descriptions would be easier to understand if we had been allowed a diagram, but no one who has handled gems can doubt that this is a field of enquiry which deserves much more attention than it has yet received.

We have found ourselves regretting more than once that the nature of this

book has precluded the author from prefacing his account of the individual stones with a general outline of the subject. We hope that some day he will supply in another volume what is a real need. Furtwaengler's *Antike Gemmen* is of course masterly, but it is expensive, and also too elaborate for beginners. If this catalogue falls, as we hope it may, into the hands of many unfamiliar with the subject, they will certainly wish to pursue it; and we are sure also that if they read the text they will wish to have Mr. Beazley for their guide.
Y.

THE OCTAVIUS OF MINUCIUS FELIX.

The Octavius of Minucius Felix. By J. H. FREESE. (Translations of Christian Literature. Series II. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge). Pp. ix-xxv + 27-98. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.

THE unique character of this dialogue gives it a special position in the literature of the early Church, and makes it of interest to a large number of readers. The writer, an advocate living at Rome, has put the case for Christianity in the shape of a dialogue between Caecilius Natalis, a Pagan, and Octavius, an adherent of the new faith. Octavius appears as a predecessor of Toland and Tindall, and the 'Christian Deists' of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He says little or nothing of dogma, but uses weapons drawn from ancient philosophers, and especially from Cicero, to attack Paganism. His main contention is *aut nunc Christianos philosophos esse aut philosophos fuisse iam tunc Christianos*. In his denunciation of Pagan fables he uses sceptical arguments against prodigies and miracles, which might have been turned against Christianity. It is not surprising that Lactantius and Jerome speak of his essay with lukewarm praise, feeling that he was a dangerous defender. It was indeed only preserved by an accident—viz., the confusion of *Octavius* with *octavus*—which caused it to be regarded as the eighth book of Arnobius *adversus gentes*. Of late years

it has been much studied, and its inclusion in this series of translations is thoroughly justified.

Mr. Freese's work is useful, though unpretending. In the Introduction he gives a short account of the main problems connected with the date and subject-matter of the dialogue. The translation is made from the text of Waltzing,¹ but he adopts several corrections from other scholars, which generally seem to be improvements. His rendering is neat and scholarly, and can be read with pleasure. It may, however, be doubted whether his short and smooth sentences will convey to the English reader the effect produced by the rhetorical and bejewelled periods of Minucius.

The exact date of Minucius is of great importance in view of the relationship between his work and the *Apology of Tertullian*, written in A.D. 197. It is held that one of the two writers must have copied the other. Accordingly, the *Octavius* has been referred by some writers to the second century A.D. and by others to the third. Support for the first view is to be found in the mention of Fronto as *Cirtensis noster* (chaps. ix., xxxi.), which might imply that he was still alive, while an inscription which shows that a certain Caecilius Natalis was a magistrate at Cirta in 210 A.D. is in favour of the later date. Mr. Freese does not mention

¹ Cf. *Class. Rev.* 1914, p. 64.

a recent dissertation of F. di Capua,¹ who, after a metrical analysis of Minucius' prose, shows that he wrote in a style which was current in the third century—e.g. in Cyprian—but was unknown in the second. The question

of his date may therefore be regarded as settled. The tumidity of his diction is strongly in favour of the view that he, like his friend Natalis, was of African origin, although a dweller in Rome.

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¹ *Didaskaleion* 1913, pp. 1-41.

A NEW VERSE TRANSLATION OF LUCRETII.

Lucretius on the Nature of Things.

Translated from Latin into English verse by Sir ROBERT ALLISON.
Arthur L. Humphreys. 1919. 7s. 6d.

A VERSE translation of Lucretius is an heroic undertaking. It requires no exceptional courage to select, as Mr. Mallock did, or more recently Mr. Stebbing, the great sustained passages, such as the exordium or the conclusion of Book III., and render them as detached pieces; their own magnificence carries the translator through, and they are of a single mood. But to render the whole, to preserve the poetry of the long argument with its precision of wording, and the sudden flashes of vision—the *lumina ingenii*—and to weld this on to the passages of higher mood, so that the result is a continuous whole without breaks or changes—this is a task which requires unusual insight and no mean gift. Most modern scholars have shrunk from it and contented themselves with the medium of prose. Munro's prose is, indeed, of a high poetic quality, at any rate in places, but he would have found himself seriously hampered by verse, and for a parallel to Sir Robert Allison's undertaking we have to go back to Creech (1682) or Evelyn (1656)—and Evelyn stopped hort at the end of Book I.

There is this further difficulty for a twentieth-century translator, that whereas Evelyn, and in a lesser degree Creech, was the man of letters translating for the scholarly gentleman of good education, anyone attempting the task now has behind him all the critical work of the great Victorian scholars: he knows that the professional eye will be on him and that he must justify

himself as a scholar as well as a writer of verse. Sir Robert is well equipped for this task: he takes Munro's text as his base, but shows himself abreast of criticism by an occasional departure from it with good scholarly judgement (e.g. i. 469 'terris' OQ for Munro's 'Teucris'), and quotes in his notes from Martha, Merrill, Duff, and the *Classical Quarterly*. Yet even so he will be criticised professionally: in the first twenty lines I have noticed three places where I think he is 'wrong,' and others will have similar carping criticisms.

The effect of this critical atmosphere is almost inevitably that the modern translator will try to keep too close to his original: he will be careful of each word, he will let the reader see how he takes the passage, he will 'take sides in a *στάσις*' over a well-known crux, and though he can sometimes avoid the *minutiae* of rival solutions (e.g. i. 551)—and thereby expose himself to further criticism—he will not, as a rule, 'hedge.' Now in a prose translation all this can be done without loss of effect, but in verse the result is—and it can hardly be avoided—a certain sacrifice of the poetry of the original. Let me illustrate this. Take first a passage of obvious poetic vision, the comparison of the winds to the rushing torrent in i. 277-289. Read Evelyn:

Winds therefore unseen *bodies* are, which sweep
The fleeting clouds, the Earth, the Azure deep,
Bearing with sudden storm all things away,
Yet thus proceeding, do they nought destroy
Other than as the yielding water flows,
Augmented by large showres, or melted snows
Which from deep cliffs in *Cataracts* descend,
Whole trees they float, and prostrate woods
they rend,
Nor can strong Bridges their approach sustain,
Whose rapid torrent do's all check disdain.

The River with immoderate showres repleat,
Against their Piles impetuously does beat,
Roaring it ruins, huge stones along it rowles,
All things it spoyles, and nothing it controles.

You cannot tell here what he is translating in the two passages, where the text is disputed, nor what the last half-line represents, but this is poetry. Now try Creech :

There must be Bodies, tho unseen they be,
Which thus disturb Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea ;
Which hardest Oaks and Rocks, and all things tear,
And snatch them up in whirling thro the Air :
They all rush on as headlong Rivers flow,
Swolen big with falling showers, or melting snow ;
Those Rocks and Trees o' return, and mighty Beams,
And whirl their conquer'd prey in rapid streams :
No Bridge can check, no force the stream controle,
It grows more wild and fierce, and beats the Mole :
Ruine and Noise attend where'er it flows,
It rolls great stones and breaks what dare oppose.

This halts more, and one knows what his text was in the last line, but it is good verse. Now turn to Sir Robert :

These are then, it would seem, these viewless winds,
Endowed with bodies which you cannot see,
Which sweep along the earth, the sea, the sky,
And vex with sudden whirlwinds, nor do they Stream on and scatter havoc otherwise Than as the gentle force of water, where With sudden stream, augmented from the hills By heavy rains, it rushes from above Hurling the forest's wrack and mighty trees : Nor can the strong-built bridges ev'n endure Its sudden onset, driven by the floods The river rushes on the piles with all Its strength, spreads ruin with a roar, Displaces mighty stones, and sweeps away Whatever may impede its onward rush.

We can follow this word for word in the original and know that Sir Robert reads *quom* in l. 282. There is also considerable vigour and rugged force about it all, but it cuts up awkwardly into its measure and one wonders whether it would not have been more effective in prose.

Now take a short argumentative passage, part of the Magnet section in Book VI. 1042-1052. Read Sir Robert first :

Sometimes it happens that the iron recedes
When it meets the stone, and ev'n is wont to fly

And follow in its turn. For I have seen
Some iron rings in Samothrace jump up,
And iron filings range in bowls of brass,
The magnet stone being placed below : so strong

Was their desire to flee it. When the brass
Then comes between, so great discord ensues,
Because when the stream from it has seized upon

And blocked the iron's pores, then comes on it
The stream from out the stone, and finds all full
Within the iron, nor is there a path
By which to go, as heretofore it did.

Once again we can follow in the text, and our critical sense even objects to the rendering 'in Samothrace'; but it is rather mechanical. We have not Evelyn here, but listen to Creech :

But more than this, coy *Steel* will sometimes move
And flie the *striving* Stone, and cease to love.
And thus *Steel* Fileings I have often known,
In little *brazen* Pots held o're the Stone,
Will strive, and leap, as eager to be gone ;
Because the little *brazen* parts that rear,
Fill all the *Steel's* small *Pores*, and *settle* there ;
And so the other rising *streams* that come
From *Magnets*, find no *way*, no *open* room.

These are the limitations under which Sir Robert has worked. Modern scholarship would not have accepted a version as loose as that of Creech and Evelyn, yet accuracy must entail some loss. Having said this much one may express a genuine admiration for the real vigour and vitality of his translation, and the best test is that it can be read continuously with enjoyment. One soon gets into its own conventions and settings, and it conveys with peculiar success the sense of Lucretius' continuous effort, the eagerness of his argument, the striving for logical victory, and his supreme confidence in the issue. If the spirit of the poet is sometimes lacking, the spirit of the man is there. And in many of the greater passages of the poem—such as the end of the first book—Sir Robert rises to great heights : there is a swing and reality about his blank verse which could never have been attained in the more elegant couplets of his predecessors.

Sir Robert has added an interesting introduction, which will give the setting of the poem well to an English reader—though again one must object critically to the strange view taken of Cicero's

'*multae tamen artis*' on p. vii. A happy inspiration has led him to quote in footnotes parallels from English poetry, and to add in an Appendix some specimen translations of Epicurus, which

show the very unpromising material which Lucretius had to transform into Latin poetry.

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T. MACCI PLAUTI MENAECCHI.

T. Macci Plauti Menaechmi. Edited with Introduction and Notes by CLARA M. KNIGHT, M.A., D.Litt., Cambridge University Press, 1919.

THE late Professor Leo, of Berlin, gave instructions in his will that his MS. lectures on the *Menaechmi* should be burned, apparently because he was dissatisfied with them. The beginner in Plautine criticism has no such scruples. He is inclined to trust his own judgment on difficult questions of scansion, text, and interpretation, only half aware that he is stepping *per ignes suppositos cineri doloso*. That Dr. Clara Knight is a beginner is obvious. I hope, then, that she will not resent frank criticism on the part of one who edited his first play of Plautus, with all its imperfections on its head, over forty years ago, and who now desires to put his riper experience at her disposal, when she comes to produce a second edition.

The literary part of the Introduction is well written. The editor has also made good use in her commentary of Bennett's Syntax of Early Latin, though she is not in touch with a good deal of recent work on the *Menaechmi*, e.g. Redslob's review of Niemeyer's revision of Brix (1892), and Niemeyer's still later revision (1912). The faults which I find in her work are concerned chiefly with metre and prosody. To begin with, I am not even sure that I know what Dr. Knight means when she says (Pref. p. vii) 'to mark the accent [*i.e.* the 'metrical accent'] throughout is unsound in principle; for it is certain to give a young student the impression that the metrical ictus is something apart from the natural accent of the words or word-groups.' What, then, is the metrical ictus? I suppose that Dr. Knight means to deny that ictus is a factor in Plautine verse, though I

observe that in § 13 (p. xxiv) she seems to attribute 'lengthening in arsi' to the ictus. On p. xix she says that the ictus generally coincides with the natural accent. But how about the cases where it does not? *Dedisti* in 689 (*cf. dedisse* in *Amph.* 761), *tacedum* written as one word in 348, and *eccum* in 275 are cases in point. No explanation is given: apparently shortening of a long and accented syllable is here attributed to ictus. [That there is a third alternative I have indicated in my article in *Class. Philology* VI. 1911, which I think Dr. Knight has not seen]. What are we to make of the statement that *datum* is to be scanned with a long *a* in 249, and that this form was 'perhaps common in early Latin'? In 249 *damum edis* must be scanned with hiatus. *Percipit*, 921, comes under Jacobsohn's law; so too *sincipit* in 506, and *validus* in 877. *Deférant* in 952 (p. xx) is quite unintelligible. Loss of final *s* in the examples given on p. xxi is an unnecessary supposition; for they fall under the ordinary law of shortening. Hiatus between *hominem* and *hominis* (so written with an impossible accent, p. xxii) in 1088 is based on a misunderstanding of Lindsay's note, who apparently scanned the line *Nam ego hominem hominis simliorem nunquam vidi alterum*; which is also to me intolerable. Either there is hiatus after *vidi*, or we must accept Lange's insertion of *ullum* or Onions' *usquam*. Monosyllabic *ille* in 337 and *isic* in 937 is an unnecessary assumption (p. xxiii); so too monosyllabic *fuit* in 370 and 409, and trisyllabic *voluisse* in 461. The statement (p. xxv) that Plautus did not understand the nature of the verse (iambic trimeter) in Greek should be amended: for the Greek comedians had gone great lengths in modifying the original triple time of the verse;

and the Old Latin dramatists (not Plautus only) deliberately adapted the metre to the conditions imposed by the Latin language. The scansion of 763 is quite uncertain (p. xxviii). Nor can I accept the scansion of 584 given on p. xxxi. Nor should Aristophanes *Equites* 1111-20 be quoted (p. xxx) to illustrate the 'colon Reizianum'; for these Greek lines have one syllable too much (except line 1120). How the editor intends lines 175 and 1028 to be scanned is left obscure.

The text and explanatory notes are also not free from defects. In 229 Lindsay's reading is adopted; but is it really suitable to the context? Surely Messenio must mean that there is a greater pleasure than to set foot on land, viz. to get back to one's native soil (*cf non dicam dolo*, 'to tell the truth'). The second person *videas* also shows that the proposition is a general one. He does not mean 'I am even gladder to get ashore than I should be if I had reached home.' In 292 *certo* is said to be 'colloquial for classical *pro certo*.' Am I under some delusion? From boyhood I have regarded *certo scio*, 'I know for certain,' as a classical locution, which any examiner would accept in a Latin composition. The note on *ni* (419), calling attention to the ultimate identity of *ni* and *ne*, is spoiled by the absence of discrimination between the two meanings 'not' and 'if not.' *Truc.*

275 and *Rud.* 712 ff. should not be put side by side with *Men.* 880 f. In 110 and *Rud.* 1381 etc. *ni* cannot be translated by 'not.' In 1093 a note is wanted on the pres. indic. *invenis*: the usage in 1026 is different. Can Plautus really have written *Titanum* in 854, even though that word stands in the MSS. and is supported by Priscian? That Plautus knew what a Titan was is shown by *Persa* 26. Some of the notes on the subjunctive are good; e.g. on *ne comesses* 611. But in 397 *negem* is not 'potential'; nor is the note on attraction (line 111) luminous. What is meant by 'the modal colour'? The subj. is here postulative: *quod...videas* = 'if you see a thing.' It is a mistake to explain it as 'partaking of the potential force of *habeas*.' In 913 my emendation *ingero* seems to me preferable to Lindsay's *iungere* (from a supposed *iungus* = ζεύγος) or *unguine*: for 'an acre of hellebore' *cf.* *Hor. A.P.* 300 *tribus Anticyris*. In 466 *potisne* = *potisne est* 'is it possible?', not 'can't you?' The statement that the Ambrosian MS. was first published by Studemund (p. 121) is likely to mislead the student. Small points like this are, of course, of no importance to the schoolboy; and I am glad to be able to add that he will find the explanatory notes for the most part adequate to his needs.

E. A. SONNENSCHN. E.

POSTGATE'S PHAEDRI FABULAE AESOPIAE.

Phaedri Fabulae Aesopiae cum Nicolai Perotti prologo et decem novis fabulis, recognovit breuique adnotatione critica instruxit IOHANNES PERCIVAL POSTGATE. One vol. Crown 8vo. Pp. xxviii, no further pagination. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1920. 4s. 6d. paper, 5s. cloth, 7s. 6d. interleaved, net.

DR POSTGATE'S is a purer text of Phaedrus than Lucian Mueller's and could hardly fail to be a purer than Mr Havet's; and the reason of its superiority is partly that he has used better judgment in choosing among the

lections at his disposal, and partly that he has imported fewer novelties of his own. A simple way to purify the text still further would be to remove those novelties: not that all of them are improbable or injurious, but most of them are, like most of Mueller's and Mr Havet's; and although Dr Postgate's conjectures do less harm than the former's and much less than the latter's, they also do less good. These fables are not a field in which anyone at this date can make 60 restorations, and Dr Postgate was not the critic most likely to make them. The matter and manner of Phaedrus are so plain and lucid that his correctors

have not been baffled or distracted by difficulties inherent in the author; they have been able to concentrate their scrutiny on his textual condition, and the scrutiny of Mr Havet has been uncommonly minute. The consequence is that most errors which can be set right with certainty have been set right already: there remains a vast deal of damage which is beyond repair. The licence of scribes who neither understood nor regarded the metre has bred such disorder that the words in the MSS are often far away from anything that the poet can have written, and editors accordingly have a large choice of possible corrections, few of which, for that very reason, will be probable. To handle a text of this sort is a business which calls for diffidence and flexibility: Dr Postgate is both sanguine and stubborn, and if once he gets hold of the stick by the wrong end he does not soon let go.

He has amended the punctuation of I 27 7; in III *epil.* 28 'excedit animus quem *proposuit* terminum' his *proposui* is an improvement; in IV 18 25 *odorem mixto* his *odore* is a slighter change than *mixtum* or *odores mixtos*; and in V 9 4 his *tu quam* for *quam* gives a better emphasis than *quam tu*. His *grana* in IV 24 14 is almost required by *congero*, though his derision of *granum* is beside the mark and shows that he has mistaken the author's meaning. *Mulum* in II 7 8 was justly condemned by Riese, and Dr Postgate's *ditem* is probably the best substitute that can be found. With the help of the medieval paraphrasts he has detected gaps after I 7 1 and *app. Perott.* 1 1, and has filled them with something very like what Phaedrus must have written.

In the following passages a variety of corrections are propounded by different critics, and each prefers his own: I will quote alternatives without interposing any judgment, and the reader shall try to pick out Dr Postgate's conjectures from the rest by their superiority. I 16 2 'fraudator homines cum aduocat sponsum improbos, | non rem expedire sed *malauidere* expetit': *malum inferre* or *ingerere* or *ordiri*. III 3 2 'usu peritus hariolo ueracior | uulgo *causa fertur* sed non dicitur': *esse fertur, causa*

or *perhibetur, causa*. III *epil.* 11 'et hoc minus ueniet ad me muneris': *perueniet* or *redibit*. IV 9 1 'homo simul ac uenit in magnum periculum (with title in *periculum simul ac uenit callidus*), | reperire effugium quaerit alterius malo': *homo in periculum simul ac uenit callidus* or *homo magnum ut uenit in periculum callidus* or *magnum in periculum simul ac uenit callidus*. IV 24 19 'aestate me laccessis; cum bruma est (PR, cur bruma NV) siles': *cum brumast* or *cum bruma*. *App.* 11 9 'ferendus esses, arte si te diceris | superasse qui esset melior uiribus': *qui te melior esset* or *quam tu qui esset m.* or *eum qui te esset m.* *App.* 16 6 'postquam *esurire* coepit fera *societas*': *e. societas coepit fera* or *fera esurire coepit s.* *App.* 29 1 'papilio uespam *preteruolantem* uiderat': *praenuolantem* or *prope uolantem*.

Similar cases, less handy to cite, may be found at I 5 7, 30 7, III *prol.* 22, III 10 2, 13 13, IV 6 2, and several places in the *appendix Perottina*. But there are others where Dr Postgate's expedient is quite evidently inferior. I 3 6-9, where he spoils the natural flow of the narrative, and II 4 19 cannot be dealt with briefly; but take the following examples.

III *prol.* 20 'quamuis in ipsa natus sim *pene* schola.' Heinsius mended nothing but the metre with his transposition *paene sim natus*: Mr Havet saw that *schola* needed definition, and altered *pene* to *Phoebi*: so *Phoebus* in Manil. IV 728 is corrupted to *Poenus* and *Paenus*, and *Phoebigenam* in Verg. *Aen.* VII 773 to *Poenigenam*. But Dr Postgate conceives the project of saving the letter *n*, and apparently with that single aim he writes *Paeanis*. This is not so apt a name as *Phoebi*, it is certainly no nearer to *pene*, and instead of mending the metre it requires the transposition of another word; 'doch die Katze, die Katz' ist gerettet.'

IV 2 4 'sed diligenter intueri has *nenias*: | quantam *subtilis* utilitatem reperies!' Pithoeus wrote *sub illis*, which procures unimpeachable sense by the irreducible minimum of change. Mr Havet's egotism forced him to prefer *sub titulis*, poor though it was; and against *sub illis* he said the first thing that came into his head, 'quod

post *has nefas*.' Dr Postgate knows that this is false, that *hic* and *ille* are referred to one object by writers so pure as Plautus and so elegant as Ovid; but the hunt is up and he cannot sit idle, he must venture in *pusillis*. Suppose that I were the author of this conjecture: does Dr Postgate think he would print it instead of Pithou's?

IV 17 8 'factus *periculosus tum* gubernator sophus: | "parce gaudere oportet et sensim queri." ' *periculis tum* Orelli, *periculo sic* Dr Postgate, who says that Orelli's reading does not account for the -os- (as if his own accounted for the *tum*), and that the plural is inappropriate. The singular is inappropriate: the pilot, who had seen many a storm before, is contrasted with his less experienced and more impressionable shipmates.

These however are places where the tradition is corrupt: there are others where it is sound and where Dr Postgate vitiates it by alteration. His text of III *prol.* 45-8 checked me and threw me out as I read it, and before I had time to look at the note I had hit by conjecture on what I there found to be the MS reading; but not every corruption is so slight.

III 2 5 gives not only a good sense but exactly the right sense. A panther had fallen into a pit, and the country-folk came and threw stones at it; a few however were sorry for the poor creature, sure to die even if nobody molested it, *periturae quippe, quamvis nemo laederet*, and they threw it food instead. The panther after all made its escape in the night, and a day or two later it returned and fell with tooth and claw upon man and beast. When the soft-hearted few implored it to spare their lives, it answered them 'memini quis me saxo petierit, | quis panem dederit: uos timere absistite, | illis reuertor hostis *qui me laeserunt*,' 17-19. In spite of this fingerpost the meaning of *quamvis nemo laederet* was beyond the medieval paraphrasts, and they substituted *qui neminem laesit*, as if the beast of prey were an injured innocent; and upon this hint Dr Postgate writes *quamvis nullum laederet*, in which even the tense is wrong. That he cites the *qui me laeserunt* of verse 19

as bearing him out, and says that *nemo* injures the purpose of the story, and exclaims 'what a reason for compassion!' all serves to indicate his frame of mind; and so does his charge of 'more than questionable Latinity' against *periturae . . . quamvis . . . laederet* (for *laesurus esset*), which is the same construction as *dabunt quamvis redeant* in Hor. *carm.* IV 2 39. There is a fable in Phaedrus about a wolf and a lamb, written for those 'qui fictis causis innocentes opprimunt.'

IV *epil.* 7-9 'si non ingenium, certe breuitatem adproba, | quae commendari tanto debet iustius | quanto poetae sunt molesti ualidius.' Phaedrus says that his brevity is the more to his credit because he is one of a tedious tribe. This plain and excellent sense Dr Postgate somehow manages to miss; to fortify himself in error he calls *poetae* stupid and intolerable and says it completely stultifies the poem; and to have his own way he writes *cantores* instead. Such iron resolve may be a good thing in its proper place, but in criticism it is less desirable than perception and consideration.

V 10 6. The old hound 'obiectus hispidi pugnae suis | arripuit aurem, sed cariosis dentibus | praedam dimisit. *hic tunc* uenator dolens | canem obiurgabat.' *hic tunc* is both appropriate and idiomatic; but modern editors of Phaedrus are much too full of themselves to find that out, and when Mueller had conjectured *hoc tunc* and Mr Havet *dimisit hietans* it was more natural for Dr Postgate to write *rixtus* in emulation than to bethink himself of Hand Turs. III p. 79 or Mayor on Iuu. III 21. What he says against *hic tunc* is that it 'has no friends.'

At the end of *app.* 27 the medieval paraphrasts, not understanding what they read, have added *sic uerbis mutuo se deluserunt* or similar absurdities. Dr Postgate makes this into a verse, *sic uerbis illi se luserunt inuicem*, marks the poem as mutilated, and calls it 'an ironical composition in which the mutual insincerities of a pair of lovers are transfixed.' It treats of no such matter: all the insincerity is on one side.

I think that Dr Postgate is rather

too fond of these paraphrasts. Their *altitonans* or *Iuppiter intonans ab aethere* at I 2 28 does not justify him in writing *Tonans* for *deus*: it seems to be merely a poetical gewgaw like the others in Mr Havet's notes on I 3 11 and 12 9. At I 21 5, instead of *ad eum*, which is in the MSS and the paraphrasts as well, he writes *spumans*, which is only in the paraphrasts. A more plausible and certainly ingenious conjecture is '*quae* (better *cui*) *dorsum cum tutudisset inuitae diu*,' based on their *tundens dorsum eius*, for the '*quam dorso cum tulisset inuita et diu*' of the MSS at *app.* 24 2. In the attempt to reconstruct lost fables of Phaedrus from the prose of the paraphrases he has taken more pains than his predecessors and practised more self-restraint.

Dr Postgate has shown on other occasions that his ear for the Latin iambic is not perfect, and some of his conjectures here are metrically insecure or vicious. Phaedrus has no such verses as the *illius se miscere antidoto toxicum* and the *Demetrius rex qui Phalereus dictus est* which he offers at I 14 8 and V 1 1, nor as the *ego illius pro semita feci uiam* which he adopts from Johnson at III *prol.* 38; and *fab. nou.* 8 1 is astonishing. At *app.* 12 4 he fills out the verse by inserting *ea* before *ait*: there are probably more than two such elisions in Latin poetry, but I have only noticed two, and neither is in Phaedrus.

The preface gives a clear and comprehensive account of the MSS and the other sources of the text, and the papers in British and American journals of the last two years to which the reader is constantly referred contain matter of value. An orderly and intelligible apparatus criticus, as several

volumes of this series have shown, is a gift not always to be expected from an English editor. Dr Postgate's notes on I 19 7, 28 5, IV 9 5, 17 8 and 10, 18 14, 20 15, V 5 1, *app.* 13 25, 14 10, 15 10, appear to have been written before he knew what his text was going to be, or after he had forgotten what it was. Some of them, e.g. I 28 5, are merely wrong-end-foremost and cause nothing worse than annoyance and delay. Others tell us things which we could infer for ourselves and hide from us things which we cannot: that P has *catulos posset* in I 19 7 might have been said by silence, but who is to know that D has *posset catulos*? The MS reading is not discoverable from the notes on III *prol.* 22 and *app.* 9 2, nor the source of the text from those on III 19 8, IV 17 10, V 5 1, *app.* 9 2, 15 10. The note on III *prol.* 20 contains a wrong statement, and those on III 6 2 and *app.* 4 22 must inevitably mislead. Such particulars as '*xystum* Salmasius, *xistum* P' and '*umor* Havet, *humor* NV' could better be spared than the information that *ni* in *app.* 15 8 is a correction of Mueller's and the MSS have *nisi*. A part of the notes on IV 17 belongs to 16, and there are misprints or other slips in the apparatus at I 12 1, 21 2, 22 8, 26 4, II 3 2, 9 18, IV 1 6, 15 13, *app.* 20 3, and in the text (apart from errors of punctuation) at *app.* 25 2. The name of Heinsius is missing at I 13 13 sq., and Jannelli's rather than Mueller's should appear at *app.* 7 4. The conjecture *logis* ascribed to me at III *prol.* 37 had been anticipated, though I cannot say by whom; and I do not remember proposing *frondosum* in *app.* 6 2.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

SHORT NOTICES

Texts for Students. No. 1: *Select Passages from Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius*, illustrative of Christianity in the First Century. Arranged by H. J. WHITE, D.D. Pp. 16. S.P.C.K. 3d. net. No. 2: *Selections from Matthew Paris*. Edited by CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL. Pp. 64. S.P.C.K. 9d. net. No. 3: *Selections from Giraldus Cambrensis*. Edited by CAROLINE A. J. SKEEL. Pp. 64. S.P.C.K. 9d. net. No. 4: *Libri Sancti Patricii*. A Revised Text, with a Selection of Various Readings. Edited by NEWPORT J. D. WHITE, D.D. Pp. 32. S.P.C.K. 6d. net.

THIS series of Biblical, Patristic, and Historical Greek and Latin texts, designed primarily for school use, will doubtless have a wider circulation. How far school authorities will be persuaded to expedite a return to the old-time study of late Latin writers is highly problematical. Certainly the Latin studies in our schools of former days were by no means restricted to those books ordinarily esteemed as classics, but had even a far wider range than the course which the general editors of this series seem to contemplate—e.g. Alex. Neville's history of the Norfolk Rebellion in 1549 (*De Furoribus*) was only one among the famous Latin books appointed by Queen Elizabeth to be read in schools. Each of these 'Texts for Students' has a short Introduction, and words not ordinarily found in the Latin Dictionary are given either in glossaries or footnotes.

C. H. EVELYN-WHITE.

Rampton, Cambridge.

Translations of Christian Literature. Series I. Greek Texts: *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*. By W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE, B.D. Pp. 188. S.P.C.K. 5s. net.

MR. LOWTHER CLARKE has accomplished a not altogether easy task in a manner that will commend his discreet translation to a wide circle of readers

by whom the work will be generally welcomed. Up to the present the English student has had to content himself with the translation from the Syriac by Dr. Wallis Budge, which, while it may be said to possess peculiar merit, has left a clear way for a sound and direct translation from the original. The work is known to be one of very real interest, and abounds with curious historical matter. If, as Mr. Lowther Clarke says, in his admirable introduction, 'it is a salutary experience to read the Lausiaca History,' it is certainly an advantage to possess so strange an insight into the conditions of early monachism, that notwithstanding the many extravagant and improbable stories here related, present us with a picture of courage and heroic endurance that surpasses the ordinary imagination. A point of some little interest occurs in Chapter XXXI., where we read of a certain virgin, Piamoun, 'who lived the years of her life with her mother eating every other day (*μίαν παρὰ μίαν*) in the evening,' which Butler renders 'once a day' (rejected by Turner). We would suggest 'day by day,' and the allusion probably to the ordinary course of life being followed without direct reference to an anomaly. There are numerous scholarly and entertaining notes. The translation is based upon the text of Abbot Butler.

A Handbook of Attic Red-Figured Vases. By J. C. HOPPIN. 8vo. Vol. II. Pp. viii+602; 221 Illustrations in Text (line and half-tone). Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1912. 35s. net.

THERE is little to add to the review of the first volume of this book, which appeared in the *Classical Review*, 1919, November-December. Professor Hoppin has completed a laborious and useful task. Eighty vase-painters are included in this volume. The indices are full and adequate, and render the

whole work of great practical value. The book should now prove of the utmost use to the student of vases for reference in museums. He has in it a handbook, which enables him to look up on the spot any vase which has been attributed to a definite painter, and to compare immediately his own views with the attributions of others. Without the book much note-taking and hunting of references would be necessary to produce the same result. References in the indices are given not to pages, but to painters and to their vases, as numbered in the book. This being so, it is a pity that the names of painters were not added as headings to each page. This would have saved the student's time. Otherwise the book is as conveniently arranged as it could be.

E. M. W. T.

Horace and His Age: A Study in Historical Background. By J. F. D'ALTON, M.A., D.D., Professor of Ancient Classics, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

THIS must be considered a compilation, but it is likely to be useful, and it is undoubtedly interesting. It justifies itself by the wide and careful reading which has been brought to bear on it. Horace is of all the Roman poets the one whose life and opinions, changing and maturing in the course of years, and reflecting all along the habits and ideas of his contemporaries, need, if we would draw from him all he has to tell us, a commentary even more bulky than that of Mayor on Juvenal. But Professor D'Alton does not give us a bulky commentary. His aim is to put Horace in an atmosphere of Roman thought, Roman habits, Roman politics, so that the student who has become quite at home in this atmosphere may return to the poems feeling that he knows something at least about the environment of a very interesting character. His object, in fact, is not so much to make Horace tell the story of his time as to make the time tell the story of Horace's life. The plan is a good one, though it would not suit another poet equally well. Horace, for example, in Chapter I., is considered in his relation to the *Welt-politik* of his time, not so much to elicit

his own opinions or those of his friends in authority, as to put him in the right atmosphere for our understanding of both himself and his time. (Just to illustrate what is meant, we may remember how Mr. Hardy in his best novels surrounds his characters with an atmosphere which prompts or modifies their thinking.) So, too, in successive chapters, with religion, philosophy, social problems, and literary criticism.

Professor D'Alton is well read in all recent books about these matters, and acknowledges his obligations conscientiously. But in one sense he is more than a compiler, for he knows his Horace personally, and has a real admiration for him: 'The poet was essentially a man of many moods, quick-tempered and sensitive, as changing as the hues of an autumn sunset across the Roman Campagna. Our aim should be, not to assign him a complete system of philosophy, but to catch and, if possible, explain those passing moods.' Such a passage may convince the reader of this brief notice of the literary value of this book.

One or two special points may be mentioned. There should surely be an index to the poems as they are quoted in the text. For inscriptions the student should be put on the track of Dessau or even the *Corpus* itself; as it is, Mr. Rushforth's small volume seems to be the only one quoted. In writing of Ode I. xiv. he does not mention Dr. Leaf's attractive theory (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXXIV.), but he may well have missed it. His remarks on the Fortuna Ode (p. 111 ff.) are independent and interesting. He thinks it a strange medley of incoherent ideas; and he notes that nothing that has come to light on Fortuna of late years explains the mystery. On p. 126, accounting for the abandonment of ode-writing after the first three books were published, he seems to exaggerate the trifling nature of Horace's lyrics. But as the poet grew older was it not the technical difficulty of ode-writing, of skilfully adapting the Latin tongue to the subtleties of Greek lyric measures, that deterred him and made him feel happier and easier with hexameters? To combine deftness with an apparent spontaneity is perhaps a gift of youth.

VERSION.

TO-MORROW, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day

To the last syllable of recorded time,
 And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
 The way to dusty death. Out, out,
 brief candle!

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor
 player

That struts and frets his hour upon the
 stage

And then is heard no more: it is a tale
 Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
 Signifying nothing.

Αὔριον ἐκδέχεται καὶ ἐς αὔριον αὔριον ἄλλο,
 εἰς πυμάτην μνήμην ὠγυγίων ἐτέων
 ἡμαρ ἐπ' ἡματι βαῖνον αἰὲν βραδύπου· τὰ δὲ πάντα
 χθιζὶνὰ μύροισιν φῶτ' ἐπέλαμψε βροτοῖς
 οἶμον ἐποιχομένοις κόνιν εἰς Αἶδαν· σὺ δ' οὖν μοι
 ἔρρε κατεσβηκῶς, λύχιν' ὀλιγοχρόνι
 τίς γὰρ δὴθ' ὁ βίος; σκιά ἔμπνοος, ἣ πὶ τραγῳδοῖς
 φαῦλος ἀγωνιστῆς, ὃς τερατενόμενος
 βαῖα μὲν ἐν σκηνῇ βρενθίεται, εἶτα δὲ χοῦτος
 σιγῆσων τοῦνθένδ' ἐξέπεσ'· ἥ δὲ λόγος
 ὃν παράφρων στωμύλλει ἀνὴρ, δεινὸν μὲν ἀκούειν
 καὶ μάλα σεμνολόγον, νοῦς δ' ἄρα μή τις εὖ ἦν.

H. RACKHAM.

Christ's College, Cambridge.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE Summer School for the Reform of Latin Teaching will be held this year at Chester, from Monday, August 30 to Wednesday, September 8. Information can be had of the Secretary, Mr. N. Parry, 4, Church Street, Durham.

WITH the close of the current volume the present editors of the *Classical Review*, Dr. W. H. D. Rouse and Dr. A. D. Godley, will have completed ten years' work in that capacity. In announcing their retirement next December, the Classical Journals Board

desires to offer them its cordial thanks for their able and generous service to the cause of classical studies through a period of unique difficulty; and it is confident that in so thanking them it is representing the unanimous feeling of the readers of the *Review*.

Mr. J. T. Sheppard, Fellow and Tutor of King's College, Cambridge, and Mr. R. W. Livingstone, Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, have accepted the invitation of the Board to become the editors for 1921; and to one of them all contributions to the pages of the *Review* should be addressed after November 1, 1920.

CORRESPONDENCE

LIDDELL AND SCOTT.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

MR. CORNFORD'S letter in your last issue is easily answered. A new edition of Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* is in preparation, and it is hoped that printing may begin fairly soon. I shall therefore be glad to receive any corrections or notes of omissions, etc., which may have been made by readers of the *Classical Review*. It is hoped that obvious errors have for the most part been detected in the course of revision, but omissions easily escape notice, and I shall be glad if your readers would notify me of any such. Papyri, recently discovered inscriptions, etc., have been specially read for the new edition, as well as a large number of authors of the later periods; but there are

doubtless many references to the earlier classical literature which should be inserted, especially where texts have been improved by recent editors. To give an example: it is not long since my attention was drawn to the reading ἀνικμάμενα adopted (no doubt rightly) by Professor Burnet in Plato, *Timaeus* 53A, which had escaped notice. Notes on such matters will be gratefully received; also on interpretations generally adopted by recent scholars which mark an advance on those recognised by Liddell and Scott. Mr. Cornford's note on Ἐνδεξιόομαι is a typical example.—Yours faithfully,

H. STUART JONES.

*Brasenose College,
Oxford.*

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

. Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- A Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life.* 2nd Edition. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii + 232. London: British Museum, 1920. Paper boards, 2s. 6d.
- Allen (J. T.)* The Greek Theatre of the Fifth Century before Christ. $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. x + 118. 31 illustrations. Berkeley: University of California. Cloth.
- Amos (Flora R.)* Early Theories of Translation. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xiv + 184. Oxford: University Press, 1920. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- A National System of Education.* $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 78. London: Longmans, 1920. Paper, 1s. net.
- Apologétique de Tertullien.* By J. P. Waltzing. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 147. Liège: Imp. H. Vaillant-Carmanné, 1919. Paper, 10 frs.
- Aron (Kurt)*. Beiträge zu den Persern des Timotheos: Dissertation für Doctorate. $6'' \times 9''$. Pp. 48. Greifswald, 1920.
- Cadbury (H. J.)* The Style and Literary Method of Luke: I. The Diction of Luke and Acts. Harvard Theological Studies, VI. $6'' \times 9''$. Pp. vi + 72. Harvard University Press, 1919.
- Clark (A. C.)* M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 248. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. Cloth, 3s. net; paper, 2s. 6d. net.
- Courthope (W. J.)* The Country Town and other Poems. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 107. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Dickens (Guy)*. Hellenistic Sculpture. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8''$. Pp. 99 + 53 Plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. Paper boards, 16s. net.
- Eitrem (S.)* Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte. III. $10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7''$. Pp. 204. Kristiania: Dybwad, 1920.
- Fiske (G. C.)* Lucilius and Horace. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 524. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1920. Cloth, \$2.50.
- Foucart (M. P.)* Un Décret Athénien Relatif aux combattants de Phyle. $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9''$. Pp. 35. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1920. Paper, 2 fr. 50 + 75 per cent.
- Frank (Tenny)*. An Economic History of Rome to the end of the Republic. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii + 312. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1920. Cloth, \$2.50.
- Fres (J. H.)* The Library of Photius. Vol. I. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xiv + 243. London: S.P.C.K., 1920. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Grieksch Woordenboek.* By Dr. F. Muller, Junr. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xx + 1248. Groningen: Wolters, 1920. Cloth, 13'90 frs.
- Hardie (W. R.)* Res Metrica. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xii + 275. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- How to Observe in Archaeology.* $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 103. London: British Museum, 1920. Cloth.
- Ibis.* See Rostagni.
- Jones (H. S.)* Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. 39. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920. Paper, 1s. 6d. net.
- Kern (O.)* Orpheus. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 69. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920. Paper M. 5.
- Latin Teaching.* Vol. III., No. 2. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 24. Durham: N. O. Parry, 4, Church Street. May, 1920. Paper, 1s.
- Marshall (F. H.)* Discovery in the Greek Lands. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xi + 127. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. Half cloth, paper boards, 8s. 6d. net.
- McClees (Helen)*. A Study of Women in Attic Inscriptions. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 52. New York: Columbia University Press, 1920.
- Meyer (P. M.)* Juristische Papyri. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xx + 380. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920. Paper, M. 22.
- Mulder (J. J. B.)* Quaestiones nonnullae ad Atheniensium matrimonium vitamque Coniugalem pertinentes (Dissertation for Doctorate). $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii + 152. Ad Rhenum: L. E. Bosch et Fil.
- Neue Jahrbücher.* Edited by J. Ilberg. Vols. XLV.-XLVI. Parts 1-4. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Leipzig: Teubner, 1920. Paper.
- Norwood (G.)* Greek Tragedy. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. vii + 394. London: Methuen, 1920. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Pallis (A.)* To the Romans. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 189. Liverpool Booksellers' Co., 1920. Cloth.
- Revista di Coltura.* Vol. I., No. 1., April 15, 1920. $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 48. Rome: Maglione and Strini. Paper, L. 3.50.
- Rostagni (A.)* Ibis. Contributi alla scienza dell' antichità pubblicati da G. de Sanctis: E. L. Paretti. Vol. III. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$. Pp. 124. Firenze: Monnier, 1920.
- Seneca.* Index Verborum quae in Senecae Fabulis necnon in Octavia praetexta reperiuntur a W. A. Oldfather, A. S. Pease, H. V. Canter Confectus. $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$. Pp. 214. Part I., \$2; Parts II. and III., \$1.50 each.
- Smith (K. F.)* Martial the Epigrammatist and other Essays. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. vi + 172. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1920. Cloth, \$2.
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ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

THE HYPORCHEME OF PRATINAS.

ATHENAEUS 617b, 8: Πρατίνας δὲ ὁ Φλιάσιος, αὐλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν κατεχόντων τὰς ὀρχήστρας, ἀγανακτεῖν τινὰς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς αὐλητὰς μὴ ξυναυλεῖν τοῖς χοροῖς, καθάπερ ἦν πάτριον, ἀλλὰ τοῦς χοροῦς ξυνάδειν τοῖς αὐληταῖς. ὃν οὖν εἶχε θυμὸν κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων ὁ Πρατίνας ἐμφανίζει διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπορχήματος·

τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε ; τί τὰδε τὰ χορεύματα ;
τίς ὕβρις ἐμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέ-
λαν ;
ἐμός ἐμός ὁ Βρόμος· ἐμὲ δεῖ κελαδεῖν, ἐμὲ δεῖ
παταγεῖν,
ἀν' ὅρεα σύμενον μετὰ Ναιάδων,
5 ἄτε κύκνον ἄγοντα ποικιλόπτερον μέλος.
τῶν αἰοιδῶν κατέστασε Πίερης <ὅπα>
βασίλειαν· ὁ δ' αὐλὸς ὑστερον χορευέτω·
καὶ γὰρ ἐσθ' ὑπηρετάς.
κῶμῳ μόνον θυραμάχοις
10 τε πυγμαχίαις νέων θέλει παροῖνων
ἐμμεναι στρατηλατάς.
παῖδε τὸν φρνίου ποικίλου πνοῖαν
χέοντα, φλέγε τὸν ἀλεσισίλον κάλαμον λαλο-
βαρύοπα παραμελορυθμοβάταν
ῥυπα<ρο>τρυπάνως δέμας πεπλάσμενον
15 ἡνιδού· ἄδε σοι δεξία καὶ ποδὸς
διαρριφά, θριαμβοδιθίραμβε.
κισσόχαιτ' ἄναξ, ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δῶριον χορείαν.

5. ἄτε scripsi: διὰ τε codd. 6. τῶν αἰοιδῶν
Casaubon: τὰν αἰοιδῶν codd.: <ὅπα> addidi, metri
causa. 10. θέα εἰ(s) codd., corr. Dobree: παῖδε
codd., corr. Jacobs: φρνίου Emperius: φρνυαίου
codd. 12-13. πνοῖαν dedi (πνοῶν iam Emperius):
χέοντα Jacobs: προνέχοντα codd. 13. ἀλεσισίλον
κάλαμον dedi (ἀλεσισιαλοκάλαμον iam Emperius):
ὀλοσιαλοκάλαμοι codd. 14. ῥυπα<ρο>τρυπάνως
scripsi: θυπατρυπάνῳ codd.

I will preface what I have to say upon this Fragment by a brief account of the sources of our knowledge of Pratinas: a subject inadequately treated in books of common access. The name of Pratinas does not occur in literature earlier than the second century of our era. No writer mentions Pratinas who is not further removed from him in time than I am from Chaucer. His name occurs for the first time in the treatise *De Musica*, commonly ascribed to Plutarch. 'Plutarch' speaks —

strangely to our ears—of 'Pindar and Dionysius of Thebes and Lamprus and Pratinas and the other lyrist who excelled in musical composition (ποιηταὶ κρουμάτων ἀγαθοί),' (1146 B). He associates Pratinas always with the theory of music and with the hyporcheme (1133, 1142, 1134: cf. Plut. *Symp.* IX. 2). Of the Pratinas who has chiefly interested modern scholarship, the Pratinas who wrote tragic and satyric dramas, the Pratinas who contended for fame with Aeschylus, he knows nothing. The first writer to connect Pratinas with drama is Pausanias (perhaps fifty to a hundred years later). But Pausanias' knowledge of Pratinas is just so much as he picked up one day in the streets of Pratinas' native town, Phlius. In Phlius there was a tradition that Pratinas had written reputable satyric plays. But even to the loyal Phliasians he was, it would seem, a less notable poet than his son Aristias, who had a statue in the market-place. τούτῳ τῷ 'Αριστίᾳ σάτυροι καὶ Πρατίνᾳ τῷ πατρί εἰσι πεποιημένοι πλὴν τῶν Αἰσχύλου δοκιμώτατοι, says Pausanias — oddly rendered by Mr. A. R. Shilleto: 'The satyrs carved by Aristias and Pratinas are reckoned the best carving after that of Aeschylus.' But I am not clear that Pausanias knew much more about Pratinas than Mr. Shilleto. If we go on another half-century, we find Pratinas mentioned several times by Athenaeus. If the diligent reader will look at Meineke's Index, s.v. *Pratinas* he will find that, in all the passages there cited by Meineke, the Pratinas spoken of by Athenaeus is, like the Pratinas of 'Plutarch,' a lyrist, a hyporchematist, a *musicus*. In not one of these passages is there any hint of Pratinas the dramatist.

However, Meineke's Index is here defective; for it omits a passage in Book I. (22a), where Athenaeus speaks of 'Thespis Pratinas Carcinus and Phrynichus.' Heaven forbid that I should speak ill of Athenaeus, a solace of my declining years. Yet I half suspect that he does not know that this Pratinas of 22a is the same person as the Pratinas of whom he speaks elsewhere. Why I say this will be apparent presently.

Apart from these writers, who is there in antiquity who has anything to tell us of Pratinas? I know no one for certain. But then I am not certain when antiquity ends and the Middle Age takes on. However, let us call 'ancient' the Hypothesis to the *Septem c. Thebas* of Aeschylus, and be grateful to it for this: *ένίκα Λαίω Οιδίποδι Έπτὰ έπὶ Θήβας Σφυγγὶ σατυρικῇ. Β' Αριστίας Περσεὶ Ταντάλω <Ανταίω> Πάλαισταῖς τοῖς Πρατίνου πατρός.* (I have added <Ανταίω> after Ταντάλω, since, obviously, four plays are required. The *Antaeus* of Aristias is mentioned by Herodian, *Mon. Lex.* p. 916, Lentz. If the supplement I suggest is plausible, we shall no longer suppose, with Gaisford and others, that all three plays mentioned in the MS. text were posthumous plays of Pratinas. The *Palaeatae* alone will belong to Pratinas. How easily <Ανταίω> might be lost after Ταντάλω I need not say).

By the side of this Aeschylean scrap I will place 'Acron' upon Horace, *A.P.* 216 ('Acron' perhaps belongs to the fourth or fifth century):

satyrica dramata, in quibus salva maiestate gravitatis (? tragicæ artis) iocos inserebant secundum Pratinæ (Cratini *codd.*: *corr. Casaubon*) institutionem: is enim primus Athenis, dum Dionysia essent, satyricam fabulam in-duxit.

Cratini is the most obvious blunder for *Pratine*, as anyone will know who knows what the letters *C* and *P* look like in rustic capitals. Yet Casaubon's correction is not so much as mentioned in the Apparatus to the 'standard' text of 'Acron.'

This at any rate, so far as my knowledge goes, exhausts 'antiquity'; and all else that we know of Pratinas we owe to Suidas.

And now I will essay a piece of scientific 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte' — if such things are not by now altogether out of court.

Somewhere towards the beginning of the third century B.C. a pupil of Aristotle, the famous Aristoxenus, wrote a work of (presumably) popular character to which he gave the name 'Mixed Drinking Questions' (Σύμμικτα Συμποτικά). But even in his lighter hours Aristoxenus could not keep off the theory of music; and, in a portion of this work he traced the development of the lyric from the earliest times down to the time of Timotheus. This work was used in common by 'Plutarch' and Athenaeus. Athenaeus, in the book (xiv.) in which he has preserved to us the Hyporcheme of Pratinas, eleven times names Aristoxenus; and at 632a he definitely mentions the Σύμμικτα Συμποτικά. 'Plutarch' mentions Aristoxenus at 1134 F, 1136 C, 1136 D, 1143 B, 1146 F; and in the last of these passages he, in effect, names the Σύμμικτα Συμποτικά: *συνέβαινε γὰρ εἰσάγεσθαι μουσικὴν ὡς ἱκανὴν ἀντισπᾶν καὶ πρᾶννειν τὴν τοῦ οἴνου ὑπόθερμον δύναμιν, καθάπερ πού φησι καὶ ὁ ὑμέτερος Ἀριστόξενος, κ.τ.λ.* But what above all makes certain the dependence of both writers upon Aristoxenus is that to both of them, as I have said, Pratinas is primarily, indeed exclusively, a lyric and musician. Pratinas the dramatist is, it is true, mentioned at Athenaeus 22a. There Athenaeus draws upon a different source, and fails, I have suggested, to identify the two Pratinases. The different source—whether Athenaeus draws upon it directly or indirectly—is another pupil of Aristotle, Chamaeleon (Athen. 21e 13; 22a 10). Chamaeleon wrote a work *Περὶ Σατύρων*: and this book¹ was probably a principal source of information in later times upon the subject of the primitive drama (see Suidas *sub ἀπόλεσας τὸν οἶνον*). Chamaeleon and the Aristotelian *Didascaliae* may be supposed to have supplied to Alexandria most of what was known there of Pratinas the dramatist. (To this, perhaps by way of the *Onomatalogos* of

¹ With the same writer's *Περὶ Θέσπιδος* (Suidas *sub* οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον).

Hesychius, the Lexicon of Suidas goes back.) That Alexandria *had* anything, or *knew* very much, of Pratinas is perhaps not probable. Dioscorides' Epitaph for Sositheus, *A.P.* vii. 707, 3-4,

ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ὦνῆρ
ἄξια Φλειασίων ναὶ μὰ χοροῦς Σατύρων,

says little, and is all that there is that is relevant.

The memory of Pratinas, then, survived, as of a lyrist and musician in Aristoxenus, as of a dramatist in Chamaeleon. But the two traditions (the second very thin) never meet and mingle. The extant Fragments of Pratinas we owe, one and all, either to 'Plutarch' or to Athenaeus. They are waifs from the *lyric* tradition, the flotsam and jetsam of the sea of books (there were more than 450 of them) with which Aristoxenus besieged the shores of ancient learning. All inference is hazardous, all reconstruction builds in, and on, sand. None the less, in what concerns Pratinas, the reconstruction 'Plutarch' + Athenaeus = Aristoxenus, *Σύμμικτα Συμποτικά* appears to me to be better founded than most of the inferences upon which we act and talk in matters a good deal more vital to our peace of mind. And I propose, therefore, to consider the words with which Athenaeus introduces us to the Hyporcheme of Pratinas in close connexion with a passage of 'Plutarch' which appears to be pretty certainly derived from the same source.

What does Athenaeus mean by the words *αὐλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν μισθοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς ὀρχήστρας*? Mr. Weir Smyth (*Greek Melic Poets*, p. 341) translates: 'When some hired flute-players and choreutae were occupying the orchestra'; and I daresay this is the commonly received rendering (the Latin versions of Dalecampius and Natalis Comes throw no light on the clause). The words appear to me to mean something quite different. I take them to refer, not to some specific occasion, but to a general period in the history of lyric *ἀγῶνες* in Athens. What I mean will appear at once if we place beside them 'Plutarch' *De Musica*, ch. 30, 1141 C-D: τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν, ἕως εἰς Μελανιππίδην τὸν τῶν διθυράμβων ποιητὴν συμβεβήκει τοὺς αὐλητὰς παρὰ

τῶν ποιητῶν λαμβάνειν τοὺς μισθοὺς, πρωταγωνιστοῦσης δὴλον ὅτι τῆς ποιήσεως τῶν δ' αὐλητῶν ὑπηρετούντων τοῖς διδασκάλοις. It will be noticed at once that the last five words look very much like an echo of lines 7-8 of our Pratinas poem (ὁ δ' αὐλὸς ὕστερον χορεύετω· καὶ γὰρ ἐσθ' ὑπηρετὰς). Now let us look again at our sentence of Athenaeus: which, in the light of 'Plutarch,' I would render (freely) thus: 'In the period when the orchestras (generally, and not some particular orchestra on some particular fine day) were (beginning to be) usurped by flute-players and choreutae who were hired (not by the poet, but by some one else — *i.e.* the choregus).' 'Plutarch,' it will be observed, says nothing about choreutae. He merely says that until the time of Melanippides flute-players were paid by the poet. Herein I take it he is more faithful than Athenaeus to their common text of Aristoxenus. I am told by those who know that the choregia in Athens was instituted, for lyric contests at the Great Dionysia, not long after 507, and for tragic contests something near thirty years earlier (*Marm. Par.*, epp. 43, 46: see Haigh, *Attic Theatre*³, pp. 9, 11). Whether the responsibilities of the choregi at these early dates extended to the payment of the auletae as well as of the choreutae, I have no idea. But, taking only what is common to 'Plutarch' and Athenaeus, leaving aside, that is, Athenaeus' choreutae, it seems likely that Aristoxenus—unless both his copyists have misinterpreted him—affirmed somewhere in the *Σύμμικτα Συμποτικά* that the auletae were not engaged by the choregus until a very much later date. Aristoxenus may very well, for all I know, have been wrong; and the matter is one beyond my province. I recall, indeed, that Aristotle (*Politics* 1341a 30) tells us that a date which may be taken as roughly 470-460 (the commonly received *floruit* of Ecphantides) the use of the flute was so much in vogue among free Athenians that a certain Thrasippus, who was the choregus of Ecphantides, himself acted as *auletes*. But it is, of course, true that the organisation of Comedy lagged behind that of Tragedy (and dithyramb): Arist. *Poet.* 1449b init.

MM. Weil and Reinach, who have edited the *De Musica* in a manner which is at times, I think, a little arbitrary, boldly excise from Plutarch's text the words *ἕως εἰς Μελανιππίδην τὸν τῶν διθυράμβων ποιητὴν*—though they have no note upon the difficulty to which I refer. In any case, I feel no call to adjust the limbs of literature to the bed of history in this Procrustean fashion. The date of Melanippides (*i.e.* Melanippides II.—though I regard Melanippides I. as a figment of the brain, if he had one, of Suidas), the date of Melanippides has to be determined in the light of two statements of Suidas: the one, that Melanippides ended his days at the court of Perdiccas (454-414?), the other that he was the junior of Diagoras (Suidas s.vv. *Διαγόρας* and *Μελανιππίδης*). The *floruit* of Diagoras is given by Eusebius, *Chr.*, against the year 468—possibly, as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff suggests, the date of the Epinicion for Nicodorus of Mantinea. (Upon the difficult problem of the chronology of the life of Diagoras, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Textgesch. d. Griech. Lyriker*, pp. 81, ff.) Melanippides and Diagoras were fellow-countrymen, the joint heads of that school of innovating Melian lyric in which Aristoxenus appears to have been especially interested (Philodemus, *Περὶ Εὔδης* 85, Gomperz; Bergk, *P.L.G.* iii. 562). They would be thought of as a pair; and though the former may have been, as Suidas says, junior, 'the time of Melanippides' need not mean anything very different from 'the *floruit* of Diagoras.'

This leaves the question of the method of engaging flute-players where it was; but it gives us a date—Aristoxenus' date—for the Hyporcheme of Pratinas. It belongs to the very last years of Pratinas' life. It is his dying protest against a corruption of lyrical style which began with Lasus, which was to be continued by Melanippides and completed by Philoxenus and Timotheus. So at least Aristoxenus conceives the development, in the outline of metrical history which Plutarch summarises in chh. 29-30: *Λάσος δ' ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς εἰς τὴν διθυραμβικὴν ἀγωγὴν μεταστήσας τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τῇ τῶν αὐλῶν πολυ-*

φωνία κατακολούθησας πλείοσί τε φθόγγοις καὶ διερριμμένοις χρησάμενος εἰς μετάθεσιν τὴν προυπάρχουσαν ἤγαγε τὴν μουσικὴν.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Μελανιππίδης ὁ μελοποιὸς ἐπιγενόμενος οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τῇ προυπαρχούσῃ μουσικῇ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Φιλόξενος οὐδὲ Τιμόθεος.

The Hyporcheme of Pratinas was chiefly interesting to Aristoxenus, Plutarch, and Athenaeus as a document of the history of metre and music. It is, therefore, an odd irony that the poem should be offered to us, in the current texts, in a form which seems expressly designed to conceal both the rhythm and the symmetry of the piece. My first care has been to rearrange the lines in such a way as to exhibit anew what has been thus concealed. The first six lines in Bergk, Hiller-Crusius, Farnell, Weir Smyth, are properly divided. But thereafter chaos reigns, and the lineation employed makes nonsense of the metre. I will begin, therefore, by trying to explain the metrical constitution of the poem.

It falls naturally into four parts: 1-5; 6-11; 12-14; 15-17. In order that no one should miss the effect of this quadripartite division, Pratinas was careful to indicate the demarcations by employing at each point where they occur a cretic dimeter. The cretic and fourth paeon are the characteristic rhythms of the hyporcheme (Simonides, 29, 31; Bacch. *Fr.* xi-xii, Jebb; Georg. Choerob, p. 218, Schol. B. *Heph.* p. 303, Consbruch); and the cretic dimeters at 6, 12, 15 stare one in the face. Yet no editor has discovered them. (I have added <ὄπα> at the end of 6 for the sake of both sense and metre, but otherwise I have not altered a letter of the vulgate, beyond writing *πνοῖάν* for Emperius' *πνοάν* in 12—giving a catalectic dimeter.) Lines 1-4 are anapaestic (dimeter, trimeter, trimeter, dimeter): 'nunc anapaesticum numerum agnosce,' says Bergk in his last edition—he had previously called the verses paeonic. But neither Bergk nor anyone else has recognised the anapaestic tetrameter in 13. Of these anapaests I shall have something further to say presently. The conjunction of cretic and anapaestic rhythms is, of course, perfectly normal. Lines 5, 7,

and 10 exemplify the verse known to the ancients as the hyporchematic prosodiac: and where would one expect to find this species of verse if not in a hyporcheme? Yet from the current texts of the Hyporcheme of Pratinas all three of these hyporchematic prosodiacs have been ruthlessly and ignorantly expelled. (10 represents the exact form of the verse as given in Plotius: 5 and 7 depart from this only in so far as they replace the initial Aeolic anapaest by the Ionic form, and are acatalectic.) Line 17, again, is the verse technically known as the hyporchematic pentameter; and, once again, where should we look for this verse if not in a hyporcheme? But in the Hyporcheme of Pratinas, as edited by the best editors, you will look for it long and vainly. Yet I have not 'emended'—I have merely used my ears. Lines 8 and 9 I have divided into trochaic dimeter + iambic dimeter. That they should together constitute a trochaic tetrameter (which, as a matter of longs and shorts, they do) no one will suppose who knows how trochaic tetrameters should be written. The trochaic dimeter recurs at 11. Line 14 is a trochaic trimeter (or, more properly, hexapody), 16 an iambic trimeter—with catalexis in each case.

But when the ancient metricians talk of hyporchematic rhythms, and when Athenaeus calls this poem a hyporcheme, what do they, in fact, mean? Of the character of the hyporcheme, it cannot be too often said that we know practically nothing. Most of what is relevant to the subject is conveniently set out in Mr. Weir Smyth's *Greek Melic Poets*, pp. lxi ff. But, as may be seen there, we depend in the main upon Lucian and Athenaeus. The hyporcheme is mentioned, I think, but once in Greek literature prior to the Graeco-Roman period. Plato, in the *Ion* (534 c) speaks of 'dithyrambs, encomia, hyporchemes, ope, iambs.' But save for this passage of Plato there is, so far as I know, no reference anywhere to the hyporcheme until Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Adm. V. Dic. Dem.* 7 and 43, *ad fin.* R. 972, 1093), who, however, adds to our knowledge merely nothing. What we are told by later writers must be accepted

always with the reservation that they were familiar with the late-Alexandrian hyporcheme (the parent of the pantomime). When Athenaeus tells us that the hyporchematic dance has affinity with the cordax of Comedy (630 e), that is probably true of the hyporcheme of his own day. That it was true of some species of hyporcheme in the classical period is possible, but not confirmed. That it was true of hyporcheme as a separate species of lyric performance (as opposed to hyporchemes occurring in drama) there is nothing to suggest. Of persons who wrote this kind of hyporcheme in any period of which we have knowledge (by which I exclude the early Spartan school), the only recorded names are Pindar, Pratinas, and Bacchylides. When Mr. Weir Smyth says that 'the genius of the hyporcheme reached its highest excellence with Simonides' (p. lxxv) he is merely building a romance round a long exploded misinterpretation of Plutarch, *Symph.* ix. 2. On the other hand, there is evidence, as I have just indicated, that the hyporcheme had its place in drama. Tragedy, at least, had its hyporchemes (Schol. Soph. *Phil.* 391; Schol. Eur. *El.* 885; Tzetztes, *De Trag. Poes.* 1, 58; 2, 115). So, I believe, had the satyric drama. I have little doubt that our Hyporcheme of Pratinas is, in fact, a fragment of a satyric drama. It was cited, no doubt, by Aristoxenus as occurring *ἐν ὑπορχήματι*—i.e., in a hyporchematic Chorus in a satyric play—and Athenaeus faithfully reproduces the *ἐν ὑπορχήματι* of his original, conceiving the importance of Pratinas, as does Plutarch also, to be solely that of a lyrist and musician. The interest of the piece to Aristoxenus was solely that of a document in the history of music. That it was a fragment of a drama was something not relevant, and upon which he was silent, misleading his copyists.

For look at the piece without prepossessions. Did Pindar and Bacchylides write hyporchemes of this sort? There pervades it, to my mind, the very breath of Comedy. If you interpolated it into a play of Aristophanes, would anyone find it out of place? Or if you found it in the *Cyclops* of Euripides would you cry out upon its dissonance

with the satyric spirit? Certainly—so at least I feel—it is nearer to Aristophanes than to the *Cyclops*: if we knew more of the early satyric drama that would perhaps not surprise us.

Let us look at the piece a little more in detail. I will not ask, 'What is Bromius doing in the Apolline hyporcheme?' For, just as all dithyrambs were not about Dionysus, so it may well be that all hyporchemes were not about Apollo. Bromius may possibly be as much in place in hyporcheme as Athena Itonia in dithyramb (Bacchyl. Fr. 11, Jebb). That the author indulges a turn for literary and metrical criticism proves very little as to the species of poem. Mr. Weir Smyth thinks that such criticism was perhaps a characteristic of hyporcheme, citing—among a number of other passages which I cannot trace—'Simonides' 29 and 31 (which, however, few persons besides himself would assign, now, to Simonides: some critics even give these fragments to Pratinas, as others to Pindar). The fact seems to be that these excursions into literary criticism characterise a good many—perhaps most—species of lyric: e.g. dithyramb (Pindar Fr. 79, Christ) and nome (Timotheus, *Pers.* 226 ff.): compare, from *Adela* the Pindar Fr. Ox. Pap. 408 b (Schroeder 140 b) and Timotheus Fr. 12.

The fragment is, upon the face of it, at least quasi-dramatic. It may, of course, be said that there is no reason why we should disallow this dramatic element in hyporcheme and allow it in the literary dithyramb—as Bacchyl. xvii. (xviii.). But what in our Fragment is the dramatic situation? Can we believe—for to this editors have been reduced—that the Chorus of Pratinas broke in upon the performance of a hired troupe of choreutae belonging to Lasus, or some friend of Lasus, and in a vigorous *autoschediasma* gave them to understand what they thought of their singing and of their style generally—ἐμφανίζει ὃν εἶχε θυμὸν περὶ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων? The only suggested alternative (on the Hyporcheme hypothesis) is that the Chorus of Pratinas, instead of singing a hyporcheme in the style of Pratinas, sing one that is a parody of the style of Lasus. Think of

Pindar, or Bacchylides, composing this sort of Hyporcheme! Does not such a theory in effect concede that the poem is not a hyporcheme at all, in the sense in which such poems were understood by the only poets certainly known to have composed them (outside drama)? For the two alternatives—and never a third—the reader may consult Mr. Weir Smyth's note, p. 342.

As I conceive the situation, we have a satyric drama in which, at the point where our Fragment takes on, some one (the protagonistes?) has just brought to an end a lyric strain easily apprehended by the audience as a parody of the 'New Rhythmic.' (The element of parody suggests forcibly the Old Comedy.) Upon the dying cadences of this strain the Chorus bursts in tumultuously, and deluges the protagonistes with invective bordering—to my mind; but we shall see—upon ribaldry. It seems to be commonly assumed that the opening lines of the piece, with their 'resolved' anapaests, are themselves intended to parody the Lasian style. This I take to be a complete misapprehension. It is true that these resolved anapaests, which the ancients sometimes called proceleumatic verse, appear in the line of Timotheus' *Odyssey* (?*Cyclops*) cited in *Etym. M.* 630, 40 (Bergk 7); and that, for Aristoxenus, Timotheus completed what Lasus began. It is probably true also that Philoxenus employed this type of verse (I infer this from Mar. Vict., p. 98, 22, K). On the other hand, not only are these resolved anapaests characteristic of Comedy (Mar. Vict. 98, 27, K. cf. Gaisford, *Heph.* ii., pp. 106 ff. Christ, *Gr. Metr.*³, p. 342); but, what is much more to the point, they were especially characteristic of the satyric drama: 'hoc metro veteres satyricos choros modulabantur, quod Graeci εἰσόδιον¹ ab ingressu chori satyrici appellabant, metrumque ipsum εἰσόδιον dixerunt' (Mar. Vict. p. 99, 19 sq., K.). In other words we have here the 'Entrance Measure' which characterised the Parodos (apparently called, in satyric drama, Eisodos) of the satyric

¹ Qu. quos Graeci εἰσόδια?

Chorus. Our Pratinas Fragment belongs to the opening scene of the play from which Aristoxenus derived it.

I have said that the element of parody reminds one forcibly of the Old Comedy. This is even more true of the vigorous and sudden personal attack—for I think nothing else can be intended—in line 13. Pratinas contrasts the inflation of the 'mottled toad' with the 'bright-winged carol of the swan.' The 'mottled toad' is *someone*. But who? Clearly *φρνίου* is *paraprosdocian* for *βατράχου*. But the surprise fails of point unless, in *φρνίου*, the audience at once recognise a personal name. Is *φρνίου* one and the same with *Φρνίχου*? Etymologically, yes. And I think really. The suggestion is an old one, as old, certainly, as Dalecampius. But it has been allowed to drop out of memory. I confess, it seems to me a most probable conjecture. The only misgiving I feel in connexion with it being that the last recorded victory of Phrynichus falls in the year 476, some eight years earlier than the date we have been led to assume for this piece. That Phrynichus was a pupil of Lasus, we have no evidence. But, in that era, who was not?

Lasus (and Phrynichus) care too much for the flute and too little for the words. The offending flute is described as a 'spittle-wasting, chatter-bellowing, out-of-tune-prancing reed.' Is that the diction of Pindar and Bacchylides? Or does it not carry us straight into the world of Aristophanes? There follows a line which, if I have rightly restored the words, or if (quite apart from my attempted verbal restoration) the sense which I am going to give to the line is its proper sense, must, I think, determine for good and all in favour of a satyric drama and against an independent 'hyporcheme.' From the MS. *θυπατρυνπάνω δέμας πεπλασμένον* I have extracted *ρύπαροτρυνπάνως δέμας πεπλασμένον*. Of the text of the current editions (*ύπαλ τρυνπάνω κ.τ.λ.*) I can make nothing. Is there point, or even sense, in speaking of a reed, or flute, as 'fashioned in respect to its form (or body, or 'build') beneath an auger'? (*sub veretro fictum* Natalis de Comitibus). Or are we to take *ύπαλ*

τρυνπάνω with *φλέγε*—'burn beneath a brazier-fire?' I would suggest a quite different explanation of the perplexing *δέμας*. Unless I am mistaken, *δέμας* is a word of the Old Comedy—indeed, very much so. It is found in Plato Comicus 173, 10, Kock, in a citation from Philoxenus. It is adequately explained, in connexion with that passage, by Eustathius 1283, 31 ff., who tells us that it was used by *οί σεμνότεροι* as a synonym for *ψωλή*. Compare Hesychius: *δέμας · σχοινίου*: and for this sense of *σχοινίου* see Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1342, and Athenaeus 621 b 5 (where the true reading is pretty certainly *σχοινίζεται*). *κάλαμος* (13) and *σχοίνος* are, of course, in certain contexts interchangeable. The flute, then, suggests to Pratinas the broadly humorous image of *έκτασις τοῦ αἰδοίου*. Such is the licence of the primitive hyporcheme—in satyric drama. A flute *ρύπαροτρυνπάνως πεπλασμένον* is one affected by *παράπλοσμός*. The word *παραπλοσμός* is explained by Hesychius, s. v., as *ὁ ἐν ταῖς τῶν αὐλῶν τρυπαῖς ῥύπος*.

The rest of the text requires very little interpretation. But I will complete what I have said by notes upon one or two small points.

5. *ἄγοντα* . . . *μέλος* seems at least to be the source of Hesychius' *ἄγω · μέλω · ἄδω*. But the expression is a strange one. (More natural would be *κινῶντα*, as Ap. Rhod. iv. 1299, *κύκνοι κινήσουσιν ἔδν μέλος*). Casaubon's rather obvious *ἄδοντα* destroys the metre; which may be why Bergk claims it as his own conjecture. Schweighauser compares *ἄγειν χορόν*—after Casaubon had been at pains to point out that the two phrases were dissimilar. 'Simonides' 29, 3 has *καμπύλον μέλος διώκων*, where, however, the expression has to be compared with *φόρμιγγα διώκων* in Pindar, *Nem.* v. 24 (cf. *διώκειν πόδα*, etc.).

'*ποικιλόπτερον* goes with *μέλος*, not with *κύκνος*,' says Mr. Weir Smyth: 'Songs have wings.' The fact is that in this case wings have songs; that is to say, the Greeks supposed the music of *cycnus musicus* to proceed, not from his bill, but from the action of the wind in his pinions. Hence *Hymn.*

Hom. xxi. 1. κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων λίγ' αἶδει. *Anacreontea*, 58, 7 (Bergk) :

ἀτε τις κύκνος Καύστρω
ποικίλον πτεροῖσι μέλπων
ἀνέμῳ ξύαντος ἤχη·

Append. Anacr. i. 22 (Bergk) :

ὁ καλὸς γέρον ὁ κύκνος
Ζεφύρου πνέοντος ἔγνω
λιγυρὸν μέλος τι μέλπειν.

The elk, or singing swan, was known to the Greeks apart from the dirge (Plato, *Phaed.* 85); nor does even Aristotle *Hist. An.* 615, b 2 appear to suppose that the swan sings *only* at the point of death (ὥδικοὶ δὲ, καὶ περὶ τὰς τελευτὰς μάλιστα ᾄδουσιν). Aristotle *l.c.* is incorporated verbatim in Athenaeus 393 d, who adds that Alexander the Myndian attended the deaths of many swans, but never met a swan that sang. Therein he earned the sympathy of Lucian, who journeyed to the Eridanus and back to hear the swans sing, but was much mocked by the fisher-folk there, who had never heard a swan do more than crow like a rather debilitated cock: κρῶζουσι . . . πανὺ ἄμουσον καὶ ἀσθενές (Lucian, *De El.* ad fin.).

10-11. κόμῳ, θυραμάχοις, παροίνων suggest the technical names of specific coostril songs: κῶμος, ἡδύκωμος, κρουσίθυρος, θυροκοπικός, παροίνιος.

12. The MS. παῖε can surely not be defended by Arist. *Vesp.* 456, παῖε τοὺς σφήκας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας, cited by Bergk and Mr. Weir Smyth (there ἀπὸ makes all the difference); still less by the analogy of the sportsman's 'beaters.' Yet more idle is the citation of Paus. i. 24, where παίονσα does not mean *abigens*.

13. I have written χέοντα with Jacobs, instead of Emperius' ἔχοντα, on account of Simon. 148, 8, πνεῦμα χέων καθαροῖς ἐν αὐλοῖς. Compare Telestes, 2.

16. Why should L. and S. render διαρριφά by 'a scattering'? It means a throwing up of the leg; and I take the diction to be that of Comedy. 'By δεξία is indicated the rapid chasing of the fingers on the stops of the detested flute' (Weir Smyth). Surely

the reference is to the χειρονομία of the dancer?

17. ἄκουε . . . χορείαν 'properly metonymy' (Weir Smyth). No: the ancients included *song* under χορεία: e.g., Plato, *Legg.* 454b 3. Δώριος with out 'motion' seems to be technical with ἀρμονία, etc., right down to the latest period: Arist. *Pol.* 1276b 9; Athen. 625a 4, *al.* Pratinas approved above all the aeolic harmony (which was also known as the hypo-dorian: Athen. *l.c.*).

I will end by offering here two textual conjectures which connect, at any rate, with Plutarch, *De Musica*, and with the development of the lyric art, and may thus far be considered relevant.

(1) In Suidas' biographical notice of Lasus it is said of that corrupter of musical style that διθύραμβον εἰς ἀγῶνα εἰσήγαγεν; and in works of reference he seems to be commonly credited with having introduced dithyrambic contests at Athens in the last years of the sixth century. Plutarch, however, *De Mus.* 1141 B, speaks of Lasus as εἰς τὴν διθυραμβικὴν ἀγωγὴν μεταστήσας τοὺς ῥυθμούς. It seems to me, accordingly, more than probable that what Suidas wrote was διθυραμβῶδεις ἀγωγὰς εἰσήγαγεν.

(2) Plutarch, *op. cit.* 1135 C *ad. init.*: προτερὰ μὲν γὰρ ἢ Τερπάνδρου καινοτομία καλὸν τινα τρόπον εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν εἰσήγαγε. Πολύμνηστος δὲ μετὰ τὸν Τερπάνδρειον τρόπον, καινῷ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μέντοι ἐχόμενος τοῦ καλοῦ τύπου, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Θαλήτας καὶ Σακάδας· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατὰ γε τὰς ῥυθμοποιίας ἱκανοὶ, οὐκ ἐκβαίνοντες μὲν τοῦ καλοῦ τύπου.

4. καινῷ Westphal: καὶ ᾧ *cod.*

Westphal's καινῷ must, I think, be right. But the last lines stand in need of correction. Did Plutarch write κατὰ γε τὰς ῥυθμοποιίας ἐκαίνου, οὐκ ἐκβαίνοντες μὴν?

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THE HYPERBOREANS AGAIN, ABARIS, AND HELIXIOIA.

MISS HARRISON made a just criticism on my paper on the Hyperboreans, published in the *Classical Review* for 1916, in her review of the year's work in Greek religion and mythology¹ for 1917. I quote the passage in question: 'But to the making of the Hyperborean myth went another bora, sheltering another garden of the Sun, Φοίβου παλαιὸς κήπος, which I would ask Professor Macurdy to consider. Pauly-Wissowa's lexicon has happily embarked on a second series beginning with R, and concealed under Πίπαια ὄρη is an account of the astronomical Heiliger Götterberg im Norden, behind which the Sun, after setting in the west, was supposed to pass to the east. This astronomical and of course purely imaginative northern bora puts a new complexion on many an old confusion, on the myths not only of Hyperboreans, but of Kimmerians and Atlas. The bora of myth gets contaminated with the bora of fact, like contamination of hero and daimon.'

I heartily concur with all that Miss Harrison says about the heavenly Bora. Kiessling's remarkable article was known to me at the time when I wrote my paper, and I refer to his remarks about the derivation of the word Hyperborean. My own aim was merely to show that the myth of the Hyperboreans was among the gifts of the Pierians to Greece, and to bring the previously suggested derivation of the word from bora, mountain, into connexion with the well-known facts about the northern worship of Sun and Moon, Apollo and Artemis Basileia in the Hyperborean countries² Illyria, Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly. I had no intention of giving these mythical people any local habitation except possibly that assigned them by Minns: 'The Hyperboreans are always the people beyond knowledge toward the north. They must always figure as the last term in any series that stretches in that

direction.' My surprise was great on reading Mr. Casson's recent article³ on the Hyperboreans to find him stating that I had placed the Hyperboreans themselves among the people of Pelagonia-Paeonia, among whom, as I argue, the myth about them arose. I derive the name from the Pierian side, but did not mean that the Hyperboreans were neighbours close by the Paeonians. By my expressions 'the land beyond the bora,' and 'a holy race of men living beyond the bora on the north-western track that led to the home of the Sun God,' I meant an indefinite region of fancy. Professor Shewan's remarks in *Class. Quart.* XIII. 2, 66-67, on the idealisation of unknown regions, give many illustrations of such imaginings about people just beyond the limits of knowledge. My dwelling on Heracleia Lyncestis as an important station in the route of those who came from the north for purposes of trade or cult was intended to emphasise the significance of the entire Sun-route, along which the Sun and Moon, Apollo and Artemis Basileia, were worshipped by Illyrians and Thraco-Paeonians. Somewhere in the track of the Sun, ἀμφὶ ἀελίου κνεφαίαν ἱππόστασιν, there lived, in the Thraco-Greek imaginings of them, a blessed folk, devoted to the service of Apollo. From them, Ἰστρου ἀπὸ σκιάρην παγᾶν, Heracles, according to Pindar's famous passage, brought the olive, Ὑπερβορέων πέισαις Ἀπόλλωνος θεραπόντα. And though the Heavenly Pair, from whose cult, according to my belief, the myth arose, was worshipped all along the trade-route which led to the (fancied) home of the Hyperboreans, yet νανσὶ οὔτε πεζὸς ἰὼν τάχ' εὔροις ἐς Ὑπερβορέων ἀγῶνα θαυμαστὸν ὁδόν. I regret that my interest was so centred on the etymology of the word, and the transmission of the myth to Southern Greece by the Pierians, that I did not make sufficiently clear the fact that I did not place them in any definite region beyond the Bora. Between the Pelagians and the ancient Chinese, whom

¹ 'Year's Work in Classical Studies,' 1917, 96.

² Farnell, *Cults*, IV. 100 and 104.

³ *Class. Rev.* XXXIV. 1 and 2, iff.

Mr. Casson, following Gladisch afar off, inclines to, I personally would choose Pelagonians, on the principles laid down by Professor Shewan in the pages already cited. The Pelagonians, like the wild peoples discussed by Professor Shewan, were called Titans and giants.¹

And Almopia on the Bora and Pallene are among the giant-lands. J. N. Svoronos has an interesting, though highly rationalistic, explanation of the way in which the Titans came to be called Pelagones in his article in the *Journal International Numismatique* for 1913, entitled 'Numismatique de la Péonie et de la Macédoine.' As Phere-nikos says² that the Hyperboreans were sprung from the blood of Titans, one might, if so inclined, make a genealogy from that. I am not arguing for that, however, but for the general thesis that the Danubian peoples influenced, to a greater extent than is usually admitted, the religion and mythology of Greece. M. Svoronos puts the case perhaps too strongly when he says—'que la Péonie greque et le Pangée . . . deviendront dans l'avenir le plus important centre et point de départ des nos connaissances numismatiques, historiques, et mythologiques.' The article on the 'Date of Hesiod,' by T. W. Allen (*J.H.S.* 35) shows clearly the influence of the southern Thracians on Greece proper; and Tomaschek, in his well-known articles on 'Die Alten Thraker,' discusses the culture of these more civilised of the northern tribes and their contacts with Greece.³ These 'mountaineers, descending either in one flood or in various streams from the Haliacmon,' brought with them a form of music, an art of healing, and many myths connected with their local worships. In the article just cited Mr. T. W. Allen writes: 'By Hesiod's time the *Ἰλῆπες*, southern Thracians—to Homer a mere landmark like Emathia between Olympus and Athos—had sent their muses, friends of Thamyris, southward.' And by Hesiod's time, too, as Mr. Allen does not fail to note, the myth of the Hyperboreans had reached the south.

My own position is that the cult of

the Sun and Moon in the 'Hyperborean' lands, Illyria, Thrace (in the widest sense of Thrace), Macedon, and Thessaly, produced the Hyperborean legend; that it took shape in the lands this side the Bora, and that Bora is Bermion in particular, or the Balkan range in general. But I do not mean by this that the people who imagined the Hyperboreans were the Hyperboreans.

Now to take up Mr. Casson's view. He thinks that the 'main problem at issue' is to 'locate' the pre-Hellenic or non-Hellenic Hyperboreans. In his endeavour to do this he follows Gladisch and Tomaschek, though without repeating all of their puerilities. Of such attempts Daebritz⁴ remarks: '(Darum) hat man es im allgemeinen aufgegeben die H. zu lokalisieren.' Gladisch, in his work on 'Hyperboreer und die alten Schinesen,' brings forward such things as the love of music in China and among the Hyperboreans. The Hyperborean griffins he derives from the dragons of the Chinese flag. Mr. Casson refers to the celestial calm of the Chinese as perhaps faintly echoed by the Hyperborean bliss. That and the griffins are mentioned by him as indicating an Asiatic home for the Hyperboreans. The celestial calm, the music, and the Chinese flag may be dismissed. The griffins offer ground for argument as to whether they came to the Hyperborean worship from the Apollo worship at Delos and Delphi, or vice-versa. Like the swans they are debateable, and both views have adherents. Daebritz condemns the method of Tomaschek and Gladisch: 'Es bedeutet doch ein Rückkehr zu dem Rationalismus der Alten.' The theories of both have been generally discredited by recent scholars, and rationalism has no doubt been carried by them to an absurd degree. Yet it is difficult to escape the charge of rationalism in the explanation of myth, and many who use the term in reproach are found guilty of it. Atlantis, the Phaeacians, and Elysium itself, had a 'rationalistic' element in their origin, and my own theory of the Hyperboreans is open to that charge, as I connect

¹ Strabo 7, *frag.* 30, Callim. *Hymn to Zeus* 3.

² Schol. on Pindar *Ol.* 3, 28.

³ *J.H.S.*, 1914, p. 95.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa, 121, 122, Sp. 279.

them with a highway of trade and religion. The Chinese resemblances seem particularly vague and meaningless, and Professor Shewan's articles tend, I think, to show that such legends are apt to arise, so to speak, a little nearer home—that is, about places 'just beyond knowledge.'

It can neither be proved or disproved that the word Hyperborean is, as Mr. Casson suggests, a corruption of a real name of a Chinese or Asiatic tribe. It has, in that case, 'gone very wrong indeed,' and it surely came to mean to the Greeks, 'Those living behind the North Wind.' Before that I believe it meant, 'Living beyond Bora,' on the Hyperborean Road. As for Bora or Sabora in Spain, the evidence for its existence is, I believe, entirely numismatic, and I have not been able to examine it as yet. In any case I cannot believe that its rose-gardens played as large a part in Greek legend as those of Paconia. Sappho's lines are significant:

οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις ῥόδων
τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας.

With Mr. Casson's treatment of the legends of Abaris I am utterly in disagreement, and here also I should be inclined to hurl that dangerous and so often recoiling epithet 'rationalistic.' Why should Mr. Casson derive from Ovid, *Met.* V. 86, the information that the Abaris of the legends came from the Caucasus? He could as well call him a Rutulian from the occurrence of the name in an epic battle in Virgil,¹ or a Dolionian from a similar episode in Valerius Flaccus.² As Haupt remarks on the passage in Ovid, these adjectives are only a device to give vividness to the epic narrative. In no one of the three passages is there any reason to suppose that the legendary Greek Scythian or Scythian Greek is the warrior in question. Mr. Casson considers Abaris a Greek traveller, contemporary with Aristæas. It is far more probable that he was a Sun-priest, and *ἀνθρωποδαίμων*, like Zalmoxis and Orpheus, in connexion with whom his name appears. He is master of the

ἐπωδή as they are.³ Suidas ascribes to him *χρησμούς* and *καθαρμούς*. His magic arrow and his purity of life are the most striking points in the legend, and these may well bring him into connexion with the Thracian Sun-worship, which produced Orpheus. A wonderful picture of him is given by Himerius,⁴ "Ἀβαριν δὲ τὸν σοφὸν γένος μὲν Ὑπερβόρειον λέγουσι, Ἕλληνα δὲ τὴν φωνὴν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ Σκύθην μὲν ἄχρι στολῆς καὶ σχήματος. His speech was perfect as of the Academy or Lyceum. With his bow and arrows, his chlamys, his gold girdle and his trousers he was the perfect Scythian to look upon, in manners and morals the perfect Greek ideal of the fourth century A.D. sophist. Zalmoxis was also transformed into a follower οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ, Pythagoras, according to information given to Herodotus by some Pontic Greeks.

The name of Abaris has been regarded as Thracian, and is explained by Crusius⁵ as perhaps connoting his function in the Hyperborean rite. It is rather curious that in the three battles, in Ovid, Valerius Flaccus, and in Virgil, where a hero of this name is killed, names elsewhere associated with Thrace are in the neighbourhood—Rhoetus in both Valerius Flaccus and Virgil, and Phineus in Ovid. His father's name is given as Seuthes by Suidas. The Doliones of Valerius Flaccus are Thracian in origin. Mr. Casson's conclusion, that the whole story of the Hyperboreans originated at a time when the scientific study of ethnology was developing, and that the story was because of its vagueness relegated to the realm of myth and religion, is unpsychological and ignores the facts. As Jacoby⁶ says, Hecataeus of Abdera 'hat, der Forderung der Zeit entsprechend, dieses Volk aus der Unbestimmtheit in eine feste geographische Umgebung gebracht.' The course of the myth actually has been from the poetic fancy of the early period to the exact statements of the Euhemeristic

³ Plato, *Charmides*, 158; Euripides, *Cyclops*, 646.

⁴ Him. *or.* 25.

⁵ Roscher i. 2, 2831.

⁶ Pauly-Wissowa, 7. 2756.

¹ *Aen.* IX. 354.

² III. 152.

period. Hecataeus did not hesitate to state that the land or island of the Hyperboreans still existed in his time, which was that of Alexander the Great and the first Ptolemy. He says that many Greeks had visited the island and left precious gifts with Greek inscriptions. The place described by him so definitely and yet so romantically has often been identified with England.

As for the Karambukai, a name which appears to Mr. Casson to be of an eastern type, there is more to hold it to the Black Sea and European Scythia and 'Celtica.' Pliny¹ mentions a Carambucis river in connexion with the Celtic promontory Lytharmis. The passage is as follows: 'ab extremo aquilone ad initium orientis aestivi Scythae sunt. extra eos ultraque aquilonie initia Hyperboreos aliqui posuere, pluribus in Europa dictos, Primum inde noscitur promonturium Celticae Lytharmis, fluvius Carambucis.' This is evidently the part of the world where Celtica and Scythia meet. Compare Strabo 7: ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ κύκλῳ τῆς οἰκουμένης πρὸς ἄρκτον τῶν ὑστάτων ἐστὶ τῆς Σκυθίας ἢ τῆς Κελτικῆς. Diodorus² also tells of an island of the sea near the ocean, τῆς Σκυθίας ὑπὲρ Γαλατίας. Cf. also Pliny's island Baunonia³ in the North Sea, over against Scythia.

There is a promontory in Paphlagonia, often mentioned, Carambis, and for the last part of the word there is the river Buces,⁴ which flows into the Maiotis, identified by Tomaschek as the Nogaika. For the meaning of Buces see Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 17.

In speaking of the tradition which identified the Hyperboreans with extra-Scythic tribes of the Far East of the ancient world, Mr. Casson remarks that Hecataeus of Abdera appears to have travelled in the very regions where this tradition places the Hyperboreans. He then writes: 'Hecataeus mentions an island called Helixioia, and its inhabitants the Καραμβύκαι.' I do not know whether I am justified in inferring from this that the writer of it supposes Hecataeus to have visited Helixioia.

The island is described, though not named, in the citations from Hecataeus found in Diodorus 2. 47. In this well-known passage the island is said to be as large as Sicily, ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέρας τῆς Κελτικῆς τόποις κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανόν. Diodorus also quotes Hecataeus and others as saying that the island ὑπάρχειν κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους. Moreover, the Moon is at a very little distance from the island, and earth-hills on it can be very clearly seen.

I wish to propose a derivation for the name of the island, which seems to me so obvious that I cannot believe that it has not been suggested before. However, I have not seen it. To make my point clear I will first quote from Kiessling's article on the Rhipæan Mountains a part of his discussion of arctic and antarctic poles. 'Wenn die Geographen dazu kamen, die Rhipæen auf den Polarkreis der Erdkugel zu zu lokalisieren, so muss ihnen dieser einmal für den Bärenkreis gegolten haben. Auch Aristoteles konnte die Lage unten der Bärin nur auf die Deklinationsparallele des grossen Bären und die dadurch bestimmte geographische Breite beziehen. Aber für Herakleitos und die ionischen Meteorologen lag das astronomische Nordgebirge unter der Projection des Bärengestirns auf die Erdscheibe. Hinter dem Gebirge war darum der Bezirk der Bärin den die Sonne unkreist um vom Untergang zum Aufgang zurückzukehren, cum relaturus diem septentrionum accesserit confinia, sagt Avien. ora marit. 649f.'

In the Hellenistic period the name Helice was given to both the Great and the Little Bear. The name is very frequent among later writers. The word evidently has to do with ἑλιξ and ἐλίσσω. Both of these words are used of the movements of the Sun and the stars. The verb is used in the *Iliad* for turning the horses of the chariot around the τέρμα. The name Helixioia of the island κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, which constellations in this period had the name Helice, might have been invented for the place where the Sun turns his steed around this northern τέρμα.⁵ Heracleitus

¹ N.H. 6. 34.

² Diodorus V. 23. ³ N.H. 4. 94.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa *Ρίπαια* ὄρη, 888.

⁵ According to Pherecydes (ap. Athenaeum 11. 38) the Sun descends with his chariot εἰς τὸ χρύσειον δέπας ὃ αὐτὸν ἐφόρει σὺν ταῖς ἵπποις.

speaks of the Bear as the *τέρμα* of Dawn and Dark. *ἡὸς καὶ ἑσπερίης τέρματα ἄρκτος*. It may be that the name Helice for the Bear constellations had the same origin, though various others are offered.

I think that Mr. Casson is decidedly on the wrong track in seeking the Hyperboreans so far east as China. Rather in the place of which Virgil speaks:

mundus, ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus
arces
consurgit.

Even this is, in Kiessling's words, to look at the myth of the Hyperboreans with the eye of the geographer. But that is just the contamination of the earthly Bora with the heavenly of which Miss Harrison speaks.

I believe that it is true that these

Hyperboreans, folk behind the mountain, were, in the more naïve time of peasant fancy, thought of as nearer than in the time of geographical and astronomical knowledge. As fanciful at first as the inhabitants of a haunted forest or lake they were shifted farther and farther away as geographical knowledge increased.¹

I am sorry that my previous article lent itself to any misunderstanding of my views. I had no intention of giving my Hyperboreans any fixed home as long as they stayed in the realms of myth. After that, when they got into the hands of the geographers, they were pushed up *ὕπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄρκτον*.

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¹ How and Wells, *Herodotus*, 4. 34.

ORIENTATION OF THE DEAD IN GREECE AND ITALY.¹

THERE is a curious passage in Plutarch (*Solon* 10), on which no adequate commentary exists. When Solon and the Athenians had got possession of Salamis, there ensued a long and exhausting war with Megara, which was at last settled by Spartan arbitration. The common tradition is that Solon had a proof-text from Homer, of his own forging, to win his case with; 'but the Athenians' own version is that this is nonsense,' and they claim that Solon produced historical proof of a deed of gift from the children of Aias to the Athenian state, and further appealed to the testimony of archaeology, whereby it was made plain 'that the dead (in Salamis) were laid out, not in the Megarian, but in the Athenian fashion. Now the Megarians when they bury a man turn his face to the east, but the Athenians to the west.' He is careful, however, to add the counter-opinion of Hereas of Megara (early third century B.C., see Pauly-Wissowa s.v.), that the real difference is not as the Athenians would have it, for the Megarians also bury their dead with

a westward aspect (*πρὸς ἑσπέραν τετραμμένα*), but that the Athenians bury but one in a grave, the Megarians as many as three or four.

So far as the Athenian orientation goes, Aelian supports this account, both he and Plutarch I suppose drawing at first hand or otherwise upon an *Atthis*; for he says (*var. hist.* V. 14) that it is a law of Athens that he who finds a dead body shall by no means omit to cast earth upon it, and further that he should bury it face to the west. But Diogenes Laertius introduces great confusion into the matter in his *Life of Solon* (I. 48) by telling the story, it would seem from the same source as Plutarch, or one very like it, with this curious variant, that Solon found not only the dead men in the graves of Salamis, but the graves themselves, 'looking to the east' (*πρὸς ἑὸ βλέποντας*). The witnesses for the westward position in Athens are two to one; but while I have no high opinion of the intelligence or critical powers of the worthy Diogenes, I cannot hold with C. F. Hermann (*Lehrbuch der gr. Ant.*,¹ II. iii. 40, p. 205) that he so grossly mistook his own language as to suppose that 'to turn towards the

¹ The following paper was read before the Classical Association at Newcastle, April, 1920.

west' or any other quarter meant anything but to have one's face and eyes in that direction—*i.e.*, in the case of a man buried in the extended position familiar in classical times and in our own graveyards, to have the feet pointing that way. That howler was reserved for German Kultur, and K. O. Müller (*Dorier* II. p. 401), and in our own days H. Blümer, in his revision of Hermann's book (3rd edition, p. 397), seem to imagine that to turn towards a place is to point the top of one's head at it. I imagine that in the account Diogenes read he was told that Solon's excavations extended to the Megarid as well as Salamis, and that in the former place he found tombs with their doors pointing east and the dead with their feet to the door; and that in his notebook the passage got confusedly copied. Pausanias attests a westward position for Elis, for he tells us (V. 13. 2) that the *temenos* of Pelops, which was wrongly supposed to be a burial-place, was entered from that quarter.

But what are we to say to the dictum of a scholar who knows more of archaeology than Plutarch and Pausanias combined? Orsi (*Mon. Ant.* I. col. 773) says of the cemetery of Megara Hyblaea, a colony, it will be remembered, of Megara proper (Thuc. VI. 4. 1.), with graves containing inhumations and cremation (the former are about four times as numerous as the latter) of all dates from almost the beginnings of Sikeliote history onwards—that it gives no evidence of any sort of orientation whatsoever; 'i cadaveri venivano distesti casualamente senza norme di sorta,' and adds that wide observations elsewhere give the same result. In the first place, we may point out that he partly contradicts himself, for he tells us that 'for the most part the tombs were oriented from east to west, but others, and not a few, ran north-south' (col. 750). This is true of Greek temples, which no one would say are without orientation, and of Christian churches, which are supposed to follow the rule stated by Durandus (p. 14 in Neale and Webb, *Symbolism of Churches*,³ cf. p. 165 ff.)—namely, that the altar should be to the east, for a variety of interesting mystic reasons. But it

remains true that a great many tombs in this and many other cemeteries, Greek and Roman, cannot be coaxed into reference to any particular point of the compass by any amount of special pleading. Shall we hold then that, as Hereas was demonstrably wrong when he said that the Athenians buried one in a grave only, the Megarians several, the truth being that family vaults, so to call them, are common in Attica as elsewhere (Hermann-Blümer, *l.c.*), so also he was quite wrong about the practice even of his own day in his own land, and that the Athenians had no clear tradition about the arguments used by one of their most notable men on an unforgettable occasion? I think not, if we do but consider a little what orientation really means, what ideas it is connected with, and how it is modified by circumstances.

To begin with, the word is unsatisfactory, and I use it only because it is traditional and I can think of nothing better. I mean by it the arrangement of anything, often a building, in the present case a dead body in the grave, on a funeral pyre, etc., in such a way that the front of the building, or the face of the corpse, shall be turned in a given direction. When that direction is a point of the compass, or more or less definite region of the heavens, such as sunrise, the bearing of which is roughly the same from all points over a large area of the earth's surface, I propose to call this *celestial orientation*; but if the fixed point be something on the earth's surface, whose bearing therefore shifts rapidly as we move about, I would speak of *terrestrial orientation*. Thus the orientation of a Christian grave is celestial; the body lies extended on its back, feet east; whence the picturesque Welsh term for the east wind, *gwynt troed y meirw*, 'wind of the dead men's feet'; but a Muslim grave has terrestrial orientation; the body lies on its side, face towards Mecca, whether that city be north, south, east, or west from the place of interment.

But what does it all mean, and why should a grave face one way rather than another? Two theories have been propounded: that of the late Professor

Tylor, who saw in such practices a solar element (*Prim. Cult.*² II. pp. 48, 121); and the older explanation of Herbert Spencer (*Prin. Soc.*³ I. p. 201 ff.) that the dead were turned to face the original habitat of their people. The latter view, unlike most of the philosopher's rather hasty generalisations, has of late received strong support from detailed examination of a part of the facts. Mr. W. J. Perry, in a very able article in the *J.R.A.I.*, Vol. XLIV. (1914), pp. 281 ff., has shown that it will fit and explain the orientation of the graves in most of Indonesia, and also the orientation of such few statues as the inhabitants possess, and of the sacred 'men's houses' which form an important feature of their villages. Save for a few cases, where the intrusion of a sun-cult gives a reasonable explanation and in a limited way justifies Tylor's theory, graves, statues if any, and men's houses, all face towards the region from which the people in question either actually came or think they came, as their traditions show. In one particularly interesting case, that of the Olo Ngadjoe of South-Eastern Borneo, the dead are laid parallel to the river on whose banks the tribe live, and it is their express belief that they go up-stream to a sacred mountain, which is historically the district from whence they came; for in most cases the old homeland to which the dead are to go is identified with Hades—a condition of things which in no way prevents living men from using the country, unmolested by the ghosts of a foreign tribe, it would seem (cf. G. Landtman in *Festschrift tillegnad E. Westermarck*, p. 68).

Certain investigations upon which I have recently embarked lead me to the provisional conclusion that the ultimate origin of terrestrial orientation at least is no other than the love for the dead and desire for their return which I hold to be a strong factor in their cult and tendance. I do not seek to deny the force of all the mass of evidence which Sir J. G. Frazer has collected (*Belief in Immortality, passim*), concerning the fear of the dead and the means taken to drive them away; but that logically opposed beliefs can be simul-

taneously held is or should be a commonplace to all investigators of cult. What could be more unlike than Homer's Hades, where dwell the poor strengthless shadows which are all that the fire has spared, and the formidable ghost of Agamemnon, sending up from his tomb help and strength to Orestes and Elektra? Yet both beliefs and their supposed corresponding practices—cremation and inhumation—went on side by side in Greece, and much the same happened in Italy and in pre-historic Gaul. See especially Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, I. p. 468 (cf. II. 603), for a much needed protest against the idea, which disfigures many otherwise excellent works, that such variety indicates difference of race, creed, or anything else: the Kiwai Papuans (Landtman, *op. cit.*) whose dead go a long journey through real places on the surface of the earth to a goodly land also on the surface, at the same time are quite ready to believe in an underground Hades and apparently in the dead living somehow in their graves. But there is not even a formal inconsistency in the belief now under discussion. The dead are feared and driven away as ghosts; but they are wanted in their more acceptable form, as babies.

That Mother Earth is both cradle and grave is a very old idea, well explained by Dieterich (*Mutter Erde, passim*), and Mr. T. C. Hodson has done not a little to expound what is perhaps even nearer the primitive idea—namely, that the generations of men are nothing but an ever-returning cycle of life, in which the individual is of account only at the dynamic moments of his birth, marriage, and death, when he acts, so to speak, as the conductor of the current. That the orientation of the dead is connected with such ideas is to me well-nigh certain, for the following among other reasons.

1. In parts of Australia great care is taken to face the dead man in the right direction, which is towards his own home or his *altcheringa* camp—the practice seems to vary. See Spencer-Gillen, *Native Tribes*, p. 496; A. R. Brown, *J.R.A.I.*, LXIII. (1913), p. 169, for examples. Now every right-think-

ing Arunta knows, and other tribes enjoy much the same knowledge, that spirit-children live in a *nanya*, or store-house of souls, and from time to time pass into the body of any woman who happens to be near the place, for purposes of reincarnation.

2. The Wawanga of British East Africa, whose customs show clear traces of belief in reincarnation, are careful to bury certain classes of their dead facing the door or the central pole of the hut, in which they are buried, without its ceasing to be used as a dwelling, the idea clearly being that they will then have abundant opportunities of re-entering the womb of a woman of their own village (*J.R.A.I.*, *ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.)

3. One of the reasons for securing the safe transit of the soul to Hades is surely the fact that from Hades the new souls come, in popular belief as in any Platonic myth.

4. Various classes of the dead are always specially treated—*e.g.*, women who die in childbirth, magicians, great chiefs, homicides and their victims, and so forth. Of these, certain ones, the bad or undesirable so far as the tribe is concerned (for who wants a wizard to be born into a decent clan and perhaps ruin it with his villanous spells?), are after buried in a special way. To cite the Wawanga again, their *βιαιοθάνατοι* are buried away from the hut and with special rites—no one wants those unlucky wights again—and, as we know, suicides in Greece and Rome alike had special burial (Aesch. *in Ctes.* 244, Serv. on *Aen.* XII. 603). From this I fancy spring two ideas: one, that certain of the dead cannot be re-born, but go to a special place—a notion which we see naively set forth in the beliefs of the Elemeas of the Papuan Gulf (Rev. J. Holmes in *J.R.A.I.*, XXXII, 1902, p. 428), while its highest expression is to be found in the teachings of Pindar, Plato, and Virgil, drawing on Orphic-Pythagorean sources, that certain glorified spirits come no more to earth, but return to the godhead whence they set out. The second idea is a curious form of ritual, according to which, not classes of persons, but a whole sex, receives a peculiar form of burial or a different orientation—as among the Colchians

in old times (Ap. Rhod. III. 200 ff.) and *e.g.* the Kajji of Nigeria in our own (Major Tremearne in *J.R.A.I.*, XLII, 1912, p. 167). With regard to the former development, I would point out in passing how absurd it is to imagine that Orphism borrowed from the East so wide spread and popular a doctrine as reincarnation. To suppose that such developed systems as we find at an early date in India, for example, were laid under contribution for ideas which Pythagoras taught in the infancy of Western philosophy would be like imagining that the Buddhist objection to meat has an English origin because some of our vegetarians urge dietetic reasons against eating it.

But we have, I think, clearer reasons than the doctrines of Pythagoreanism for holding that reincarnation was a Greek and also an Italian popular belief, at least in early times. In Attica we have the evidence, admirably interpreted by Dr. Jevons (*Class. Rev.*, 1895, p. 247 ff.), of the law quoted in Demosth. *c. Macart.* 62, forbidding women outside the degree of second cousins and under sixty to enter the house or follow the funeral of the deceased. Imagine the consternation in ghostly society if a Eupatrid were to commit, in the natural confusion following death, the *faux pas* of reincarnating himself in the womb of a plebeian neighbour or a casual Thracian slave-girl! In Rome the evidence is less clear, but the last breath is received by a near relative; the next of kin keep close guard around the hearse and the pyre, and dying and new-born alike are laid on the ground; while for my own part I am still of opinion that the original place of burial was often the house.

But it may be said that all this leads us nowhere. It is clear that orientation of some sort is a possibility in Greece and Italy, but the fact remains that the unburned bodies, where they have been investigated from this point of view at all, point in all conceivable directions. This surely indicates that the practice, if it ever existed, had died out before our evidence can be said to begin. I would answer this in two ways.

1. Orientation, as I have noted, does not necessarily mean celestial orienta-

tion, or even terrestrial orientation on some prominent and far-distant object such as a holy city or mountain. The conditions would be abundantly satisfied if it were shown that in any given district the tomb or tombs of a family pointed towards the estate belonging to that family. So far as I am aware, not an inch of classical ground has yet been investigated from this point of view. Moreover, in the case of a house-like tomb the position of the door is I think enough, and that of the body is a secondary matter. Lastly, and this is an important point, we have seen that it is possible to orient by laying the dead man alongside of the road or river on which he must travel. I have given a Bornese example; an excellent one from Denmark will be found in Déchelette, *op. cit.* II., p. 131.

2. Granted that some one community, Megara or what you will, had agreed on some one way of orientating, say W.-E. Still, that would apply only to the normal dead, who had not come to their end untimely, by violence, plague, etc. Is it too much to suppose that in a turbulent little community of early Greece, war, pestilence, childbirth, infant mortality, and the like, would account for some 40 per cent. or more of all the deaths? If their graves were all turned a different way from the rest, the result would be an imposing array of counter-instances, which yet would rather confirm than weaken the general theory. Further, suppose that they began by orienting eastward, that their dead might the more readily reach the sea, thence to sail to some sort of a Dorian Hades; if it were later expounded at them that Homeric orthodoxy placed Hades in the West, they might very well gradually adapt themselves to the new topography, and begin to orient their graves as Hereas says they did. All these suppositions, while so far as I know hypothetical in our present state of knowledge of Megara, are supported by numerous instances from actual practice elsewhere.

Finally, what are the facts, firstly for Greece? Here I make no profession of expert knowledge, and partial know-

ledge is dangerous. Thus, if one notices that the barrows in Gaul have a tendency to be oriented W.-E., he may think that this is good evidence of the existence of a sun-cult in that region; but if he crosses the Rhine and notes that many of them there point E.-W., he will see that he must reckon with the possibility of the Rhine having been a river of souls, as in the Bornese instance (Déchelette I. 389; II. 151-152, 157). Still, tentatively I would point out, firstly, that there is some archaeological evidence for Solon's view (see A. Westermann's note on the passage in his edition of the *Life of Solon*, Brunswick and London, 1840; I have not yet come across the article to which he refers); secondly, that there is a great tendency to line the roads with tombs and to bury almost on the threshold of cities (see any handbook, and add E. Curtius, *Zur Gesch. des Wegebaus*, Berlin, 1855, pp. 52, 61). Now the latter practice may simply mean a desire for the protection of a hero in his tomb, and the former was often interpreted as satisfying the longing of the dead for human company; cf. the frequent *χαίρε παροδῖτα, τοῖς παράγουσι χαίρειν*, etc., of the epitaphs. But if there was not also the conception of roads as the pathway of souls, why do they so swarm with gods, Apollo Agyieus and Hermes, the former at least to keep the living safe, and Hekate at every cross-way to see to the dead? The whole archaeological evidence here would repay more study than it has yet had in this connexion.

Coming to Italy, we find again the familiar streets of tombs to which we may attach the same meaning, especially when we note the eagerness of some to be so buried (see for an old example Morestelli *Pompa Feralis* in Graevius' *Thes. Ant. Rom.* XII. col. 1418); but we can go back to a much earlier stage than this. The evidence of the practice of the early populations, as given in Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages*, may be thus summarised; we know nothing of the methods of the palaeolithic peoples; the neolithic (? Ligurian) dead, if flexed, face more or less eastward, while one extended body at least faces W.; the chalcolithic age gives a similar result,

with the exception of the tombs at Cumarola, whose occupants face N. We are reminded that the faithful were by no means of one mind as to whether a *templum* should have as its *decumanus* the N.-S. or the E.-W. line (Nissen *Templum*, p. 11 ff.). The Siculi did not orient, so far as we can make out; the terramare people lived and were buried in *templa*. Add to these the Hallstatt invaders, whose tombs in their own land ran regularly E.-W. (Déchelette II. p. 603), and a great part of the population of historical Italy is accounted for. A search through *Monumenti Antichi* and *Not. degli Scavi* will provide many more examples, mostly of early date, which I have no space for now, but which tend to show, particularly in Etruria, the classical ground of the *templum*, very numerous tombs arranged parallel either to the *cardo* or to the *decumanus* of a normally oriented *templum*, and one district, Novilara (see Brizio in *Mon. Ant.* V. col. 167), where after many changes a S.E.-N.W. direction became canonical.

But let me take one district, Etruria, in a little more detail. Martha, *L'Art étrusque*, pp. 217 ff., notes that although it is almost incredible that a people who were so elaborately careful to make *templa* of their cities, etc., should not do so in their burial-grounds, still the fact remains that he cannot, either from the plans in Dennis' *Cities and Cemeteries* or from any other source, find trace of orientation in any of them. We have to-day more evidence than he enjoyed, and the upshot of such of it as I have seen I interpret thus.

An E.-W. direction for pit-graves is common at all times; see *Notiz. d. Scav.* XI. (1914-15), p. 27. As to Dennis, it is clear from the text that he saw no guiding principle for the larger tombs, but more than one of his plans tell a different story. His map of Castel d'Asso (I. p. 272, 'Everyman' edition) makes it clear that the great tombs there line the banks of two small streams, the Rio Arcione and a tributary of it. At Norchia they occupy the

same position relative to the Fosso delle Pile and the Fosso dell' Acqua Alta. Surely, for a maritime people this provides the soul with his *viaticum* seaward and—to Lydia? Again, over and over again they line roads, and at Vulci they seem to do both. Elsewhere, as I have already stated, we find a celestial orientation; and finally we have at Caere (Cervetri) a most instructive cemetery. The early tombs, dating from about the middle of saec. VIII. B.C., have no orientation that can now be traced; but in saec. IV. the cemetery was laid out regularly, like a town, with parallel streets to which all the tombs conform like houses (B. Novara in *Notiz. d. Scav.* XII. p. 348). Have we not here the *templum*-idea at last triumphing over the strong conservatism of aristocratic grave-ritual, as it had long ago won its way everywhere else? Culturally Etruria was a debtor-nation, borrowing in art from Greece, in her earliest architecture from Asia, in religion from the people around her; in this important point of ritual she seems to have been very early the debtor of that energetic people from the North, the folk of the terramare, who seem to have brought wheat and the vine with them into Italy, to the disgust of conservative spirits like Iuppiter Farreus and the Bona Dea.

I have said, I hope, enough to indicate the interest of this subject. Most of the work has still to be done, and I would not guarantee one of my conclusions as yet; but if those who are interested in archaeology would but keep this idea in view, we should soon have a mass of material ready which, when sifted, might throw great light on the wanderings of ancient peoples, the interrelations of the states from which sprung our complex culture, and that subject of perennial interest, the hopes and fears of man with regard to his destiny after death.

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TERENTIANA.

(Continued from *Class. Rev.* XXXII. 99 and XXXIII.)

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

1. In these papers I am avoiding altogether the use of the word *accent*. It conveys one meaning in French and another in English. The use of the term *intensity* seems preferable, because it is unambiguous.

2. For the same reason, instead of the equivocal metaphors of such terms as 'rise' and 'fall,' to describe the two internal constituents of a foot, I use the convenient, because quite unambiguous, expressions '*fort*' and '*faible*' as the English equivalents of *temps fort* and *temps faible*.

IF the cause why *quis, quid* exercises (I think we may now say) invariably the effect of overriding the rule of position in the subjoining syllable of a weak word be—as it appears to be—the intensity of the interrogative, then should we find that *ego*, which, like *quis*, idiomatically tends to attract and subjoin to itself a weak demonstrative pronoun in the order of the sentence, does also, like *quis*, invariably (or normally) set in motion the phonetic tendency known as *Breves Breviantes*, may we not conclude that the emphasis of *ego* expressed itself in pronunciation by that *intensity (cum accentu)* which we know the interrogative possessed?

Let us first study the combination *ego—ille*:

Andr. 146 pro uxore habere hanc peregrinam.
ego illud sedulo. . .

„ 968 prius rescisceres tu quam *ego illud*
quod tibi euenit boni.

Haut. 312 CLIT. eho sceleste, quo illam ducis?
SY. quó *ego illam?* ad nos scilicet.

„ 779 SY. id ipsum. CH. at *ego illi* neque
do neque despondeo.

Eun. 223 tandem non *ego illam* caream?

„ 239 hic *ego illum* contempsi prae me. . .

„ 643 ubi *ego illum* scelerósum misera. . .

„ 657 PH. insanis: qui istuc facere eunuchus potuit? PV. *ego illum* nescio.

Phor. 391 DE. neque *ego illum* noram nec
mihí cognatus fuit.

„ 437 abducere, *ego illam* eiciam. dixi,
Phormio.

„ 974 hisce *ego illam* dictis ita tibi incensam dabo.

Hec. 239 tuos esse *ego illi* mores morbum
magis quam ullam aliam rem
arbitror.

¹ *Hec.* 604 si cétera ita sunt út tu uis itáque² ut
esse *ego illa* existimo.

Ad. 116 mihi peccat: *ego illi* maximam
partem fero.

¹ „ 268 *ego illum* uéro omitto quí quidem té
habeám fratrem, Aéschine.

„ 359 ubi *ego illum* quaeram? credo ab-
ductum in ganeam.

„ 866 *ego ille* agrestis, saeuos, tristis, par-
cus, truculentus, tenax.

„ 940 Æ. fac: promisi *ego illis*. MI. pro-
misti autem?

Here there are eighteen examples of the normal, against which are to be considered six, viz.:

(a) *Andr.* 428:

ego illam uidi: uirginem forma bona
memini uidere.

D¹ read *ego uidi*, and G has all words
before *bona* in rasura.

The words are merely disarranged:
correct to:

*ego uidi: memini uirginem forma bona
illam uideri.*

Bothe suggested *uideri*.

(b) *Haut.* 678:

retraham hercle opinor idem ad me *ego illud*
hodie fugitiuom argentum tamen.

So A; but great confusion reigns in the MSS. The verse is hypermetric; only A has the *ego*. If the *ego* is right, the superfluous word (and the word which was bound to be added as a gloss) is *argentum*. Eliminate *argentum* and all is well with sense and metre. However, this line, as reported, is not solid enough to stand as a rebutting instance against the canon *ego—ille*.

(c) *Eun.* 479:

THR. *ego illum* eunuchum, si opus sit, uel
sobrius. . .

Commentators are in such a hurry to get away from an obscene verse that they have not even had time to remark

¹ The readings are doubtful, but not for my present purpose.

² For *itáque* see Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 605.

that its metre is as perverse as its morality.

On the analogy of v. 426 *lepus tute es* it may be suggested that for *EUNUCHUM* Terence wrote *CUNICLUM*, since the Romans classified *cuniculus* as a species of *lepus*: see Varro, *R.R.* III. xii. 6. The equivoque will account for Donatus' otherwise obscure remark '*hoc ut militare est, ita importunum praesente Thaide.*'¹ The jest has an Elizabethan crudity: see Donatus ad v. 426. But there is a sort of eutrapelia. Donatus can hardly mean that the mere grossness is *militare*. There must be an allusion to something technical.

(d) *Eun.* 591:

ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego illud uero ita feci ac lubens.

Thus *A contra metrum*. Various remedies have been prescribed: most editors adopt Bothe's *item* for *ita*. But *ego uero illud* of *G* is a more probable, because a more idiomatic, order. This is not the only place where this excellent codex seems to preserve a right reading:

ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego uero illud ita feci ac lubens.

But in either event the last syllable of *facerem* is unelided, thanks to the pause.

(e) *Eun.* 615:

ita me di ament, quantum ego illum uidi, non nihil timeo misera.

Such is the vulgate (Bentley, Umpfenbach, Fabia, etc.), but all the Calliopians and *corr. antiquus* in *A* read,

ita me di bene ament quantum ego illum . . .

which, I know not why, Fabia calls unmetrical. Unusual it may be; but *ita-me-di-bene-ament* receives the same metrical treatment in *Eun.* 882. We are now entitled to say on the contrary that *ego illum* is unmetrical, and follow the consensus of MSS. which gets rid of it.

Thus far only in two passages, (a) and (c), does the tradition definitely quarrel with our *ego—ille* canon; in either case a change palaeographically cheap will put things to rights; and in

¹ There is indeed a phrase in Arnobius (*Adv. Gentes* IV. 7): *etiamne militaris Uenus castrensibus flagitiis praesidet et puerorum stupris?*

only one of these was the reading otherwise than on this metrical ground unobjectionable. Against the one apparent exception outstanding therefore may be brought to bear the preponderance of the eighteen certain and five not improbable examples of the canon. If the last objection can be solved, the case will be clear.

(f) *Phor.* 944:

PH. haec {adeo illi (A)
{adeo ego illi (Call.)} iam denarabo. CH. obsecro. . .

Editors reject the reading of *A* as unmetrical; but we can now see that the Calliopian reading *ego illi* is no less unmetrical.

Now, since *adeo* emphasises the word it follows, it is important to ascertain the exact point of the sentence: does Phormio say, '*And this is what I am going to tell her all about*'; or rather, '*And I am the person who is going to tell her all about it*'? According as you decide the question, you find the type of phrase in

hoc adeo ex hac re uenit in mentem mihi (*Eun.* 233).

or in

ego adeo hanc primus inueni uiam (*Eun.* 247).

It seems to me that *ego adeo* and not *haec adeo* is what the tenor of the passage indicates. If so, the metrical enormity is corrected by reading

haec ego adeo illi iam denarabo.

For *adeo* in the faible of the foot (it is much commoner in the forte), cf. *Eun.* 806, 964.

Next, *ego—is*.

Eun. 162 TH. *ego id timeo?* PH. quid te ergo aliud sollicitat? cedo.

Hec. 372 mé uenisse: ego éius uidendi cúpidus récta cónsequor.

(For *éius* see *Phor.* 113 with Dziatzko-Hauler's note *ad loc.*)

No exceptions.

Next, *ego—iste, istic*.

Andr. 921 *ego istaec móueo aut cúro?*

„ 953 PA. recte admones: Dauid *ego istuc* dedam iam negoti. SI. non potest.

Haut. 110 *ego istuc* aetatis non amoris operam dabam.

„ 593 CH. *ego istuc* cúrabo. SY. atqui núnc, ere, tíbi istic ádseruándus est.

Eun. 94 aut *ego istuc* abs te factum nihili penderem.

Phor. 530 iste me fefellit: *ego isti* nihilo sum aliter ac fui.

„ 726 *DE.* idem *ego istuc* facere possum. *CH.* mulier mulieri magis convenit.

Hec. 877 immō uero scio neque hoc imprudens feci. *PAM.* *ego istuc* satis scio.

Ad. 158 *égo istam* inuitis omnibus (troch. dim.).

„ 845 *MI.* modo facito ut illam serues. *DE.* *égo istuc* uidero.

„ 962 *égo istos* uobis usque a pueris curauit ambos sedulo.

To these eleven unquestioned examples may be added as probable:

Ad. 551:

SV. ego cauebo. *CT.* nunquam hercle {hodie ego istuc (*A*) } committam tibi.
{ego hodie istuc (*Call.*)}

A's *ego istuc* sins against the rule, the Calliopians do not; but perhaps the likeliest reading is

numquam hercle ego istuc hodie . . .

Against which are the following refractory instances:

(a) *Andr.* 332:

PA. nuptias effugere *ego istas* malo quam tu apiscier.

Unlike most, this case shows no variant in the MS. report and no other grounds for a suspicion that the text is unsound, unless it be that *ego* is deferred surprisingly late in the sentence and the verse rhythm contradicts the emphasis. One may be permitted to suggest a rearrangement of words which will abolish the anomaly,

nuptias *égo istas* effugere malo quam tu apiscier,

or (what would be preferable),

égo istas nuptias effugere, etc.

(b) *Andr.* 456:

DA. commoui. *SI.* ego istaec recte ut fiant uidero.

This is to be regarded as another case of hiatus at a change of speakers: then *ego istaec* remains normal.

There are five examples of *egone—ille, iste, istuc*:

Eun. 65 *egone illum* . . . quae illum . . . quae me . . . quae non . . . sine modo!

Phor. 260 *egone illi* non suscenseam? ipsum gestio.

„ 304 *egone illum* cum illo ut patiar nuptiam unum diem?

Andr. 584 *SI.* propterea quod amat filius. *DA.* *egone istuc* facerem? *SI.* credidi.

filius lengthened by the pause and change of speaker.

Andr. 270 *MY.* ne deseras se. *PAM.* hēm? *égonē istuc* conari queam?

There is no instance of any accentuation but *égon* in Terence (*Andr.* 384, 504, *Eun.* 757, *Haut.* 784, 1016, *Ph.* 431, 999, *Hec.* 852, *Ad.* 184) or *égone* (*Eun.* 191, 778, 1026, *Haut.* 945, *Ph.* 938, *Hec.* 849). It distinctly appears that the *-ne* has a nonconducting effect and *ego* loses its intensity.

I have reserved the consideration of *ego—hic* because certain inherent difficulties make the case less clear. We can now approach it fortified by the probability that as *quis—hic* and *quis—ille* agreed, so *ego—hic* will conform to the usage of *ego—ille*. The examples are of three sorts:

(1) Those where the shortening is necessary to the scansion of the verse:

Andr. 708 *PA.* *ego hanc* uisam. *DA.* quid tu? quō hinc te agis?

Phor. 529 nam hic me huius modi esse scibat, *égo hinc* esse aliter credidi.

Eun. 494 *ego hinc* abeo: tu istanc opperire. *PA.* haud conuenit.

(2) Those where the shortening is possible:

Hec. 453 quamobrem non redducam? *LA.* nescioquē *ego hic* audiui loqui.

Ad. 553 *SV.* age tamen *ego hinc* amouebo. *DE.* sed eccum sceleratum Syrum.

¹ „ 312 ut *égo hanc* iram in eos euomam omnem dum aegritudo haec est recens.

Haut. 134 eum *ego hinc* eieci miserum iniustitia mea.

„ 586 abire hinc aliquo. *CL.* quō *ego hinc* abeam? *SV.* quo lubet: da illis locum.

Eun. 738 sed eccam ipsam: miror ubi *ego hinc* anteuorterim.

„ 763 tu abi atque obsera ostium intus dūm *ego hinc* transcurro ad forum.

„ 1060 semper. *TH.* do fidem futurum. *GN.* adcingar. *PH.* quem *ego hic* audio?

² *Hec.* 429 ite intro. *égo hinc* adibo si quid me uelit.

¹ The reading of *BCDEFGP ut iram hanc in eos* may be right.

² The hiatus will be due to the pause. One is rather surprised not to find *uos ite intro* as in *Andr.* 28. Another case of hiatus after a full pause is *Ad.* 47: nati filii

dūō. | inde *ego hinc* | maiorem adoptauit mihi

Andr. 776 nisi puerum tollis iam *ego hunc* in
medium uitam.

Haut. 1055 quod *ego hunc* aequum censeo.

CL. pater, omnia faciam : impera.

Ad. 202 age iam cupio, modo si argentum
reddat. sed *ego hunc* hariolor.

„ 889 era, *ego hunc* ad hos prouiso quam
mox uirginem. . . .

Phor. 982 adsequere, retine dum *ego hunc* seruos
euoco (cf. *Eun.* 763 cited above).

The following are doubtful in reading :

Hec. 875 *ego hunc* ab Orco mortuom? quo
pacto? PAM. nescis, Parmeno.

egon BCDEFP (if right, a unique
instance of *egone*—*hic* in combination).

This verse and its sequel,

quantum hodie profueris mihi et ex quanta
aerumna extraxeris,

are preceded by six trochaics and suc-
ceeded by a pair of iambic octonarii.
How are they to be scanned? On
which rhythm must the actor start?

ego hunc ab Orco . . .

or

ego hunc ab Orco . . .?

In the absence of any other deter-
minant, it seems reasonable to infer
that, *ego* being much more emphatic
than *hunc*, and *quantum* (an interroga-
tive) than *hodie*, the lines are both
trochaic :

Hec. 712 { *ideo ego hoc* (*A*) } praesente tibi
{ *id ego hoc* (*cett.*) } nolueram dicere.

The reading of *A* (*solus contra mun-
dum*) seems to me to be sound, pre-
serving a rare though correct proceleus-
matic *ἰδέο ἔγο ἥοκ*. If so, the instance
falls to be added to the list of those
where the scansion *ego hunc* is not merely
possible but necessary. *Ideo* gives a
more satisfactory sense. The reason
why Phidippus was loth to tell Laches
in Pamphilus' hearing is just that
Philumena herself is the source of his
information; he did not want Pam-
philus to know that he had been making
indiscreet inquiries. *Ideo* is therefore
more in point than *id*.

Haut. 785-7 Sy. scite poterat fieri :
et *ego hoc* quia dudum tu tantopere suaseras
{ *ego* (*A*) }
{ *eo* (*cett.*) } coepi.

Here, I take it, the right one of the
two alternative readings *eo hoc* . . . *ego*
coepi or *ego hoc* . . . *eo coepi* is the
former; since Terence has three times

the arrangement *eo* (*cone*) *quia* (*Eun.* 415,
Haut. 505 and 554) and only once the
contrary one (*Eun.* 97) with *non quo*.

(3) We are left with definitely re-
butting instances, which must either
be shown to be corrupt on other
grounds and by palaeographically easy
means curable, or the case for *ego*—
hic as universally true will be destroyed.

(a) *Ad.* 42 *ego hunc* clementem uitam urba-
nam atque otium
secutus sum.

No variant in the MSS.; a confir-
matory lemma in Donatus; a confirma-
tory phrase in Cicero (*pro Rabir. Post.*
VII.) 'hanc uitam quietam atque otio-
sam secuti sumus'; the unanimity of
editors—what presumption if one dares
to call this verse in question! *ὁ δ'*
ἀνὴρ ὁ λέγων οὗτοσὶ τυννοῦτοσί.

Yet in that unanimity of editors
there was just a flaw of suspicion, for
Bentley wrote 'uide an legendum sit'

ego hanc clementem uitam urbanumque otium,

and cited Cicero *ad Fam.* XII. 1 :

ut ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano.

His ear condemned the lopsidedness of

hanc clementem uitam urbanam

set against the solitary *otium*.

Add to this a close consideration of
Demea's words in the scene which
makes the counterpart to this opening
soliloquy of Micio's, '*ego ille* agrestis,
saeuos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax,
dixi uxorem' (866, 7). Is it asking too
much to beg for an *IL* and an *&* and
read

EGOHANCILLEMENTEMETVITAM . . .

Ego ille . . . secutus 'I am he who went in
for. . . .'

With *ille ego* the ellipse of *sum* is
optional (see Henry, *Aeneidea*, Vol. I.,
p. 61); Demea's *ego ille* in 866 corre-
sponds. The order of words is like
sub hoc ille tecto in Seneca *Ep. Mor.* 86. 5.

The next lion in my path is

(β) *Ad.* 757 *ego hōs* conuenio^{am} *A* (m corr. et
deleuit recens)
ego hōs conueniam BCDEFPGP.

I contend that either of these starts
the actor on a false rhythm, for *ego hos*
conueniam is the opening of trochaic
verse.

The solution is exceedingly simple :

both readings are accounted for if the original was

ego hōs *conuenibo*,

and the metre is mended.

Andr. 766 *MY.* eho an non est? *CH.* recte ego hās semper fugi nuptias.

So *DG* have it; but in the rest,

recte ego semper fugi has nuptias,

which is less plausible, for whatever may be decided about the metrical question, it is undoubted that the collocation of *ego has* is idiomatic.

Ad. 527 rogabit mē ubi fuerim: 'ego hōc te toto non uidi die.'

This reading of Krauss' (adopted by most of the recent editors, but not by Plessis) is not a certainty, but I am only concerned here to remark that in its treatment of the *ego hōc* it is correct.

Haut. 1012 non postulo: iam loquere. nihilo minus ego hōc faciam tamen (*A* omits *ego*).

I cannot in candour deny that this is a very troublesome verse. But since *A* omits *ego*, the verse cannot be called certain. In support of the omission of *ego*, it may be urged that Chremes does not address Sostrata as *tu*; and pronouns are usually placed by Terence in contrasted pairs. And, further, a word which in the Terence tradition is frequently mistaken for *EGO* would be relevant here. I mean *EO*:

nihilo minus eo hoc faciam tamen

would be unobjectionable. 'None the less for that, i.e. for your talking.'

Phor. 659 utrum stultitia facere hunc an malitia.

So *A*; the rest 'facere ego hunc.'

Are there any grounds, other than metrical, for an impeachment of the vulgate reading? There are, if the author's usage may be relied on for guidance. *Facere*='to act' with a defining adverb is not uncommon in Terence: *utrum stulte facere an malitiose* would be regular. Then as the equivalent for our 'to do so,' a device to avoid repeating a verb (Gk. *τοῦτο ποιεῖν*), we have it often. Terence's practice is worth tabulating on this point; it is as follows:

hoc facere, *never*.

id facere *four times* (*Andr.* 727, *Eun.* 956, *Haut.* 107, 136).

ita facere *once* (*Eun.* 724).

facere absolute, *frequently*,¹ especially in *Hautontim*.

But here we have no preceding verb for which *facere* could serve as a ditto. Unless then anybody can produce an analogy from Terence to show that *stultitia facit* can mean *stultitia hoc facit*, it seems to me probable that a defining word is missing, which, when restored, should also regulate the prosody of *ego hūnc*. The choice is practically confined to *hoc* (*haec*)—*id* (*ea*)—and *ita*. Of these the first is precluded by the presence of *hunc*. Either then

utrum stultitia facere <ea> ego hūnc an malitia,
or

utrum stultitia <itā> facere ego hūnc an malitia.

These presuppose the soundness of the *ego*; but if *A*'s reading be taken as the basis, one might easily emend to

utrum stultitia facere <ea> hunc an malitia.

Whereas of the collocation *ego—hic* there are some twenty-five examples, it is curious how very rare is the contrary order, with which we are so familiar in the dactylic poets. I think Terence has it in only four places: *haec ego*, *Andr.* 113; *hoc ego*, *Andr.* 506, and *Hec.* 153; and *hancine ego*, *Hec.* 282.

Examples of other weak syllables similarly affected by *ego* are:

Phor. 167 quid *ego* ex hac inopia nunc capiam,
et quid tu ex ista copia.

Andr. 480 nunc huius periclo fit, *ego* in portu nauigo.

Hec. 42 *ego* interea meum non potui tutari locum.

Eun. 159 *ego* excludor.

Haut. 79 rectumst? *ego* ut faciam.

And perhaps

Haut. 984 et, quantum *ego* intellegere possum. . . .

And a peculiar instance of an oblique case highly emphasised, exerting the same effect as *ego*, is:

Phor. 673 mea causa eiicitur: mē hōc est aequum amittere.

¹ Here is the list: Positive, *Eun.* 388; *Haut.* 236, 730, 957 (*DG* have 'id faciunt'), 996, 1057; *Ad.* 750, 916. Negative, *Andr.* 276; *Eun.* 901; *Phor.* 121, 945; *Haut.* 416, 797, 1049, 1051; *Hec.* 590.

In conclusion of this and in preparation for the next paper, let me say a word in answer to an objection which has reached me privately. The writer is one who speaks with admitted authority on these matters. He says: 'The difficulty in this question is the danger of reasoning in a circle. I hope you will adduce *independent* evidence (i.e. not the evidence of verse itself) for the "intensity" of the words you mention.'

In reply to this I would say: (1) that I began the inquiry with the Interrogatives just because there is explicit evidence in the grammarians, as early as Quintilian, that (as in our modern languages, be it noted) these were differentiated in pronunciation from the Relatives by their *accentus*. If the Demonstratives, in particular, when subjoined to *quis*, etc., are regularly attacked by iambic weakening, I infer that the cause lies in the grouping: the known pronunciation of *quis*, etc., in the ordinary language, its extra intensity (i.e. added force and raised tone) is what depletes the recessive partner in the group.

(2) That comedy conformed to the spoken language, and that no violence was done by Terence and Co. to the ordinary pronunciation of phrases like *Quid istic? ita-me-di-ament, ob-eam-rem* by the position given to them in a verse, I should regard as self-evident; just as in English you cannot alter the pronunciation of groups and phrases (e.g. *How d' you do?*) without making your verse ridiculous. But if it should

be called in question, one could cite the chain of testimony, beginning with Terence's own prologues and continuing through the grammarians (e.g. Keil, Vol. III., p. 418), to the effect that he deliberately lowered the poetical pitch of language in comedy: *Ne sint sonora uerba consuetudinis*, as Terentian. Maur. says.

(3) The objection may be retorted. For if *Breves Breviantes* were a metrical and not a phonetic principle of Latin, why should its effects be visible in single words? How could a metrical law produce *modŏ, benŏ, sciŏ*, etc.? Surely no one supposes that in conversation one said *modō, benē, sciō*, and *modŏ, benŏ, sciŏ* were literary and poetical?

(4) If it is a phonetic phenomenon, it has taken place before the word or group goes into the verse, and the position of the conglomerate in the verse depends on its pronunciation, not *vice versa*.

O how d' you dŏ, sir?

It is not the verse ictus which puts the accent on *dŏ*; the phrase is necessarily so arranged to take the ictus of the verse, because its accent cannot be altered without absurdity—especially in colloquial verse.

It is proposed next to follow the clue of the 'Recessives' *hic, ille*, and observe their behaviour when subjoined to some other monosyllables with a view to determining whether these also were not 'intense' in pronunciation.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS.

A. ATHENAEUS.

IN the *Classical Quarterly*, 1908, No. 3, I offered a number of emendations in the text of Athenaeus. Repeated reading of that author has further convinced me of the unsatisfactoriness of Kaibel's Teubner text. It is true that the editing is generally cautious, nor can one reasonably object to sundry passages being left entirely unintelligible by an editor who has the rather rare courage to con-

fess 'non capio' or 'non intellego.' Nevertheless—apart from the fact that some of these passages can be rendered intelligible by ordinary processes—there are certain defects of the edition which should prevent it from standing as the last word upon the text of an author who ought to be read much more widely than he is at present. The paragraphing (which is of the greatest moment in Athenaeus) is on the whole rational, although there are many places in which

it is positively misleading. More seriously one may complain of the lack of technical judgment sometimes exhibited in the inclusion, or the mention, of a conjecture. It is high time that scholars abandoned the practice of inserting or substituting words which merely 'make sense,' while no ocular or other reason is assigned for the omission or the misreading as we find it. For instance, in 1B it would in any case scarcely be good textual criticism to alter τῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ παρασκευῆς to τῆς ἐν τῷ δειπνῷ παρασκευῆς (a conjecture of Kaibel himself). There is no palaeographical resemblance between δειπνῷ and λόγῳ, and the conjecture is doubly bad, inasmuch as the text is quite sound, the sense being simply 'of the courses described in the narrative.' This, perhaps, is an unusually violent example, and it is a pity that it should face us on the second page. What it betrays is the absence of a rigid technical standard. While Kaibel allowed himself—for personal reasons, as his preface indicates—to be unduly influenced by Wilamowitz, and therefore to print a number of poor and hasty conjectures of that scholar along with the few convincing ones, he must often (it would appear) have devoted insufficient time to the annotations of Casaubon as amplified by Schweighäuser. Thus in 206D we have: Διοκλείδης μὲν ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης θαυμάζεται ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν Ῥοδίων πόλιν ὑπὸ Δημητρίου προσαχθείσῃ τοῖς τέλχεσιν ἐλεπόλει, Τίμαιος δ' ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ τῇ κατασκευασθείσῃ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυραννῷ κ.τ.λ. Since Diocleides did not invent the ἐλέπολις, nor Timaeus the πυρά, but since both of them (like the rest in the list which follows) were merely writers who expressed their sense that such things were θαύματα, I had laboured to the conclusion that what Athenaeus wrote was θαυματίζεται ('makes a wonderment'). After obtaining Casaubon's notes I found that he virtually suggests that word. Yet Kaibel, while feeling and noting the difficulty, has no mention of the suggestion, but prefers to say 'haec omnia audacissime truncata.'

Again the editor is not always apt at an idiom. Thus in 3F ὁ δὲ Χίος Ἴων τραγῳδία νικῆσας Ἀθήνησιν ἐκάστω τῶν

Ἀθηναίων ἔδωκε Χίον κεράμιον. Kaibel's obvious Χίου (sc. οἴνου) is actually less idiomatic, as any reader of the private speeches of Demosthenes should know, than Χίον (with the same implication). So in 75A <—υ—> συκᾶς φυτεύω πάντα πλὴν Λακωνικῆς he quotes without comment the <καὶ γένῃ> συκῆς of Blaydes. καὶ γένῃ is plausible enough (since ταδὶ λέγων immediately precedes), but συκᾶς πάντα γένῃ ('figtrees of all kinds') is as idiomatic Greek as 'porticus avibus omne genus oppletae' (Varr. R.R. 3. 5. 11) is idiomatic Latin. Nor is his ear very acute for metre. For example, in 397A, in illustration of the point that peacocks were once rare in Greece, Athenaeus quotes Antiphanes, and then adds καὶ Εὐβουλος ἐν Φοίνικι· καὶ γὰρ ὁ ταῶς διὰ τὸ σπάνιον θαυμάζεται. Kaibel remarks 'Eubuli verba interciderunt,' evidently imagining the words καὶ γὰρ . . . θαυμάζεται to be a weak repetition by Athenaeus himself. Yet it should be obvious that they form the very verse for which Kaibel was looking.

As a final criticism it may be urged that Athenaeus is a lover of humour—certainly an eager collector of the humorous—and his editor should therefore be blessed with a fair appreciation of that quality.

I venture to add the following to my previous notes :

237B-C (Kaibel's text):

δύ' ἐστὶ, Νανσίτικε, παρασίτων γένῃ,
ἐν μὲν τὸ κοινὸν καὶ κεκομωδῆμένον,
οἱ μέλαρες ἡμεῖς· θάτερον ζητῶ γένος,
5 σεμνοπαράσιτον ἐκ μέσου καλούμενον,
4 σατράπας παρασίτους καὶ στρατηγούς ἐπιφανείς
ὑποκρινόμενον ἐν τοῖς βλοῖς.

The lines marked 5 and 4 stand as transposed by Dobree. Kaibel notes (1) 'ζητῶ suspectum'; (2) 'ἐκ μέσου corruptum'; (3) 'requiro etiam τὸ σεμνοπαράσιτον' (which, of course, will not scan); (4) 'σατράπας χαχρύσους Dobr(ee)'. But as to ἐκ μέσου I am not at all sure that it is corrupt. I believe it to be simply 'Get out of the way!' (i.e. the haughty nabob parasite says to others 'Get out!'). ζητῶ is doubtless corrupt, and ζηλῶ (which would suggest itself at once) is away from the mark. The probable reading,

I suggest, is *σηστῶν*, which gives the required antithesis to *μέλανες*, the two classes being compared to black bread and bread of fine flour respectively. For the rest it is clear that the copyist had (so to speak) parasites on the brain. *παράσιτοι* are so much before his mind that he not only gives *σεμνοπαράσιτον* for *σεμνοπρόσωπον* (and so makes it necessary for some later corrector to eject the article), but also gives *σατράπας παρασίτους* for *σατράπας ἀπρόσιτους* ('unapproachable'). Dobree's *ζαχρύσους* is technically too remote.

Read then:

θάτερον *σηστῶν* γένος,
τὸ σεμνοπρόσωπον, 'ἐκ μέσου' καλούμενον,
σατράπας ἀπρόσιτους καὶ στρατηγούς ἐπιφανείς
ὑποκρινόμενον κ.τ.λ.

278B (from Archestratus):

τὴν δ' ἀμίαν φθινοπώρον, ὅταν Ἰλιάς καταδύνη,
πάντα τρόπον σκεύαζε, τί σοι τάδε μυθολογεῖω;
οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴσῃ διαφθεῖρηγ', οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιθυμῇς.

The sense is manifestly 'You can't spoil it, even if you wish to.' Kaibel adopts the *οὐ γὰρ μὴ σὺ διαφθεῖρης* of Coraes. But why the emphatic *σὺ*? And why the corruption of case? More natural is *σφε*. The process of corruption would be, first *σφε* to *σε*, then an adaptation of the verb (which could no longer be second person) to *διαφθεῖρη*, and, last, the schoolboy stopgap *γ'* (which was so freely employed by inferior *διορθῶται*).

290B (the cook boasting of his skill):

οὐκ ἄλλα τὸ πέρας τῆς μαγειρικῆς, Σῦρε,
φεύρημα μόνον εἰδέναι τῶν νομιζομένων ἐμέτ'.

K. has *εὐρηκέναι πάντων νόμιζε μόνον ἐμέ*, partly from Schweighäuser, partly from Dobree. But why so far from the copy? Nearer is:

εὐρημ' ἐμόν, μόνον εἰδέναι νόμιζ' ἐμέ.

[*νομιζομένων* probably arose from the combination *νομιζεμε*, while the insertion of the article would naturally follow in an attempt to make sense.]

304B (from Hipponax):

κατέφαγε δὴ τὸν κλῆρον, ὥστε χρή σκάπτειν
πέτρας τορείας σῦκα μέτρια τρώγων
καὶ κρίθινον κόλλιχα, δούλιον χόρτον.

So K. prints, simply remarking on the second line 'corruptus et fort. mutilus.' ὥστε χρή σκάπτειν τρώγων not

being Greek, and *τορείας* having no meaning, we may emend with

ὥς τέ φρην σκάπτειν
πέτρας τ' ὁρείας.

The poor man is reduced to digging (not good productive land, but mere) *τέφρα* and mountain-side rocks. It was natural that in *ὥστε φρῆν σκάπτειν* the copyist should find ὥστε, and the Ionic form in -η added to the ease of corruption. The nominative participle is now, of course, correct.

Here, as a digression, may I draw attention to an almost universal misrendering of the passage in Aeschylus, *Agam.* 485 sqq., which is punctuated thus:

τίς ὧδε παιδὺς ἢ φρενῶν κεκοιμένος,
φλογὺς παραγγέλμασιν
νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ'
ἀλλαγὰ λόγον καμῖν;
[ἐν] γυναικὸς αἰχμᾷ πρέπει
πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.
πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὁρος ἐπινέμεται κ.τ.λ.

How can (ὥστε) *πυρωθέντα καμῖν* stand for (ὥστε) *πυρωθεῖς καμῖν*? The solecism may be removed by punctuating:

τίς ὧδε παιδὺς ἢ φρενῶν κεκοιμένος;
φλογὺς παραγγέλμασιν
νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν ἔπειτ'
ἀλλαγὰ λόγον καμῖν
[ἐν] γυναικὸς αἰχμᾷ πρέπει.
πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι
πιθανὸς ἄγαν κ.τ.λ.

316E-F (from Pherecrates):

ὑπόταν δ'
ἤδη πεινώσιν σφόδρα <. . .>
ὥσπερ τοὺς πουλύποδας
<. . .> νύκτωρ περιτρώ-
γειν αὐτῶν τοὺς δακτύλους.

Wilamowitz offers *σφόδρ' ἄγαν*. The following *ὥς*- rather suggests the loss of *πως*, i.e. *σφόδρα πως*. For the rest the lines may be made normal by reading:

ὥσπερ τοὺς πουλύποδας
δακτύλους νύκτωρ περιτρώ-
γειν αὐτοὺς τοὺς αὐτῶν.

320A (from Archestratus):

σκάρον ἐξ' Ἐφέσου ζῆτει, χεῖμῶνι δὲ τρίγλαν
ἔσθ' ἐνὶ ψαφῶν ἡλφθέντα Τειχιόσση
Μιλήτων κόμη Καρῶν πέλας ἀγκυλοκώλων.

ληφθέντα is wrong in gender as well as in metre, but simply to alter to *ληφθεῖσαν* is not to explain the corruption. Now in 325B Athenaeus says that Archestratus praises τὰς κατὰ Τειχοῦντα τῆς Μιλησίας τρίγλας. It

is therefore natural to assume that the form used by Arcestratus was *Τειχιόεις* and not *Τειχιόεσσα*. It is true that Thucydides (8. 28) has *Τειχιούσσα*, and that was probably the usual name. Hence the corruption here. If Arcestratus had written

ληφθεῖσαν *Τειχιόεντι*,
Μιλήτου κώμη,

it is easy to understand how (especially through some fancied agreement with *κώμη*) there might be substituted

ληφθεῖσαν *Τειχιόεσση*.

A διορθωτής intended to correct the latter word by means of an adscript *-εντι*, but this was misinterpreted as an *-έντα* correcting *ληφθεῖσαν*. Any-one with an ear will prefer *Τειχιόεντι* in a line already sigmatic enough.

321C: After speaking of the related, but distinct, fish called *σαργοί*, *χαλκίδες*, and *σαργίνοι*, the text has:

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Δωρίων ἐν τῷ περὶ ἰχθύων φησί,
σαργίνους διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς καλῶν καὶ χαλκίδας.

This is obviously meaningless, and *διὰ τοῦτ'* has nothing whatever to which we can refer it. The most appropriate sense is that Dorion is 'peculiar' in identifying *σαργίνοι* with *χαλκίδες*. This meaning is given, not by *διὰ τοῦτ'*, but by *ἰδίᾳ τοὺς*, i.e. *σαργίνους ἰδίᾳ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καλῶν καὶ χαλκίδας*.

337E-F: Cleitarchus relates that the Thebans kept a poor and mean table *παρασκευάζοντες ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις θρία καὶ ἐψητοὺς καὶ ἀφύας καὶ ἐγκρασιχόλους καὶ ἄλλαντας καὶ σχελίδας καὶ ἔτνος· οἷσι Μαρδόνιον εἰστίασε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα Περσῶν Ἀτταγίνος ὁ Φρύωνος, ὃν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ μεγάλως πλούτῳ παρεσκευάσθαι· ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περιεγέγοντο οὐδ' ἂν ἐδέξαστο τοῖς Ἕλλησι περὶ Πλαταιᾶς παρατάττεσθαι ἀπολωλόσιν ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τροφῶν.*

What sense is this supposed to possess? How could Attaginus feast Mardonius 'richly' with such things? No irony is intended, for the meal actually was a sumptuous one. In any case, what has the circumstance to do with the next sentence? Kaibel adopts *ἡγοῦμαι <δ'> ὅτι* from Musurus, and

his notes are (1) '*πλούτῳ* del. Meineke ex Herod.,' (2) '*fort. παρασκευάσασθαι*.' He says nothing of the strange form *οἷσι* for *οἷς*, and offers no explanation of the appearance of *πλούτῳ*. The sense required is not *οἷσι* . . . *εἰστίασε*, but *οἷς εἰ* . . . *εἰστίασε*. It then appears that *ἡγοῦμαι* begins the apodosis, while the *δ'* of Musurus ruins the meaning. The change of *οἷς εἰ* for *οἷσι* is palaeographically no change at all. For *μεγάλως πλούτῳ* an obvious emendation is *μεγαλοπλούτως*. The only serious corruption, but one of a common type, has been the alteration of an original *ἀπολωλότας* to *ἀπολωλόσιν* to suit *τοῖς Ἕλλησι* through a misconception.

Read: *οἷς εἰ Μαρδόνιον εἰστίασε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πεντήκοντα Περσῶν Ἀτταγίνος ὁ Φρύωνος, ὃν φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ μεγάλως πλούτως παρεσκευάσθαι, ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι οὐκ ἂν περιεγέγοντο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐδέξαστο τοῖς Ἕλλησι παρατάττεσθαι ἀπολωλότας ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων τροφῶν: i.e.* "If Attaginus had feasted Mardonius and his fifty Persians with these things, I believe they would not have survived, and there would have been no occasion for them to meet the Greeks in battle, for they would already have met their death from eating such food."

463E (from Alexis):

'We are, as it were, let out on a holiday from 'death into the upper air'

ὅς δ' ἂν πλείστα γέλῃσθαι καὶ πῆναι καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀντιλάβηται τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὃν ἀφίεται καὶ τύχη †τ' ἐράνου τινός, πανηγυρίσας ἥδιστ' ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε.

Read *τερπνοῦ* for *τ' ἐράνου*.

478D (from Aristophanes):

ἄλλαι ὑποπροσβύτερα γράες θασίον μέλανος μεστόν κεραμενομέναις κοτύλαις μεγάλας ἔγχεον ἐς σφέτερον δέμας οὐδὲν ἄκοσμον ἔρωτι βιαζόμεναι μέλανος οἶνον ἀκράτου.

It is impossible to make any metre of this as it stands, and K. rightly remarks '*corrupti et mutili*.' Madvig naturally ejected *γράες*, and Toup's *οὐδένα κόσμον* is clearly right. K. himself suggests . . . *μέλανος <φρένας>* . . . in the third line.

If we keep γράες, but alter its position, transpose κοτύλαις in the form κοτύλαισι, and read ἔβρεχον for ἔγχεον, we obtain good anapaestic lines with

ἀλλ' αἷ <θ'> ὑποπρεσβύτεραι Θασίου μέλανος μεστὸν
κοτύλαισι
κεραμευομέναις μεγάλαις ἔβρεχον σφέτερον δέμας
οὐδ' ἐνά κ' ὁσμὸν
<χαί> γράες ἔρωτι βιαζόμεναι μέλανος <φρένας>
οἴνου ἀκράτου.

For ἔβρεχον cf. 47D. The sense of κεραμευομέναις μεγάλαις is that they were 'manufactured of great size' expressly.

608D:

ἐπικατάφορος δὲ ὢν ὁ ποιητής, οὗτος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ
ἀνθη ἐν Ἀλφειβοίᾳ φησίν. . . .

As everyone has seen, the context makes καὶ impossible. The easiest remedy is κάρτα (which is frequent in Athenaeus, though several times disguised by the copyists). The sentence should run:

ἐπικατάφορος δὲ ὢν ὁ ποιητής οὗτος κάρτα ἐπὶ
τὰ ἀνθη κ.τ.λ.

So 80D: Ἡγησιάνακτα . . . κατ' ἀρχὰς ὄντα πέννητα καὶ τραγωδὸν φησι γενέσθαι ὑποκριτικὸν καὶ εὐχχον. Read ὄντ' ἀπηνῆ κάρτα τραγωδὸν . . . And 188D: παρὰ δ' Ὀμήρῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Μενελάου συμποσίῳ προβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις ὥσπερ ἐν διατριβῇ ζητήματα, καὶ πολιτικῶς ὁμιλοῦντες τέρπουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἡμᾶς.

In point of fact, and in connection with the argument, this statement is 'clean cam.' The whole point is that Homer behaves in a manner quite unlike that of the deipnosophist Ulpian. He does *not*, like such persons, προβάλλειν ζητήματα as if at a lecture. On the contrary, his diners ὁμιλοῦσι πολιτικῶς (i.e. in a human and practical way). In 190A it is said of such a conversation in Homer οὐ γὰρ ὡς πρόβλημα προτείνει, ἀλλ' ἐπιχαρίτως παρείρας κ.τ.λ. In 186D-E Homer is the poet who teaches us to be seasonable, whereas Epicurus knows neither place nor time, so that we are led μαντεύσασθαι πῶς ποτ' ἄνθρωπος ἐξαπίνης ἔχων κύλικα προβάλλει ζητήματα καθάπερ ἐν διατριβῇ λέγων. Here therefore read: παρὰ δ' Ὀμήρῳ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Μενελάου συμποσίῳ <οὐ> προβάλλουσιν

ἀλλήλοις ὥσπερ ἐν διατριβῇ ζητήματα,
<ἀλλὰ> κάρτα πολιτικῶς κ.τ.λ.

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B. HORACE.

Epod. 5. 87 f.:

venena magnum fas nefasque non valent
convertere humanam vicem.

THERE is little need to discuss the renderings hitherto attempted. Nothing could be more awkward than Orelli's 'magnum fas nefasque humanam vicem non valent convertere venena, i.e. leges divinae, quibus distinguitur fas et nefas, more modoque hominum non valent convertere (in contrariam, i.e. meliorem, partem flectere ac lenire) venena.' On the other hand, to take *convertere* zeugmatically, with the tortuous construction *venena magnum fas nefasque* (valent evertere, sed) non valent convertere humanam vicem (= 'retribution') is not only to deal with Latin as Latin should not be dealt with, but also to ignore the point of *magnum* and produce a dangerously false statement.

Why should not *humanam vicem* mean 'for the sake of mankind' (= 'to please human beings')? The sense 'Potions have no power to change the mighty law of right and wrong (and its consequences) merely to suit human beings' gives full force to *magnum* and is entirely opposite to the context.

In *Epod.* 17. 42 we have *infamis Helenae Castor offensus vicem* (al. *vice*), where Orelli quotes Cic. *ad Fam.* 1. 9. 2 *nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese*. The dictionaries supply other instances. Doubtless *hominum vicem* would be more usual, but Horace would rather avoid than choose it on that account.

Sat. 1. 3. 117 ff.

I suggest that the difficulties in this well-known passage are removed if we punctuate thus—

adsit
regula, peccatis quae poenas irroget aequas,
ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello
(nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
verbera non vereor), cum dicas esse pares res
furta latrocinii, etc.

i.e. 'for fear you should apply the knout where only the tawse is deserved,

since you call all offences equally great.' *Aequas* of course = 'fair' not 'equal.' The parenthetic words should then be taken with the ordinary sense of *vereor ut*, viz. 'for, as for your not going so far as to use the cane on one who deserves a more severe castigation, I have no fear of *that*.' The argument is 'Let us have a rule to make the punishment fit the crime, for fear you should use the knout where the strap is sufficient (for it is on the side of severity that you are likely to err; I am not afraid of your doing so on the side of leniency). You will naturally take that more severe course when you say that petty theft is as bad as highway robbery.'

Sat. I. 6. 110 f.

hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator, milibus atque aliis vivo.

Orelli remarks 'sane contra usum volgarem dixit *milibus aliis* pro *mille aliis*; nam *milia alia* proprie est *andre Tausende*,' not '*tausend andre*.' As it is 'contra usum,' not only 'volgarem' but any other (so far as we know), it would have been well to refrain from his rendering 'in sexcentis aliis rebus' or the alternative 'commodius quam tu et mille alii.' Professor Postgate's *milibus et quantis* is less attractive, whether technically or in sense, than most of his conjectures. I would suggest simply the alternative of *milibus* to *vilibus*, i.e. *hoc atque aliis vilibus* ('cheap things') 'commodius vivo quam tu.' Some of these '*alia vilia*' he proceeds to enumerate. [In passing it may be remarked that *praeclare senator* does not refer to Tillius, but apostrophises grandees in general.]

Od. 3. 23. 17 ff.

immunis aram si tetigit manus,
non sumptuosa blandior hostia
mollivit aversos Penates
farre pio et saliente mica.

The usual rendering, viz. 'mollivit aversos Penates farre pio et saliente mica, non blandior (futura) sumptuosa hostia (=per sumptuosam hostiam),' strikes me as needlessly harsh. Why

should not *farre pio* be simply the ablative of comparison after *blandior*? Such a hand is not, with a costly victim, more ingratiating than simple barley-meal and salt (=οὐ πολυτελεῖ ἱερείῳ ἐπαγωγότερα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπράυνεν ἢ ὅλοι καὶ ἄλεις).

C. PLAUTUS, *PSEUDOLUS*.

Lorenz 402 (R. 422):

SIMO. Sed dissimulabam.

PSEUD. iam illi filius <-ο υ> :
Occisast haec res, haeret hoc
negotium.

Besides the Greek expressions actually preserved in the play there were others which, as transliterated, puzzled the copyist. The missing word here is *οἴχεται*, which was easily lost before *occisast*.

Lorenz 423 (R. 443):

ὦ Ζεῦ, quam pauci testis homines commodi.

I suggest 'quam pauci *es testis* homines commodi' (i.e. 'es testis quam pauci sint').

Lorenz 519 (R. 541):

quis me audacior
sit, si istuc facinus audeam? timmo sic,
Simo:
si sumus compecti seu consilium umquam
iniimus . . .
stilis me totum usque ulmeis conscribito.

Whereupon Simo is persuaded. But what is there here to persuade him? Lorenz reads *immo sic face*, admitting it to be a stopgap and achieving nothing for the sense. I believe that Pseudolus takes an oath, viz.:

ἵστω Ζεύς, Simo.

It should be observed that one MS. has the spurious words *de istac re* after the next line. This may, of course, be a filling in of the sense, but I suspect that it is a marginal attempt to read *ἵστω Ζεύς* as Latin.

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WHEN DID AGRICOLA BECOME GOVERNOR OF BRITAIN?

THE preparation of a new edition of Furneaux' *Agricola* of Tacitus (which fell to me on the death of Professor Haverfield, who had undertaken the task in the last years of his life and made some progress with it) has necessarily involved a careful reconsideration of many problems, both linguistic and historical. One of them concerns the date at which Agricola took up his command in Britain. Some observations on this matter were published sixteen years ago in the pages of this journal by Professor McElderry, who favoured the date A.D. 77 rather than the more generally accepted 78 (Vol. XVIII. p. 459 f.). If nothing of any moment depended on the exact date, the question would hardly be worth a fresh discussion outside the pages of an appendix; but in reality it has a wider bearing than would appear at first sight, and the arguments by which a conclusion may be reached have themselves some historical importance. Anything touching the career of Agricola in Britain still has, presumably, a special interest for English readers, and it is the hope of eliciting some helpful criticism from them, or from others, that has suggested the publication of this article.

The date when Agricola took over the governorship of Britain is the only important one in his whole public career about which there is now any real uncertainty. The office followed his tenure of the consulship, which (as everybody agrees) fell in A.D. 77. He was not ordinary consul but consul *suffectus*. The ordinary consuls were Vespasian and Titus, the latter retiring on January 12 in favour of his brother Domitian. Agricola was certainly not a colleague of Vespasian or Domitian, for Tacitus could not have passed over such a fact in silence. We do not know when he entered on office nor (with certainty) for how many months he held it.

About his consulship there was nothing notable to record, and Tacitus tells us nothing except that 'consul . . . filiam mihi iuveni despondit ac post

consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiuncto pontificatus sacerdotio.' The question arises: Did Agricola take up his British command in the year of his consulship or in the following year, A.D. 78? Urlichs, who worked out (and in general correctly) the chronology of Agricola's life, decided for 78, and he has been followed by most scholars. He explained *statim* as meaning, not *statim post consulatum*, but *statim post nuptias*. Later Asbach proposed 77, and this date has been adopted by some scholars, notably Gsell (*Domitien*, p. 165, n. 2) and more recently Dessau (*Hermes*, 1911, p. 159, n. 5; with only a reference to Nipperdey, *Opuscula*, 1877, p. 524) and Gaheis (Pauly-Wissowa, X. [1917], 129). In favour of this view it is urged that (1) *statim*, which is interpreted 'immediately after his consulship,' (2) *media iam aestate transgressus* of ch. 18, implying that the assumption of office was later than usual, and (3) the *nuper* of ch. 39, referring to Domitian's triumph after the Chattan war of A.D. 83, and more naturally used of the year 84 than of 85—all point to the year 77 rather than 78. It is supposed that the consulship was held in April, May, and June, or in May and June; that is why Agricola was rather late in reaching Britain. There are other arguments, but these may be considered first.

(1) It can hardly be doubted that a strict linguistic interpretation requires *statim* to be taken as 'immediately after giving his daughter in marriage,' not as 'immediately after his consulship.' Even if Tacitus really intended the latter, *statim* might well mean no more than that Agricola passed on to his governorship without an interval of waiting.

(2) *Media iam aestas*, i.e. some time in July, does certainly seem a somewhat late date for his entry upon office, but we do not know all the circumstances. In the case of proconsular governors the beginning of July (approximately) was the normal time, at least when the province was a distant one. (Mommson indeed concluded that July 1 was fixed

as the normal date, but the evidence is that Claudius' ordinance of A.D. 43 required governors to leave Rome before April 13. *Staatsr.* II. 256). But the advocates of 77 are involved in this difficulty. The phrase *media iam aestate transgressus* (i.e. in Britanniam, supplied from the preceding words) refers to the time of Agricola's arrival in Britain,¹ not to the time of his departure from Rome (as Peter and Gudeman wrongly explain).² Even if he had left Rome on the very first day after the supposed expiry of his consulship, i.e. July 1, he would not reach the British coast before August, when *media aestas* would not be applicable. About forty days must be allowed for his journey to the coast: compare the data for the time taken by express messengers from Britain to Rome (travelling part of the way, from Marseilles, by sea) in Riepl, *Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums*, p. 204 f. On the other hand, if he crossed the Channel late in July, it is quite intelligible that by the time he had reached headquarters, taken over the command, and made his plans, the summer was over (*transvecta*, c. 18, 3): it was already September or nearly September.³

(3) *Nuper*, as Furneaux pointed out, is used in c. 32, 4 of an event which happened a year ago. Nor is it certain that Domitian's triumph took place in A.D. 83: the title 'Germanicus' dates from 84. Further, the political results of Domitian's success appear in 84 and 85, and the legend 'Germania capta' or 'de Ger(manis)' on numerous coins of 85, and 85 alone, either indicates the continuance of military operations or marks the completion of the *limes* works and the conclusion of the treaty with the Chatti, *victis parcentia foedera Chattis* (Stat. III. 3, 168). In any case it is clear that Domitian's hated triumph was very much in men's minds in 85.

¹ Cp. Gerber-Greef, *Lexicon*, s.v., and ch. 15 *transisse*.

² In order to account for *quamquam transvecta aestas*, ch. 18, 3.

³ Nipperdey supposed Agricola to have 'succeeded Frontinus in Britain in July of 77,' but gave no explanation of *transvecta aestas*, nor did he state precisely when he supposed him to have held the consulship.

Next, as regards the consulship, which is supposed to have been over by the end of June. The idea of a three months' consulship beginning in April may be summarily dismissed. Such tenure occurs exceptionally in A.D. 101, but, as Mommsen long ago pointed out, 'il faut absolument écarter les consulats de trois mois que Borghesi avait admis comme phase transitoire' (*Ges. Schr.* IV, p. 426: cp. *Staatsr.* II. 86, n. 4). Nor can two-monthly consulships be proved during Vespasian's reign except for the year 71, and it would be very rash to take that year's practice as normal. It was Vespasian's first full year in Rome, when new (and not necessarily lasting) experiments might naturally be expected. After 71 the ordinary consulships appear to have been four-monthly (till the end of April) and, so far as the evidence goes, the supplementary consulships also were most probably held for four months. But if so, the theory that Agricola's governorship began in 77 falls absolutely to the ground. And even if a two-monthly term could be proved to have been common in Vespasian's reign, there is not a jot or tittle of evidence to show that Agricola did not enter on office in September or November.⁴ It is plain that in the minds of some, if not all, of the advocates of the earlier date (77) there is a dominating impression, derived from the skilful eulogy of Tacitus, that Agricola was a man of first-class importance who had been selected as governor of Britain even before his designation to the consulship, and that the necessity of holding that magistracy was the only obstacle to his immediate entry on office. For such a view there is no real foundation, though a misunderstanding of ch. 9, §§ 1 and 6, may seem to afford it. Agricola was not an exceptional, but rather a typical figure: an honest and gifted organiser and administrator, like many men in that

⁴ Nipperdey apparently thought that, even if he had been consul at the end of 77, it would have been quite natural that he should travel at once to Britain. No governor-elect would be expected to set out in winter unless there were a very grave emergency.

age, and a good engineer, but not a military genius. He was certain of promotion, but not of any exceptional promotion, and there was nothing in the situation of affairs in Britain at the time to demand a hasty transference of the higher command.

Now let us examine the remaining arguments. One advanced by Gsell carries no weight and was rightly rejected by Professor McElderry. Xiphilinus, in his confused epitome of Dio 66, 20, makes the doubtless true statement that Titus' fifteenth salutation as 'imperator' (assumed at the end of A.D. 79) was the result of a success of Agricola. Gsell infers that this must have been in the third campaign (ch. 22), since the second does not appear to have resulted in any considerable success. No reader of Tacitus would draw such a distinction, unless perhaps he had convinced himself of the truth of the wholly impossible supposition that Tanaus means the Firth of Tay. And, as fate will have it, the latest supporter of Gsell's date, Gaheis, makes this second campaign the occasion of Vespasian's twentieth acclamation. Truly, arguments based merely on imperial salutations are built on insecure and shifting foundations.

Of this character is the final argument for the earlier date. It is adduced by Gaheis (*l.c.*). Weynand had noted, as an argument against 77 and in favour of 78, that there is no new acclamation in 77, though one would be expected as the result of Agricola's first campaign, in which North Wales and Anglesey were conquered (Pauly VI. 2672); and he suggested that Vespasian's twentieth salutation (first mentioned in the first half of 79, but perhaps dating back to the end of 78 or the beginning of 79) was due to Agricola's success in this campaign, which on this ground (among others) he would place in 78. Gaheis tries to turn the argument against him. No one, he says, has hitherto taken account of the decisive statement of Tacitus, *ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est*, a phrase which, indeed, he goes on to interpret in the sense that Agricola sent no report at all. The Emperor, therefore, could not have made an addition to his imperial acclamations on

the ground of this success, and so the absence of any salutation agrees perfectly with the account of Tacitus, and 77 is to be fixed as Agricola's first year. From this it would seem to be a fair inference that, if the emperor's *legati* had only been modest enough, like Agricola, or malicious enough not to affix laurels to their despatches, they might have prevented their chief from ever assuming the *nomen imperatorium* to which their victories entitled him. But in fact Tacitus adds *ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit*; and Gaheis' conclusion lands him in difficulties about the sixteenth and seventeenth salutations of Titus, which he has to assign to Agricola's fourth year, during which the ground overrun in the previous year was secured, and the Forth-Clyde isthmus fortified, but, if we may judge from Tacitus' narrative, no important fighting took place.

Against the earlier date there are two further weighty arguments. (1) The first was briefly noted by Furneaux and concerns the 'cohors Usiporum,' whose adventures are recorded in ch. 28 and are placed by the advocates of the 77 date in A.D. 82. As Mommsen pointed out, this cohort of unwilling and untrained recruits was almost certainly enrolled as a result of Domitian's Chattan war of A.D. 83. At this time the Usipi were settled between the Sieg and the Lahn on the south of the Tencteri, whose movements they had shared and who now occupied the country opposite Cologne between the Sieg and the Ruhr on the south of the Bructeri.¹ Their ancient home between the Yssel and the Lippe had been evacuated, apparently in consequence of the campaigns of Germanicus, and since then it had formed part of the unpopulated military zone on the right bank of the lower Rhine, the *agri vacui et militum usui sepositi* which 'had formerly belonged to the Usipi' (*Ann.* 13. 54-55). No Usipi are ever afterwards heard of in these parts, and so the suggestion (*Class. Rev.* XVIII. 460) that the Usipi from whom the cohort

¹ Cp. Tac. *Germ.* 32, *Hist.* 4. 37 (with Heraeus' notes), Mommsen, *Prov.* 1. p. 123. For the Tencteri, *Hist.* 4. 64.

was enlisted may have been annexed by Rutilius Gallicus during his war against the Bructeri (now datable to 78) is untenable. On the other hand, the Usipi are mentioned in *Hist.* 4. 37 as allies of the Mattiaci (round Wiesbaden) and the Chatti (in Hessen) in attacking Mainz in A.D. 69; and part of their territory lay within Domitian's *limes*. Domitian's attack was launched suddenly (*Front.* I. 1, 8, *Suet.* 6) and swiftly early in A.D. 83, and the Usipi were doubtless at once enlisted forcibly and deported in accordance with the usual Roman method of accelerating the pacification of troublesome tribes. There was ample time for them to be dispatched to Britain and to escape before the winter. If the conquest of the Usipi had no connexion with this war, it would indeed be strange that a *cohors Usiporum* should appear at this particular moment and never before nor after, and that Martial in a poem published in 90 should single out the Usipi from among anti-Roman tribes, as he does when he makes Faustinus say (VI. 60, 3):

*sic leve flavorum valeat genus Usiporum
quisquis et Ausonium non amat imperium.*

(2) In Agricola's sixth campaign (A.D. 82, if we start from 77) the Ninth legion is mentioned as being *maxime invalida*. Urlichs' suggestion that its special weakness was due to its having sent a draft to Germany for the war of 83 (as it is shown by *CIL.* xiv. 3612 to have done) has been generally accepted even by those who maintain the 77 date, except apparently Gsell, whose explanation that the legion may have had to leave a large part of its strength at York to keep an eye on the Brigantes will convince nobody. Gaheis explains

that its weakness was probably due chiefly to the losses which the campaign generally had cost (a cryptic remark which is not illuminated by an irrelevant reference to ch. 22), but he admits that the withdrawal of a detachment 'for the threatening Chatten war may have contributed to the further weakening of the legion.'¹ Urlichs' suggestion has been confirmed and amplified by an inscription found at Baalbek in 1903, which shows that all four British legions sent detachments, but that the detachment sent by the Ninth was specially large (Dessau 9200; see Ritterling, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* vii. Beiblatt, 23 ff.). It is plain that Domitian made comprehensive preparations for his Chatten war: he brought up also the twenty-first legion from Lower Germany to reinforce the four legions of Upper Germany and employed a large number of auxiliary regiments. But the fact that on September 19, A.D. 82, he disbanded a considerable number of auxiliaries serving in Upper Germany is a fairly sure indication that the war was not then in contemplation (Dessau 1995; cp. Weynand, *l.c.* 2556); and it appears wholly impossible that detachments from the four British legions should have been drafted off for this war either before or during the campaigning season of A.D. 82.

The evidence as a whole, therefore, appears to be overwhelmingly in favour of the older view that Agricola's governorship of Britain began in July, A.D. 78.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

¹ His further statement about the simultaneous withdrawal of the Legio II. Adiutrix is erroneous.

DE NIHILO.

IN *C.R.* XXXIV pp. 56-9 I investigated the prosody of *nihil* in Ovid and determined to some extent his principle of choice between *nihil* and *nil*. I showed that in the latter half of the first foot of the verse this word, *n(ih)il*,

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is always¹ followed by a vowel; I said that Ovid's only imaginable motive for maintaining this restriction was to pro-

¹ Except in one verse where the sense is faulty, and to correct the sense removes the consonant.

cure a dactyl; and I concluded that in this place he always wrote *nihil*, though in 3 out of 21 examples the MSS give *nil*. I further showed that in the latter half of the second and third and fourth foot of the hexameter the word is sometimes followed by a consonant, so that in these three feet the case stands otherwise than in the first.

This was the best I could do without the guidance of Dr Postgate, which he has now vouchsafed me in *Hermathena* XLII pp. 54 sq. After reminding a forgetful world that in 1892 he quoted against Lachmann the same two instances of *nihil* which Lucian Mueller had quoted in 1861, he attempts to give the Irish an account of my investigations, but does not succeed. My observation about the invariably following vowel he omits altogether, not having grasped its significance; and he describes me as holding the opinion that to procure a dactyl instead of a spondee for the first foot was Ovid's motive for reading *nihil* with Heinsius in *met.* XIII 266, *fast.* I 445, and *Ib.* 284. This of course is not what he was trying to say, but the pen is mightier than the wrist. The statement to which in his following remarks he takes exception appears to be the statement which I really made but which he has not communicated to his readers—that Ovid's only imaginable motive for making a vowel follow the first foot in all the 21 verses which I cited was to procure for that foot a dactyl instead of a spondee. Dr Postgate observes that I adduced not only 18 instances where *nihil* precedes a vowel in the latter half of the first foot, but also 30 where it does so in the latter half of the second or third or fourth, and he proceeds

By needlessly restricting his imagination Mr Housman has failed to perceive the connexion between his two series of instances, and to divine the significance of the poet's behaviour, who was not pursuing a dactyl, but avoiding *nil*.

My imagination, I must confess, is restricted by my knowledge of facts. Ovid did not avoid *nil*: he admitted it everywhere in the first four feet except, as I have established, in the latter half of the first: in the latter half of the third foot he admitted it at least 5 times,

amor. II 1 19, *met.* VIII 440, IX 626, *fast.* III 623, *ex Pont.* III 6 9. Dr Postgate goes on to explain the connexion, which I have failed to perceive and he has succeeded in perceiving, between the 18 instances of *nihil* in the first foot and the 30 instances elsewhere. Instead of attending to the difference between Ovid's employment of *n(ih)il* in the first foot and his employment of it in the second and third and fourth—the circumstance that only in the first foot does he always contrive to let a vowel follow—I ought to have ignored it, and treated all four feet alike. I ought to have imagined, although the propensity of scribes to write *nihil* for *nil* is notorious,¹ that the spelling of the MSS is a guide in the 48 places where they give *nihil* as the latter half of the first or second or third or fourth foot; and for expelling *nil* from *met.* XIII 266 and *fast.* I 445 and *Ib.* 284 I ought to have relied not, as I did, on reasoning, but on the imposing size of this rickety regiment, as if 48 precarious examples were less precarious than one. But suppose that they were so, what then? why should the three examples of *nil* be altered? Because Dr Postgate tacitly assumes the very thing which he is trying to prove, that Ovid did not use both *nil* and *nihil* under the circumstances in question, as modern editors hold that he did.

These methods enable him to formulate the following 'Ovidian rule' in italics: '*nil may be used in the "rise" of a foot before both vowels and consonants, but in the "fall" before consonants only.*' Has Dr Postgate any news from the sick bed of our beloved sovereign Queen Anne? This opinion, as I mentioned in my paper, was apparently held by Seruius in the 4th century and certainly by Heinsius in the 17th; it was held by Ovid's editors in general down to the time of Merkel, and I was taught it at school. It may be true, but it may be

¹ 'The preponderance of *nihil* in our MSS (of Phaedrus) does not really need explanation when we consider that it has ousted *nil* almost entirely from the MSS of Lucretius' says Dr Postgate on p. 58, when he has left Ovid a safe distance behind him. In Phaedrus he twelve times alters *nihil* to *nil*, in Lucretius everyone alters it scores of times.

false: it is a mere opinion, like the contrary opinion of Lucian Mueller *de r. m.* p. 296 ed. 2, 'usque ad Augusti finem potiores fuisse existimo formas breuiores (*nil, nilum* etc.) easque restituendas ubiuis, quando metro id permittitur'; and Dr Postgate supports it by no stronger argument than announcing that he holds it. What I did was to remove from the domain of opinion the question between *nil* and *nihil* in the fall of the first foot. It is now ascertained that in this place Ovid used only *nihil*, which gave him what he liked in the first foot, a dactyl. Beyond the first foot certainty does not extend. That in the third foot, where dactyls are much less common than spondees and where *nil* in the fall is 5 times followed by a consonant, Ovid always used *nihil* instead if the following letter was a vowel, is neither ascertained nor intrinsically probable; though the preponderance (about 4 to 1) of following vowels over following consonants lends countenance to the opinion.¹

¹ In a footnote on p. 54 Dr Postgate takes occasion to say that in the *Classical Quarterly* for 1916, pp. 143 sq., I handled *ex Pont.* II 5 11 sq. with odd negligence or perversity. This means that I had the misfortune to tread on one of Dr Postgate's chickens. In the couplet

optastique breuem salui mihi Caesaris iram,
quod tamen optari si sciat ipse sinat,

I upheld the MS text against a troop of conjectures, one of which, alack, was *breui solui*. Parental affection is strong in Dr Postgate, and danger to his offspring has a tendency to discompose his thoughts. Here, by way of defending his conjecture from the charge of treasonable ambiguity which I brought against all the conjectures, he goes about to show, citing *met.* IX 273 sq., that it admits an innocent interpretation, as if that were in dispute. The task of a defender is to show that it does not admit a sinister interpretation; but this he is not calm enough to see. He even argues against himself: 'one might suppose from this'—my charge of dangerous ambiguity—'that no pentameter followed the hexameter, or that this too contained a dangerous ambiguity, as Caesar *might* approve of a prayer for his own demise.' In other and plainer words, Ovid's pentameter implies that Ovid's hexameter was innocent. Which hexameter then is the more likely to be Ovid's: that of the MSS, which is innocent, or that of Dr Postgate, which, as he does not and cannot deny, is ambiguous? When, in this troubled atmosphere, he calls my handling of the passage perverse or negligent, I am not very much

Dr Postgate's willingness to teach is great and obvious, yet I do not find him very instructive. An air of ripe and penetrating judgment is never absent from anything that he writes, but I sometimes miss the substance, and I cannot reconcile the strength of his anxiety to seem superior with the faintness of his endeavour to be so.

On pp. 56 sq. Dr Postgate proceeds to Juvenal, of whom I also spoke in *C.R.* XXXIV pp. 58 sq., and whom I have edited. Juvenal's MSS, or the best part of them, give *nihil* as the latter half of a foot with a vowel following in 15 verses. But in two verses where a vowel followed I found them favouring *nil*:

VI 58

quis tamen adfirmat *nil* actum in montibus
aut in (*nil* PFOU, *nihil* AGLT),

XV 88

sustinuit, *nil* umquam hac carne libentius
edit (*nil* PAFOT, *nihil* GLU);

and at VI 58 I wrote '*nihil* AGLT ut solet Iuuenalis in altero semipede ante uocalem; hic tamen et XV 88 Pithoceanus sequendus uidetur propter numeros, VII 54 non item.' Dr Postgate says on p. 57 'I cannot divine what are the "numeri" supporting *nil* to the overthrow of those conceded to support *nihil* "ut solet," etc.' I gather that because he cannot divine it he thinks that I was contradicting myself; and as I am sure that this suspicion cannot be agreeable to him I will try to dispel it.

These were the only two verses in Juvenal where *nil*, under the conditions described, was better² supported by the MSS than *nihil*, and in both verses the rhythm of *nihil* struck me as unfamiliar and unwelcome. I have little faith in MSS and still less in my own ear, but as they here gave the same counsel I thought there might be something in it; I made investigation, and there was.

In those verses of Juvenal which have

upset: I suppose it was less confused than could have been wished.

² Since Paris. 8072 (II or B) is now found to give *nihil* in VI 58, the support for *nil* in that verse is no longer better, but only equally good.

the normal caesura, and in which the fourth foot is a spondee consisting of a single word, the latter half of the third foot is often a monosyllable, seldom a word of pyrrhic scansion. Of the monosyllable there are 11 examples in *sat.* I alone, of the pyrrhic word there are only 12 in all Juvenal: III 134 *super illam*, 202 *ubi reddunt*, IV 60 *ubi quamquam*, VII 195 *modo primos*, VIII 47 *tamen ima*, X 154 *tamen ultra*, 155 *nisi Poeno*, 194 *ubi pandit*, 323 *habet illic*, XIII 150 *minor extat*, 216 *uelut acri*, XIV 22 *duo propter*. And 10 of the 12 are due to what may be called compulsion, for the rhythm could not be avoided by a different arrangement of the words. The two exceptions are X 155 and XIV 22, where he might have written *Poeni nisi milite* and *propter duo linteae*. Wherever else he can avoid the rhythm, he does, as in XI 122 *latos nisi sustinet*.

When the spondee of the fourth foot is composed of an elided disyllable followed by a monosyllable, there is a similar preference for a monosyllable over a pyrrhic word in the third foot—for the rhythm *nil actum in* over *nihil*

actum in. The monosyllables are to the pyrrhics as 7 to 1: monosyllables III 30 *qui nigrum in*, 83, 148, 210, 216, 311, IV 14, 47, 84, VI 178, VIII 128, IX 81, X 356, XI 29, XII 60, XIII 51, XV 42, 43, 78, 166, XVI 53; pyrrhics X 112 *sine caede ac*, XI 146, XIII 221.

So much then for *nil* rather than *nihil* in the third foot of VI 58: now for the second foot of XV 88. In verses where the caesura in the third foot is procured by eliding a disyllable, and the latter half of the second foot consists of a single word, that word is a monosyllable on 10 occasions, IV 35 *res uer(a)*, 102, VI 277, 281, VII 5, 95, X 77, 284, XIII 217, XIV 206, a pyrrhic only on 3, VI 390 *stetit ant(e)*, 596, XII 24: the monosyllables therefore are more than 3 to 1. In verses where the caesura is not procured by elision the proportion of monosyllables to pyrrhics is only 3 to 2. The elision therefore made a difference, and *nil unqu(am)* is preferable to *nihil unqu(am)* in XV 88.

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NOTES

APPIAN, CIVIL WARS,

I. CH. 14.

ὁ δὲ (Ἰράκχος) . . . συνεκάλει τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν, ἀσχολουμένων δ' ἐκείνων ὡς ἐν θέρει . . . ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ ἀστει δῆμον κατέφευγε.

THIS passage, relating to the tribunician elections of 133 B.C. in which Tiberius Gracchus lost his life, raises a difficulty. Who were οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν?

Evidently not the general body of landholders on the *ager Romanus*.¹ These had been in possession of their land before Tiberius' land act had ever been heard of, and as this act concerned

none but landless men,² they derived no benefit from it. Tiberius had no claim on their support, and it is incredible that he should have expected them to throw up their work during the busy season in order to support him at the hustings.

Tiberius' appeal can only have been addressed to those who had been benefited, or expected to benefit, under his land act. But in the summer of

¹ So apparently Greenidge (*History of Rome*, p. 136), who describes τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν simply as 'farmers,' and Ihne (*History of Rome*, English translation, IV. p. 404), who calls them 'peasants.'

² This is evident from the provisions of Tiberius' law, and especially from the language which he held during his propaganda: 'τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας μαχομένοις καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἀερὸς καὶ φῶτος, ἅλλον δὲ οὐδένας, μέτεστιν, ἀλλ' ἄοικοι καὶ ἀνίδρυτοι μετὰ τέκνων πλανῶνται καὶ γυναικῶν . . . ἀποθνήσκουσι κύριοι τῆς οἰκουμένης εἶναι λεγόμενοι, μίαν δὲ βῶλον ἰδίαν οὐκ ἔχοντες' (Plutarch, *Tib. Gracchus*, ch. ix.).

133 B.C. the great majority of these must still have been waiting for their land. No doubt Tiberius lost no time in introducing his land bill. But this measure was obstructed so persistently that eventually it had to be withdrawn and replaced by a fresh proposal. The second bill, moreover, encountered similar opposition before it could be made into law; and its execution was delayed by financial difficulties and by a never-ending series of lawsuits which finally brought the land distribution to a dead stop. Under these conditions it is most unlikely that any considerable number of Tiberius' supporters had taken up their allotments at the time of the tribunician elections.

What, then, were the landless majority of Tiberius' party doing on the countryside? The answer which I suggest is that *they had hired themselves out as wage earners* during the busy part of the agricultural season. The presence of such wage earners on Italian farms is often overlooked owing to the prevalence of slave cultivation on the larger estates. Yet the existence of servile labour enhanced rather than diminished the importance of the hired labourer as on occasional helpmeet. In order to avoid having idle capital on their hands during the slack season, the large Roman landowners naturally reduced their permanent staff to such numbers as they could keep employed all the year round. But this permanent staff would not be nearly sufficient to cope with the work of the busy season. On olive plantations the labour required at picking time was fourfold the ordinary amount.¹ Hence it was a regular custom for landlords to put out the whole of the picking on contract to an *entrepreneur* with a staff of free labourers, or even to sell off the harvest to him while it hung on the trees.² A similar practice obtained in the vineyards³ and on the hay-meadows.⁴ On corn land

the assistance of hired labour was even more essential; on some estates the entire work of the summer season was made over to a *politor* to 'polish off' on a basis of payment by shares.⁵ A supply of occasional hired labour was therefore considered indispensable to the profitable working of a large estate.⁶

It cannot be ascertained from what sources these casual labourers were usually recruited. But occasional mention is made of disbanded soldiers—the class whom Tiberius especially befriended in his land act—eking out their subsistence by harvest work.⁷ We may therefore conjecture that Tiberius' supporters, pending the receipt of an allotment of their own, went out to the countryside as wage earners during the busy season,⁸ and that this temporary engagement on the land was the reason of their leaving Tiberius in the lurch.

M. CARY.

HERO AND LEANDER.

1-6 Εἰπὲ θεά, κρυφίων ἐπιμάρτυρα λύχρον ἐρώ-
των . . . (1)
νηχόμενον τε Λεάνδρον ὁμοῦ καὶ λύχρον ἀκούω, (5)
λύχρον ἀπαγγέλλοντα διακτορὴν Ἀφροδίτης.

ἀκούω is strange: after addressing the Muse the writer would hardly say 'I hear L. swimming,' etc. Should we not read *ἀγωγιόν* = 'guiding-light'?

31-2 Κύπριδος ἦν ἱέρεια, γάμων δ' ἀδίδακτος εὐόσα
πύργον ἀπο προγόνων παρὰ γείτονι ναίε θαλάσση.

Should we not read *ἀποπρὸ γονέων*, the latter being a dissyllable?

⁵ Cato 4, § 4, ch. 136. The *politor* received one-fifth to one-ninth of the produce. On this basis of remuneration it cannot be supposed that the *politor* prepared and sowed the land. But the reaping and threshing of the corn would require a considerable expenditure of labour, for in ancient Italy this work was done with very inefficient instruments, such as hand-sickles and threshing-sledges.

⁶ Ca. 1, § 3.

⁷ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II. 1. 1.; VI. 2. 37. These instances are drawn from Greek history, but are none the less applicable to the present case.

⁸ Diodorus (Bk. 34, fr. 6.) describes Tiberius' supporters as *πληθος πρακτικώτατον τοῦ δήμου καὶ τοῖς βίοις κάρπιμον*. This would be an apt description of demobilised men who did not merely rely on state bounties, but went out in search of work.

¹ Cato, *De Re Rustica*, chs. 144-5.

² *Ibid.* ch. 146. Among these *entrepreneurs* may be reckoned the great-grandfather of the Emperor Vespasian, who used to conduct gangs of harvesters from the Umbrian mountains into the Sabine country (Suetonius, *Vespasianus*, 1. § 4).

³ *Ibid.* ch. 147.

⁴ Varro, *De Re Rustica*, I. 17. 2-3.

80-1 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ κατ' Ὀλυμπον ἐφιμείρω θεὸς εἶναι
ἡμετέρην παράκοιτιν ἔχων ἐν δώμασιν Ἥρώ.

ἐγὼ in the preceding line makes ἡμετέρην difficult enough, but the fact that these are the words of many *stranger* suitors condemns the word altogether. We may read *θηλυτέρην* (L. and S. II. 2). The similarity of H and Θ would explain the error.

245-7 Δεινὸς Ἔρως, καὶ πόντος ἀμείλιχος· ἀλλὰ θαλάσσης
ἐστὶν ὕδωρ, τὸ δ' Ἔρωτος ἐμὲ φλέγει ἐνδόμυχον
πῦρ.
Λάξεο πῦρ, κραδίη, μὴ δεῖδιθι νήχυντον ὕδωρ.

I.e. "Λξεο = 'dread the fire (of Love), not the water of the sea.'

256-7 Ἥρῳ δ', ἡλιβάτοιο φασσφόρος ὑψόθι πύργου
λευγαλέης ἀβρῆσιν ὄθεν πνεύσειεν ἀήτης
φάρει πολλάκι λύχρον ἐπέσκιεν.

I.e. ὅτ' ἐμπνεύσειεν, 'whenever it blew.'

284-5 νήχετο δ' ἀντιπύροιο πάλιν ποτὶ δῆμον Ἀβύδου
ἐννυχίων ἀκόρητος ἔτι πνείων ὑμεναίων.

I.e. ἔτ' εὐναίων ὕ.

325 (326) καὶ σθένος ἦν ἀδόνητον ἀκοιμήτων παλαμάων.

I.e. ἀνόνητον. The last twenty lines all emphasise the uselessness of human effort, and are a masterpiece.

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AENEID XI. 309.

As printed in modern editions of Virgil, ll. 305-9 run as follows:

Bellum inopportuno, cives, cum gente deorum
invictisque viris gerimus, quos nulla fatigant
proelia nec victi possunt absistere ferro.
spem si quam ascitis Aetolum habuistis in armis,
ponite. spes sibi quisque; sed haec quam
angusta videtis.

The metrical anomaly in 309 is notorious. It is quite unexampled in Virgil's authenticated poems, though it may derive some faint support from *Culex* 194, *horrida squamosi volventia terga draconis*. Dawes, when he laid down his Canon, proposed a violent alteration of text in order to remove it; and Burgess cut the knot by supposing that Virgil had stopped at *ponite*, and that the rest of the line was a spurious stop-gap. This drastic remedy was favourably regarded by Heyne, who however argued that the stop after *ponite* made the anomalous scansion

easier. In this suggestion he has been followed by other editors; it is, to my mind, simply absurd.

But the matter is further complicated by the uncertainty as to the punctuation, and the consequent meaning, of the passage. On this, Heyne's note is: *veteres grammatici, Servius, Donatus, Priscianus, Marcianus Capella distinxere ponite spes sibi quisque . . . sed melior interpunctio iam antiquitus obtinuit, nec aliter Apronianus instituit*. Servius here is a misprint for *Sergius*; otherwise the note, though incomplete, appears to be correct. The full references will be found in Ribbeck *ad l.* That the *melior interpunctio* (if it be in fact such) was the tradition of the early commentators, is clear from the Servian note '*spes sibi quisque subaudis sit*,' as well as from the further note in Serv. Dan., '*ponite deponite*.' Those who put the stop at the end of l. 308 must have attached 308 to 305-7, with only a comma at the end of 307; and there could be no objection to that on the ground of sense, or of grammar, or of rhythm.

It might further be argued that *spem ponite* would, according to common Latin and common Virgilian usage, naturally mean 'place your hope' not 'lay aside your hope,' as in the familiar *spem ponis in armis*, *Aen.* II. 676 and XI. 411. But there is not much in this. *Pono* is more frequently used by Virgil than *depono*; and very often no distinction of meaning can be made between the two: (cf. *depono* in *Ecl.* III. 31, with *ponam*, in exactly the same sense, four lines lower down). There are at least ten or twelve passages in which *ponere* might equally well bear either meaning (e.g. *Georg.* IV. 238, *Aen.* VI. 611 etc.); and that Virgil felt no uneasiness about using *ponere* to express both of two opposite meanings is clear from comparison, for instance, of *nomen posuisse colonis*, *Aen.* VII. 63, with *nomen posuit Saturnia tellus*, *Aen.* VIII. 329. In the passage before us, the use of *habuistis* instead of *posuistis*, though of course it is partly at least for metrical convenience, suggests that Virgil was keeping the ground clear for his *ponite* (in the other sense) in the next line.

But if we point after *ponite*, the words

spes sibi quisque are left curiously in the air, and do not sound quite Virgilian. Whether we supply *sit* (with Servius), or *est* (with some modern editors), the phrase is a little strained and over-rhetorical. Deuticke cites Quintilian, Decl. 12, *sibi quisque cura est*, in support; but the sententiousness of the phrase is like Seneca rather than Virgil. It would be more natural if *spes* were taken as an accusative plural, though the ellipsis, of some such verb as *figit* or *figat*, would be somewhat violent. Cf. *Aen.* X. 107, *quam quisque secat spem*.

What suggests itself as probable is that this is one of the unfinished passages (of which there are several in the later books of the *Aeneid*), in which Virgil had started a sentence, broke it off, and started again, leaving what he had first written unerased, and perhaps intending to work the two together: that he wrote

spem si quam ascitis Aetolum habuistis in armis ponite

—that he was dissatisfied with this, possibly (though this is a mere conjecture on which no stress can be laid) because of the ambiguity discussed above, and that he then began afresh

ponit spes sibi quisque; sed haec quam angusta videtis.

If it stood so in the MS. which was before his editors, it would be natural for them to suppose that *ponite ponit* was a mere dittography, to strike out *ponit*, and to publish the text as it has come down to us. There is no record or trace of any difference of text as apart from the differences in its punctuation. Something of the same kind seems to have happened in *Aen.* VII. 543, as noted in the *Classical Review* for 1915, p. 229. J. W. M.

ALAPARI.

EVERYONE who lectures on Plautus knows that Ritschl made great use of Placidus' Glossary and ought to know that, since Ritschl's time, the glossary has been presented in its true form by Goetz (in vol. v. of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*); also that

only a part (the 'shorter glosses' or, better, the 'pseudo-Placidus' glosses') are useful for the text of Plautus (see *Journ. Phil.* 34, 255 ff. for details). Now the gloss *alapari* does not belong to this part. It comes from notes of Placidus' lectures, not from marginalia culled (probably not by Placidus) from copies of Republican authors. Placidus, discussing in a lecture the word (employed by Christian writers) *alapari*, 'to boast,' derived it from *alapa*, 'a box on the ear,' and suggested (a mere guess) that it may have meant originally 'alapas minari.' Buecheler, before the true nature of Placidus' glossary was known, took this guess of Placidus too seriously and found a place for the supposed *alapari* 'alapas minari' in a trochaic line of the *Truculentus* (928), where Spengel's emendation is most probable:

Philippiari satiust, miles, si te amari postulas
'you must pay Philippi, golden Philip-coins' ('nil alapari,' Buecheler).

The whole article in the *Thesaurus* should be rewritten.

By the way, what of the *Thesaurus*? Is that great work to stop, through financial difficulties? That would be a world-calamity. Surely English Latinists will come to the rescue.

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PUNCTUATION OF LIVY XXVII.

CH. XL. § 10.

Priusquam Claudius consul in prouinciam perueniret,

per extremum finem agri { *Larinatis* (MSS. reading)
 Uriatis (Madvig's alteration)

ducentem in Sallentinos exercitum Hannibalem expeditis cohortibus adortus C. Hostilius Tubulus in composito agmini terribilem tumultum intulit.

C. CLAUDIUS NERO was now, 207 B.C., taking command against Hannibal (ch. xxxv. § 10).

Hannibal had his main headquarters 'in Bruttiiis,' and from there he had

moved on Tarentum (*cf.* ch. xl. § 12), as had been apprehended by the late consul Crispinus (ch. xxix. § 3).

Hostilius Tubulus was still at Tarentum; his transference to Capua had been decided on (ch. xxxv. § 14), but was not carried out until after the attack on Hannibal here mentioned (*cf.* ch. xl. § 13).

It follows that—

- (1) Hannibal could not have been leading his army 'per extremum finem agri Larinatis in Sallentinos'—*i.e.* through a district in N. Apulia to a district in W. Calabria.
- (2) Hostilius Tubulus could not have attacked him in N. Apulia.

This is the difficulty in the reading 'Larinatis,' of all MSS.

But the suggestion of 'Uriatis' for 'Larinatis' is unconvincing and not satisfactory, considering the relative positions of Hannibal and Hostilius Tubulus.

A re-punctuation, connecting the words 'per . . . Larinatis' not with 'ducentem . . . Hannibalem,' but with 'Priusquam . . . perueniret' would seem to lessen the difficulty. 'Before Claudius reached his prouincia, going by way of the borders of Larinum, Hostilius attacked Hannibal.'

But Claudius Nero was going from Rome, first to Venusia, to take over his army (ch. xxxv. § 12, xxxviii. § 8, xl. § 14), and then to his prouincia, and Larinum was quite away from the direct route: why should he go to Larinum?

From ch. xliii. § 10, it appears that when he went north to join Livius against Hasdrubal he did go 'per agrum Larinatem': may he not have already foreseen and even planned his action in support of Livius? And may he not have chosen to go now and take observations of the district and people through which he would later have to pass?

Larinum was accessible by good roads from Rome; and though there was no main road from Larinum to Venusia, minor roads or even tracks would be possible for Nero, travelling light and with no army.

The position of the words 'per . . . agri Larinatis' is the right one for this

interpretation; they are an addition, implying that, and explaining why, Nero was longer than might be expected in reaching his prouincia—and so the occasion arose for Hostilius' attack on Hannibal. The mention of Nero's détour is thus relevant. But any statement of the motive of it would be irrelevant, and would indeed both interrupt and forestall the narrative, and spoil the dramatic effect of Nero's apparently unprecedented action in marching north to join Livius, as related in its proper place (ch. xl. iii. and following chapters).

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ON THE LATIN PENTAMETER.

THERE are five types of trisyllabic endings found in Latin pentameters before Ovid: A, *e gremio*,¹ B, *gemens Ityli*, C, *luminibus Venerem*, D, *aliquid sceleris*, E, *amicum habuit*.

	A	B	C	D	E
Catullus ...	45	19	14	4	2
Tibullus, etc.	6	19	3	0	0
Propertius ...	24	25	1	0	0

It is obvious why D and E are almost entirely forbidden and why C declined with such rapidity. The variations in A and B may be ascribed to the idiosyncracies, perhaps unconscious, of the poets; my own ear inclines to agree with Tibullus. The true poetry of the Roman elegiac perished on the pyre of Cynthia, but it is worth while to contemplate the figures of Martial: A 119, B 8, C 2, D 6. Ausonius is as promiscuous as might be expected.

There is more, I believe, in Dr. Atkinson's theory of the liquid in the trisyllable than most people are willing to allow. Some poets particularly affect liquids in seeking their musical effects; this is very visible in Spenser. 'Gradius' is for me a vastly superior ending as compared with 'pedibus.'

ARTHUR PLATT.

¹ The monosyllable in this type is occasionally an elided trochee in Catullus and Martial.

REVIEWS

ALLEN AND FLICKINGER ON THE GREEK THEATRE.

The Greek Theater of the Fifth Century before Christ. By JAMES TURNER ALLEN (University of California Publications in Classical Philology, Vol. VII.) 1918.

The Greek Theater and its Drama. By ROY C. FLICKINGER, Ph.D., Professor of Greek and Latin North-Western University. (University of Chicago Press.) 18s. net. 1918.

IN no department of classical study has American scholarship done more valuable work of recent years than in the study of the Greek drama and its settings. Now Professor Allen has given us an interesting brochure; Professor Flickinger, a pupil of Professor Capps, who has himself written so much on the subject, has given us a learned and important book. He has three qualifications for the task: he has been to Athens, and knows thoroughly the archæological data; he has carefully studied the extant plays; he has an intelligent interest in the modern drama, and quotes freely from modern writers to illustrate dramatic technique. The only weakness of the book is that it is too comprehensive a subject for one volume. He includes nearly all the matter in Haigh's two well-known works, and a good deal besides. This makes necessary a brief and somewhat dogmatic treatment of highly controversial points, particularly as he has in view the general reader as well as the classical student. One misses often the citation of authorities, where they would have been welcome. One always knows exactly, not only what Haigh thinks, but why; the foundations of Professor Flickinger's statements are sometimes desiderated, when one wishes to weigh them, but within the limits he imposed on himself this was inevitable. The subject teems with difficulty, and it is very hard to distinguish between fact and hypothesis more or less plausible, but unverified and perhaps unverifiable.

In the Introduction he gives his views of the origins. Brushing aside Ridgway's theory as 'a doctrine of ultimate derivation which loses itself in primeval darkness,' he regards Arion during his stay at Corinth, and Epigenes of Sicyon as the real founders of tragedy. Arion called his performances 'dramas' (*teste* Solon), and gave the dithyramb a regular literary form. The performers were the regular Peloponnesian caprine satyrs. But the name *τραγωδία* came from Sicyon, not Corinth (Hdt. V. 97), and the choreutæ there were not caprine either before or after Dionysus superseded Adrastus as the divinity honoured. With the transfer to Dionysus the goat became the prize, and was consumed in a sacrificial feast. Hence the terms *τραγικοί χοροί* and *τραγωδοί* (though they *may* have existed in the Adrastus period). In Attica dances of mummers with equine attributes (*Sileni*) were immemorial. Thespis at Icaria partly borrowed Peloponnesian features such as metre, the goat prize, the absence of improvisation, and the terms *δρᾶμα* and *τραγῶδός*, partly introduced his own ideas, the chief of which was the one actor. Pratinas later introduced the combination of the dithyramb of Phlius with Attic tragedy, which crystallised as the satyr-play, but did not adopt the Dorian goat-type: the native Silenus type, except for the goatskin about the loins, remained permanent. Professor Flickinger does not, however, make clear what view he takes of the goat-satyrs on the British Museum Pandora vase: Reisch is probably right in referring them to some comedy such as Eupolis' *Αἶγες*.

As to comedy, the phallic comus was indigenous to Attica, and Attic vases of about 500 B.C. represent such revellers as cocks and birds, and as riding on horses, dolphins, and ostriches; the comus always contained a semi-histrionic agon. Megara influenced the development, but Crates was the first to invent plot sequence.

That part of the Introduction which deals with the fabric is of course largely concerned with the venerable stage controversy. Professor Flickinger has really done more to eliminate the Greek stage by his clever analyses of extant plays than by his treatment of the actual remains. Thus his diagram and description of *Frogs* 1-460, have really convinced me after long hesitation that there can have been nothing even of the height of the Roman stage in the fifth century theatre at Athens. His treatment of the evidence is however, as is the case with everybody who writes on the subject, somewhat hypothetical. He really convinces me that *σκηνή* never meant 'stage' in our sense of the word. But I am unable after reading him any more than before to feel sure what Vitruvius meant by *theatrum Græcorum*: I regard his treatment of *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* as unsatisfactory: I think that it is very curious to sever the word *λογεῖον* from public speakers altogether (see p. 59, n. 1), and I cannot feel absolutely certain about his explanation of Pollux IV. § 127. The latter, however, which is independent of Dörpfeld, is extremely ingenious and attractive. Pollux had the theatre of Athens as reconstructed in the time of Nero exclusively in his mind. But in that reconstruction the front of the stage was not brought forward so far as in the later reconstruction by Phaedrus: the parodoi still led into the orchestra, and so *διὰ κλιμάκων* means by the permanent steps connecting orchestra and stage. Pollux's hyposcenium is therefore beneath the stage (*λογεῖον*), and was decorated with the same frieze which we now see mutilated and set up on the later stage of Phaedrus. This is supported by an ingenious treatment of Plutarch, *Demetrius*, c. 34. Plutarch pictured the scene as it would have been in his own day, much as St. Luke describes the house in which the Gospel miracle was performed as a Western rather than Eastern house (v. 19, contrast St. Mark ii. 4).

To continue the summary of Professor Flickinger's views, there was no background at all behind the old orchestra-ring till 465 B.C. Ingenious observations about the performance

of *Prometheus Vincitus* may be found on p. 228; but why make much of the rude structure at Thoricus? In 465 B.C. a wooden scene-building was set up behind the orchestra, where the declivity had been, or in the south half of the old orchestra in case the orchestra was moved fifty feet nearer the Acropolis at this time. It was of wood, of a single story, and had '*neither parascenia nor a columned proscenium*.' But Professor Allen, in his work on the *Fifth-Century Theatre*, has made it highly probable that the first scene-building had parascenia and was erected upon the southern part of the old orchestra, and with great cogency utilises the foundations marked D on Dörpfeld's plan (Fig. 14) in this connexion as part of the supporting wall of the western parodus. Professor Flickinger says that if Aristotle and Vitruvius deserve credence as to the introduction of scene-painting, such scenery 'must have been attached directly to the scene-building itself, and not inserted between the intercolumniations of the proscenium columns.' Professor Allen, however, insists that there were columns in the fifth century. Now we know nothing positively about the appearance of the back wall between the *paraskenia* in the Lycurgæan theatre. We can say for certain that in it the *paraskenia* each had in front six columns and a Doric frieze, the total height being thirteen feet. All else is conjecture. I cannot understand how any scholar can show the great variety of scene required by the extant plays, as Professor Allen does (p. 43 ff.), and then produce a restoration like that on Fig. 31.

Professor Flickinger goes on to say that about 430 B.C. (if I am right) the scene-building rose to a second story. [I think Professor Allen perfectly right in arguing (p. 63) that the *Psychostasia* of Aeschylus (before 458 B.C.) requires a second story.] The crane, or *μηχανή*, was introduced (this seems likely enough), and 'a wooden proscenium, capable of receiving painted panels according to the nature of the play was built between the *paraskenia* far enough forward to allow of a quasi-interior porch or portico: he does not give any approval to the *πρόθυρον*

theory, as Dörpfeld holds it, and Professor Allen also discounts the evidence of S. Italian vases. 'The floor of this porch or portico was probably raised a step or two above the orchestra level' and this is the explanation of *ἀναβαίνειν* and *καταβαίνειν* in Aristophanes. Professor Allen, however, a more thorough-going Dörpfeldian, will not hear of any difference in level, and follows J. W. White in regarding the words as conventional for coming on and off in these passages, and *καταβαίνειν* as = *in certamen descendere* in *Wasps* 1514. This is probably right. I cannot, however, follow Professor Allen in explaining *Ion* 725, *Electra* (Eur.) 489, by the fact that the parodi sloped upwards to the old orchestra. As so played the scenes would have been invisible to most of the audience: the fact seems to be that, as Professor Allen himself says (p. 45), much in the Greek drama was left to the imagination.¹ With the latter part of Professor Allen's work, and his treatment of the *προσκήνιον* as the Aeschylean *σκηνή*, I am quite unable to agree. The difficulties of scholars largely arise from endeavouring to read the Hellenistic *προσκήνιον* into the fifth century. All these decorated column panels were built at a time when the drama was no longer vigorous. Hardly any of them, with the possible exception of Epidaurus, need be earlier than the third century: most are later. They were approached by inclined planes from either end, and those climbing up to them came gradually into view of the audience. They were not, I cannot help thinking, primarily designed for the actors' use, but for individual performers, musicians, and the like, and certainly for public speakers. I cannot think that they were under the actors' feet, but I doubt if they were designed at all with reference to the drama. Of course there must have been something of the

nature of a permanent *proskhenion* in the fourth century, but even then the upper structure, which seems to be correctly described as *episkhenion*, may have been of wood. The one solid fact we have to go on, is that in the Lycurgian theatre there was a solid *frons scaenae* with projecting *paraskenia*; and Professor Allen has now made it highly probable that the earliest building was on similar lines. If the Hellenistic age moved forward the *frons scaenae* and curtailed the *paraskenia* at Athens and elsewhere, it is impossible to suppose with Professor Allen that the same thing happened two centuries before. It is probable that we shall never know exactly before what kind of background a play of Sophocles was acted. Personally, if I have to state my view, I prefer the theory that the *skene* wall was painted to represent a house or anything else that was supposed to be the background. But notwithstanding all that has been said against the *scaena ductilis*, I should regard it as quite a possible suggestion.

Both scholars, following Mr. Exon, are interesting and sound on the *eccyclema*: Professor Norwood's recent views can be compared with theirs. Many of Professor Flickinger's explanations of dramatic technique are so good that they deserve quoting, did space allow. He is very sound on the three-actor rule and on the treatment by the tragedians of the *chorus*. He shows in a very interesting way how the *Supplices* of Aeschylus might be made a one-actor play by little alteration. Of his quotations from modern writers, Mr. Gordon Craig's dictum about masks (p. 224), and Professor Lounsbury's remarks on the unities (p. 264), particularly deserve mention. The whole book is an admirable and judicious treatment of a very complicated subject, and Professor Allen's work is an interesting addendum to it. I hope it will be forgiven me that I have treated both together, but it seemed impossible to separate them.

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¹ It is a mistake of Homolle to suppose that a pediment was described by Euripides in the *Ion* (Allen, p. 45). See Dr. F. Poulsen's *Delphi*. (Eng. tr., p. 157, n. 1.)

ORIGIN AND MEANING OF APPLE CULTS.

Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults. By J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., D.Litt., D.Theol., etc. Pp. 50. (Reprinted from 'The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,' Vol. V., Nos. 1 and 2, August, 1918-March, 1919.) Manchester: At the University Press; Longmans, Green and Co., 1919.

THIS interesting little brochure is as good an example as we have seen of the gentle art of making facts fit theories. Dr. Rendal Harris is interested to prove that Apollo is 'the personification of the healing virtue and solar attributes of the mistletoe, and particularly of the mistletoe as it is found growing upon the apple-tree; and that the apple and its mistletoe are his original sacred symbols' (p. 5). This task he attempts as follows:

Apple cults, familiar in England under the form of yuling or howling the apple-trees, are ancient and important, owing to the ancients' of apple-growing (Chap. I.). Now in some of these cults, or rituals, we find a boy sent up the tree, whose business it is to pretend to be a tom-tit, and to chirp and call for food; a request which is met with an offering of bread and cheese and cider. Also, the tree is struck, fired at, and in other ways attacked. We have therefore a tree-spirit in bodily form, who is probably killed and certainly supposed to be a bird, and so may be connected with the wren and her supposed mate, Cock Robin. But these are thunder-birds, so the road to a high divinity lies open. Now on Greek soil we have in the well-known coins of Crete (1) a girl, conventionally called Europa or Britomartis, sitting on a tree and visited by an eagle; (2) a boy (? Zeus) *Φελχανός*, also in a tree (Chap. II.). Also, we have in England the tree itself personified, in the ancient ditty:

Old Robin is dead and in his grave,
There grew an old apple-tree over his head.

(We may omit Dr. Harris' emphasis on the name Robin, as that is not a constant element. In the version of the song heard by the reviewer some thirty

years ago in Ontario, the name is 'Grummle'—i.e., presumably, Cromwell). We have also in connexion with the wren a king and queen whose business it is to eat him, and much killing of robins and other birds in connexion with sacred legends. Now in Crete again we find, not only a boy, named or unnamed, but Apollo himself, recognisable by his attributes, sitting on a tree. Hence 'Apollo in Crete in the fourth century B.C. was a tree-boy' (p. 35). Moreover, in one of the wren-ceremonials, that of the Isle of Man, we have a fortune-telling fiddler, exactly the sort of person out of whom an Apollo might develop (Chap. III.). Lastly, we have a tree-bird-boy, with a girl for his partner, in Ganymedes and Hebe, of whom the former is often shown giving drink—doubtless nectar—to the eagle, with the oak-tree somewhere at hand. This is significant, in connexion with the fact that the apple-tree we started from is watered with cider, and that we may suppose that the eagle-oak-Zeus is given to drink of an ivy-brew, which is connected with Hebe (Chap. IV.). Finally, there are reasons for connecting Baldur, no very distant kinsman of the northerner Apollo, with an apple-tree (Chap. V.).

To criticise this combination, which we have tried to present as fairly as possible, in adequate detail, would involve writing a longer treatise than the modest-sized work we are reviewing. We only point out a few weak links in the chain, setting aside all mention of the obvious connexion of the argument with certain ingenious ideas of Mr. A. B. Cook, which we regard as hazardous in the extreme. Granted that a ritual—magic, sacramental, or what you will—in connexion with the apple-tree has developed or "projected" a tree-spirit in visible form; that spirit is supposed to be a tom-tit, and to identify that bird with either wren or robin is as unsafe in mythology as in ornithology. Suppose, further, that the same process took place in Crete. Crete is not Greece, nor are the trees on the Cretan coins apple-trees.

Setting this aside, why should every deity who is shown sitting in a tree be a tree-spirit? One thinks, quite as naturally, since all the representations are relatively late, of the tree considered as a natural throne for any god because a tree-god sits in it; of Indian trees, which hold all manner of *nats* in their haunted branches; of the artist using a tree as a sort of shorthand for a sacred grove. As the apple-tree and its supposed representatives are supposedly sacrificed in some way, sacramental or other, some scrap of tradition about similar experiences of Apollo would be in place; but he is even more uncompromisingly immortal than the non-

Cretan Zeus. Philologically also, in view of the very wide meaning of *μῆλον* and its cognates, we would like more evidence that the sacred 'apple-tree' which Dr. Harris finds here and there in Greece was our apple-tree or anything like it. Finally, if all these links would hold, how came this apple-god to be worshipped as Lykeios and Nomios? What have shepherds and the wolves that prey upon their flocks, or the bow and arrows which guard them, to do with the orchard?

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SENECA.

Seneca. By FRANCIS HOLLAND. Crown 8vo. Pp. viii + 206. With Frontispiece. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920. 10s. 6d. net.

MR. HOLLAND'S book makes a more direct appeal to the general reader than to the classical scholar. The latter will probably feel that for his purpose it is not sufficiently documented, and that it does not take sufficient cognisance of some problems concerned with Seneca's personality and works. But then this was not the author's aim: originally intended to form the introduction to a translation of Seneca's letters, this essay in biography has now been printed by itself, the author explains, 'on the chance that here and there some reader may be found to share my interest in the subject.' To the general reader the book presents an attractively written account of Seneca in relation to his age and the three Emperors, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. Much is made to live again in Mr. Holland's bright style, and in the apposite translations of passages quoted, in the main, from Seneca himself.

At the same time, while the general reader may be spared minutiae of detail, he ought to expect accuracy in such details as are given. For instance, he would be misled by the mention on the very first page of the elder Seneca's 'five books of *Controversiae*,' when

there were really ten, as he would discover if he tried to verify the reference on p. 10 to the elder Seneca's weariness of his rhetorical reminiscences 'in the preface of the last book.' Nor would the unsuspecting general reader guess that the explicit statement on p. 36 that Seneca wrote 'after an interval of six months from his arrival [in Corsica] the *Consolation* to his mother' is, as far as date goes, a gratuitous piece of information based on no exact evidence, but touching a disputed point. According as the reader remembers his classics or not, he might or might not wonder whether Messalina's mock marriage at Silius' 'urgent entreaty' (p. 46), which, I take it, Mr. Holland bases on Tacitus' *Annals*, XI. 26, squares with Juvenal's suggestion, in the tenth satire, that Silius had a kind of 'Hobson's choice' in obeying the Empress's imperious will respecting the ceremony. Both accounts might be alluded to for the sake of completeness. The words ascribed to Horace on p. 44,

*video meliora proboque,
deteriora sequor,*

come from Medea's soliloquy in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

The principles in giving references are sometimes puzzling to follow. The quotation from Seneca on p. 36, *deprecatus est pro me senatum*, which Mr. Holland cites as from *Ad Polybium* xxxvii, will be found in most editions

at xiii. 2, while his quotation on p. 40, *tenacissima memoria retulit*, from a later part of the same treatise (xiv. 1), apparently occurs earlier according to the reckoning given, xxxiii. On p. 25, the footnote reference to *Ad Heluiam* should be to xviii., not xvi.; and on p. 7, footnote, the wrong chapter, xvi., is given instead of xvii., and the Latin misquoted with *nimis* for *minus*. On p. 176, '*De Beneficiis*, 717,' is an impossible reference.

One of the chief merits of the book lies in its keen and catching sympathy for its subject, and in its vivid glimpses of the imperial court at Rome. It does not propound fresh problems, and in fact passes over entirely or quite lightly many vexed questions. We might have looked for some such discussion of the cause of Seneca's banishment as is given in the introduction to M. Favez's recent edition of the *Consolatio ad Heluiam*, because the question of Seneca's alleged adultery with Julia vitally concerns his moral character. Some allusion to Seneca's first wife would also have been natural, as being, presumably, in Mr. Holland's opinion, the mother of 'Marcus,' the *blandus puer* of the *Consolatio ad Heluiam*, whom he judges to have been Seneca's son. We are indeed on p. 111 introduced to Seneca's 'young wife Paullina,' who is described four pages later as 'his second wife'; but in the appendix of genealogical tables, imperial and Senecan, it is not clear which of Seneca's wives is regarded as the mother of 'Marcus.' The fact should be added that the *Consolatio ad Heluiam* proves Seneca to have already lost a boy by death. As to 'Marcus,' it ought to be pointed out that Mr. J. D. Duff, in his edition of Seneca's *Dialogues* X., XI., XII., has advocated his identification with Lucan by arguments not easily assailed. Concerning the elder Seneca's birth-year, Mr. Holland does not mention the commonly accepted date of 55 or 54 B.C., but on p. 5, apropos of Seneca's regret that he had not come to Rome soon enough to hear the living voice of Cicero, he selects as a *terminus a quo* the year 46 B.C., and argues: 'If M. Seneca was 15 or 16 years of age at the time, he would have been born about the year 61 B.C.' The arithmetic is infallible, but the premises

of the contention are arbitrary, and, as the elder Seneca died between 37 and 41 A.D. (probably in 39 A.D.), the date 61 B.C. seems mainly to have the merit of making him possibly a centenarian when he died. The identification of Seneca's aunt with the widow of a governor of Egypt, Vitrasius Pollio (Mr. Holland assumes the identification and calls him Vetrasius, p. 21), though it comes down with the authority of Lipsius, has been doubted; the difficulties in the matter and the arguments for C. Galerius are discussed by M. Favez in his edition of the *Consolatio ad Heluiam*.

Mr. Holland's attitude on certain literary questions invites comment. He accepts (p. 129) as 'almost established'—though in this case he recognises that the authorship has been impugned—the ascription of the poem on *Aetna* to Lucilius, the friend to whom Seneca addressed his *Letters* and certain other works. As regards the tragedies assigned to Seneca, he will find it a hard task to convince many critics of the theory which he adopts that they were, as well as the *Octavia*, apparently composed by another author of the same name. He lays stress on Quintilian's omission of Seneca from his enumeration of Roman writers of tragedy, arguing that this is comprehensible if the plays were by some Seneca who was alive when Quintilian wrote, it being Quintilian's usage not to mention living contemporaries. But apart from the internal evidence of style in support of Senecan authorship for at any rate most of the plays, it does not seem a likely hypothesis that Quintilian's quotation (IX. 2, 8) from *Medea apud Senecam* should refer to any other than the well-known Seneca whom he criticises so notoriously elsewhere.

On the treatise *Ad Polybium* the surprisingly guarded remark is made (p. 39) that it 'is supposed to have been written by him from his place of exile.' The reason for this cautious statement appears when Mr. Holland propounds, without venturing to approve, Diderot's totally incredible theory that the *Ad Polybium* was forged. On the contrary, it bears the unmistakeable stamp of Seneca's style even in its ingenious

artificiality and far-fetched adulation; and Mr. Holland is much too sweeping in his pronouncement that 'there is hardly a sentence in it worthy of quotation.' Several could easily be found like *magna servitus est magna fortuna* and *omnis vita supplicium est*, followed by the fine passage on the perilous voyage across the ocean of life to the one haven of death.

When Mr. Holland puts forward on p. 12 an analogy between the position of Quintilian as a critic in Latin literature and that of Sainte-Beuve in French, it is chiefly, as I understand him, because he discerns a parallel between Quintilian's strong preference for Cicero over Seneca and Sainte-Beuve's attitude towards the transition from the French encyclopaedists of the eighteenth century to Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo. But the parallel might mislead. Quintilian was a consistent Ciceronian; Sainte-Beuve, on the other hand, did not keep to one literary camp. Though he quarrelled with Hugo, he had praised him enthusiastically, and he cannot be deprived of his place in the romantic movement of his day. The parallel, if drawn without qualification, appears to ignore the sympathy with romantic ideals which marked the author of *La Vie et Poésie de Joseph Delorme*.

It has struck me as unfortunate that the author of the book loses some of his space through occasional repetition, especially of quotations. We have twice (p. 25 and p. 44) the words of Suetonius on the height of Seneca's popularity *tum maxime placentem*; we are twice told, in both cases in English as well as in Latin (p. 132 and p. 175), about Seneca's doctrine that the pomp and circumstance of things and not the things themselves form the subject of human fear; and we are twice assured (p. 77 and p. 171) that according to the elder Pliny no man was

less beguiled than Seneca by the appearance of things—*minime mirator inanum*. In each case it would have been more valuable to meet with new points, such as Mr. Holland's enthusiasm for Seneca might well provide.

To an apologia for Seneca's riches Mr. Holland addresses himself very properly in one of his chapters. The ancient and often repeated charges brought against him as a sham Stoic who preached austerity to others while he amassed wealth himself are well dealt with. The real answer, it seems to me, must always be drawn from what the author calls 'the genuine humility of the man.' Seneca does not pose as a perfect sage or saint, though his censors' arguments almost assume that. On the contrary, he explicitly disclaims the title to be ideally virtuous, and avows his human weakness. He is, besides, practical enough to defend the use, though not the abuse, of wealth. In a chapter of 22 pages a summary is given of the outstanding tenets of Seneca's philosophy; but this is subordinate to the biographical interest of the work. With the remarks on Seneca as a dualist (p. 167) it would have been instructive to couple a clear statement of the relation which his dualism bears to the logical implications of the strict and primitive Stoicism; and the claim advanced on p. 176 that 'Seneca supplied the clutch to Stoicism by applying it to the practical conduct of life' should be modified by the reminder that the Stoic philosophy was a practical system much earlier than in his times.

'To fill the page,' as he says, Mr. Holland has added a readable paper on Caius Maecenas, republished from the *Dublin Review*.

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MARTIAL: EPIGRAMS.

Martial: Epigrams. With an English Translation. By WALTER C. A. KER, M.A., sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge; of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Vol. I. (to end of Book VII.). 8vo. Pp. xxii + 492. London: Wm. Heinemann. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1919. 7s. 6d. net.

THE first volume of the Loeb Martial contains, in addition to an introduction and bibliography, the text and translation of the book 'On the Spectacles' and of the first seven books of epigrams. Mr. Ker's brief and interesting Introduction says the right kind of thing to put the reader in touch with the epigrammatist; and it is followed by notes on the MSS., from which one learns that the text used is that of the *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* (1905). The bibliography is partly, and very appropriately, devoted to translations, complete or otherwise, from Martial.

All poets are in a sense untranslatable; but a witty poet possesses a double share of untranslatableity. How shall the translator decide between the hunt for more or less analogous forms of verse vaguely suggestive of the original and a prose version which shall ensure that all essential points of subject-matter (so varied in Martial) are made clear? The latter is the way to do fuller justice; and it is Mr. Ker's way. He has done his work with care and taste, succeeding all the better in that he explicitly realised the hardness of his task. For some of the peculiar difficulties of translating Martial are touched upon in the introduction—especially two pre-eminent difficulties, the one, that of conveying the sense when a paraphrase rather than a translation would seem necessary to render the subject-matter luminous, and the other, that of representing in anything like comparable degree the terse pith and bite of the Latin. In this connexion a phrase from old Gawain Douglas about 'the mixt and subtill Martial' prompts one at times to hanker after a corresponding variety in any translator—a

range in English probably even from Limericks to blank verse (for Martial can be dignified, beautiful, and even pathetic), a range, that is to say, capable of producing effects such as he attains by his wealth of metrical forms. Prose inevitably loses so much. It does not readily exhibit either the neat ring and sting requisite in the satiric epigrams or enough rhythm and beauty of words suitable for the more poetic pieces. Subject to such reservations in favour of verse, one gladly commends Mr. Ker's achievement in prose.

Naturally there are words or expressions here and there open to criticism; for tastes differ. For example, I do not like 'burgeoning years' for the simple *crecentibus annis* of a young man's life in I. lxxxviii.; and to the English reader *nutantia pondera* in the same poem would be more intelligible as 'tottering weight' than as 'nodding weight.' I do not quite believe in the 'airy gambols of hares' for the *lasciuos leporum cursus* of I. xliv.; and it may be just a little bold to write of the 'chink' (*crepant*) of kisses, I. lxxvi., and may give some a needlessly modern jar to find *ne ualeam*, II. v., rendered 'may I be shot.' But objections on the score of modernity tend to be pressed hypercritically, and no one will censure Mr. Ker's version of the retort to 'A1 in cloaks' (*alpha paemulatorum*) in up-to-date war-style as 'B2 in togas' (*beta togatorum*, V. xxvi.). Occasionally a word appears to get less than its full value: e.g., in VII. lxxxiii., regarding the hairdresser, Master Nimble (*Eutrapelus*), who, shave he never so nimbly, finds the beard of Lupercus springing up or sprouting again beneath his very razor,

*Eutrapelus tonsor dum circuit ora Luperci
Expingitque genas altera barba subit,*

there seems to be a falling-off in force when *subit* (retaining, as usual in Martial, the point to the end) is rendered merely 'grows' in 'While Eutrapelus the barber goes round Lupercus' face and trims his cheeks, a second beard grows'; and for my part

I should get more of Martial's effect here from flippant lines like

There once was a barber called Smart,
Who plied his tonsorial art
Round Lupercus's face,
But in spite of his pace
A new beard kept trying to start.

In IV. xlv. 6 *numine* is accepted in the text, but *nomine* is translated; and in I. cxv.,

*loto candidior puella cycno
argento niue lilio ligustro,*

while I agree that *loto*, and not *toto*, should be read, I wonder whether Martial actually intended to picture 'a girl whiter than a washed swan' with a hyperbolical suggestion like that implied in the 'hoary-white swans' (*senibus cycnis*) of V. xxxvii. I suspect that this too much resembles the proverbially unnecessary process of 'painting the lily,' and should in fact argue that he may have simply meant to refer to the Nile lotus of the white-flowered variety. If so, *loto* is not an epithet, but the first item in a list of objects with which the blonde damsel is compared:

A maid than lotus whiter or the swan,
Than silver, lily, snow or privet-flower.

Error easily creeps into the numbering of references and cross-references in an author like Martial, and the few oversights which I have noted might be corrected in a second edition or in an inserted slip containing *errata*. In Introd. p. xii., footnote, IV. xxiv. should be read for IV. xxiii.; p. xiv., footnote, IV. xlix. for IV. xlviii., which is indecent; and p. 141, footnote, I. ciii. for I. civ. In the text of VI. xliii. 6 *hoc sunt mihi uestrae* is an obviously distorted half-pentameter, and in the translation of VII. xxvii. 5 'with' has dropped out of 'grow fat the steaming reek.' II. xiv. 6 has *Phillyrides* against *Philyrides* in the footnote; and IV. ix. 2 *Clytum* in the Latin against *Clitus* in the English. At I. lxi. 3 'appraised' is

presumably intended to be 'appraised' as a translation of *censetur*, and at IV. viii. 3 'tastes' must, I imagine, be a misprint for 'tasks,' to represent *labores*.

I venture to submit that it is awkward and sometimes a little confusing to have both the textual notes and those on subject-matter numbered on the same system, with the result that one may find three occurrences of the same reference-figure on the same page, e.g. p. 42 and p. 78.

One or two matters of fact call for comment. It is misleading to call A.D. 63 or 64 'the last days of Nero' (Introd., p. viii); unfortunately the tyrant had still before him several years in which to work mischief. In footnote, p. 257, 'Annaeus Pomponius Mela' is reckoned a member of the Seneca family, and is further described in error as 'the writer on geography.' This is a serious confusion between Annaeus Mela, who was Seneca's brother, and Pomponius Mela, the geographer. On p. 267, if *Arpi* of IV. lv. is an allusion to Cicero's birthplace, as the footnote says, it would be well to add that Martial has substituted it for *Arpinum*; just as on p. 319, where 'for your Calabrian lyre' is explained as 'for lyrics like Horace's,' it would be desirable to mention that 'Calabrian' is inaccurate in view of Horace's familiar doubt as to whether he himself was Lucanian or Apulian.

Mr. Ker has shown skill in translating the maximum possible of a writer who can be ineffably coarse: sometimes toning down, sometimes resorting to discreet dashes, sometimes cloaking the Latin in the half-disguise of Graglia's Italian, he has contrived to avoid too many yawning gaps. The notes are kept excellently within due compass and are always to the point.

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AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ROME TO THE END OF THE REPUBLIC.

An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic. TENNEY FRANK. Pp. xi + 310. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920. \$2.50.

GOOD and interesting as this book is, it does not completely satisfy the expectations excited by its title. Professor Frank promises us an economic history; he gives us in fact sketches of some economic questions and difficulties raised by the earlier history of Rome, and a more complete picture of the economic condition of Italy in the last age of the Republic and the first of the Empire. Both sketches and picture are admirably done and in many parts original, so that the book is well worth reading, even if it falls short of being a history in the full sense of the word. Further, the author, as he himself suggests in the Preface, could hardly do more, at least in the earlier part of his work, for lack of material. The history of Rome was written by men who cared little or nothing for trade and industry, and therefore naturally contains but few and casual remarks on economic conditions. Archaeology, unsupported by written evidence, speaks with but an uncertain voice. Thus we may accept the suggestive sketches of early agriculture and trade as all that is possible under the circumstances, though even here we wish that Professor Frank had given in detail his arguments for his interesting and novel theory that Rome consistently aimed at a bimetallic system. The laudable determination not to repeat himself has led here and elsewhere (cf. pp. 84 and 108) to some little incompleteness.

But in dealing with later ages a more determined attempt should have been made to distinguish different periods. A picture of industry and commerce at the end of the Republic, for which the evidence is drawn freely from the Digest (p. 246) and from inscriptions of the imperial age (*passim*), does not inspire us with absolute confidence. Again, the account of farming under the later Republic is wanting in historical

perspective. Cato, Varro, and Columella are all put together under the plantation system, and the changes traceable in the course of three centuries are virtually ignored. Yet surely it is not fanciful to see in Cato's absorption in the cultivation of the vine and olive the first great change from the corn-growing of the yeomen, and to regard Varro's insistence on stock-feeding (*pastio*), both on a large scale (*pecuaria*), and also round the homestead (*villatica*), as a further stage of development. Varro himself (*R.R.* III. 1, 8) asserts that he is the first writer to treat the latter branch of stock-farming separately, and his remarks, especially those on peacocks and fish-ponds, reflect the new luxury of the age of Lucullus. Columella really falls outside the period, but we may justly see in the barracoons (*ergastula*) described by him an extreme development of the system of slavery assumed by Cato and Varro, and in his guarded recommendation of free tenants (*coloni*) a healthy reaction.

One or two other points are also open to criticism. In speaking of Cato's order of preference, Professor Frank (p. 97, *n.*) suggests that Pliny's statement that Cato advocated cattle-raising above all may come from a lost volume on farming in Latium. If that were so, it is unlikely that Varro (*R.R.* I. 7, 9) would have failed to notice the fact. But Pliny's statement is merely an abbreviation of the anecdote given in full by Cicero (*de Off.* II. 25, 89), which refers to a conversation and not to a written work. Again the assertion (p. 161) 'that slaves usually married and had goodly families' is based on insufficient evidence. The fact that favoured slaves in aristocratic families married and had children (p. 160) proves little for the great majority of urban households, and for country slaves the evidence is rather conflicting. The stress laid on the position of slaves born in the house (*vernae*) goes to show that they were the exception, not the rule; again Cato seems to assume that only one woman, the *villica*, will be employed on his model farm, and even Varro distinctly regards marriage

as a privilege to be granted to special classes of slaves, such as the overseers and shepherds (*R.R.* I. 17, 5; II. 1, 26, and 10, 6; I correct the author's references where necessary). The sweeping generalisation in Appian (I. 7) may well be an erroneous inference from the multitude of *imported* slaves mentioned by Plutarch in a parallel passage (*T. Gracch.* 8). On this question confident dogmatism is out of place; our statements must be guarded and cautious.

But enough of such minor criticisms. In conclusion I should like to congratulate Professor Frank on having broken new ground in this stimulating and suggestive work, and may perhaps be allowed to express a hope that his other duties will not finally prevent him from continuing his history through the Empire.

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SHORT NOTICES

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XIV. Edited, with Translations and Notes, by B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT. With three plates. Egypt Exploration Society. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1920.

THIS volume of the ever welcome series contains no literary papyri, but official and business documents and private letters, ranging from the second century B.C. to the fourth century after. The three plates contain specimens of writing from B.C. 73, 63, 44, and thereabouts, which are not common.

There are many novelties of various kinds in the documents. Thus the *μείζων* as a village official appears for the first time (1626), A.D. 325, and there are a few new titles, such as *ὑπογεωργός* and *ὁ πρὸς παραδοχήν*; 1627 gives some light on the liturgies; 1632 on the chronological eras (fully discussed on p. 27); 1659 has new information on the position of the *nomes*. There is bidding (*αἴρεσις*) for a lease, with some peculiar attendant circumstances (1630 and elsewhere); and 1631 for the first time describes a contract for labour, with minute information as to the processes of vine cultivation, the making of wine, and care of land. This last also contains some new words, as *κομπασία*, the 'ringing' of jars to see if they are sound; and it is interesting to note *βοτανισμός* for weeding, and *ἀκρόδρνα* for fruit-trees. Banking, the division of an inheritance, the appointment of legal representatives, are other subjects

illustrated (1639, 1637-8, 1642-3, 1662). Lists of domestic articles and the contents of a soldier's knapsack (1645, 1657); abstracts of contracts from the *βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων* (1648-9); recruiting methods (1666): are worth notice.

A deed of apprenticeship to a weaver would hardly satisfy our trades unions; the apprentice gets eighteen days a year for holiday, and works from sunrise to sunset. The letters contain less human interest than usual; but it is surely remarkable that a son wishes to stamp a mark on his father's body, in case he should be killed on a journey (1680). Another, No. 1683, contains a sentence which deserves attention. Probus had asked his sister Manatine to let him have some money to buy a kettle, and she said (I quote the translation): 'Use your own, and presently I will give it to you.' The words are: *ἄρων* (*sic*) *τὰ ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ ἄρτι δέ σε δίδω.* It is an illiterate letter, and *καὶ . . . δέ* seems an unlikely group of particles; but if *δέ* could be the negative (Mod. Greek *δέν* or *δέ*) it would yield a more natural rendering, 'and now I will not give you any.' No example of the negative *δέ(ν)* is known, I believe, for centuries after this date (about 400), but it might be worth while to bear the possibility in mind.

A catalogue of minor documents abbreviated (1685-1777) completes the book.

W. H. D. R.

Euclid in Greek: Book I. With Introduction and Notes by Sir THOMAS L. HEATH. Cambridge University Press. 10s.

I DO not know whether anyone else has tried Euclid in Greek with a school class, but I have often, and this gives a special interest to the present book for me. It is not quite the same thing now that we have only a desiccated Euclid in school, as it used to be when his excellent logic had to be learnt thoroughly: but even so, Euclid in Greek is a pleasant novelty, with a few propositions done *viva voce*. Anyone who wishes to try it will find Sir Thomas Heath's book an instructive companion. He gives a succinct account of Euclid's works in the preface, of his followers and commentators, of the fate of the *Elements* in the Middle Ages, the early editions and translations. The notes are admirable. They contain, it is true, a good deal of elementary Greek for the weaker vessels; but they also deal with the philosophy of the work and its foundations in a way which will be found valuable by many thoughtful men.

No one need be surprised to find that Sir Thomas Heath, in spite of Oxford and Cambridge and all the barbaric forces of the day, still holds that 'the study of Greek will be no whit less necessary to a complete education.' The few educated men of science always hold this view: unfortunately, their numbers will be smaller in the future than they were in the past.

Euclid would have had sympathy with the harassed schoolmaster, who is always being attacked by parents about their sons' 'future careers.' His effective snub to one such man is recited in the preface, and is alone worth the price of the book.

W. H. D. R.

Aristophanes and the War Party. By Professor GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. 48. Allen and Unwin. Paper, 1s. net; cloth, 2s. net.

Two years have gone by since this address was delivered as the Creighton lecture, and the conditions of our own country seem, unhappily, to approach even nearer than they did in 1918 to the sombre analysis which it contains

of the condition of Athens during the latter part of the Peloponnesian War. As the sub-title ('A Study in the Contemporary Criticism of the Peloponnesian War') implies, the brochure is a real contribution to the interpretation of ancient literature, and brings out very sanely the serious sense that lies behind the buffoonery of Aristophanes. The peroration is in the true spirit of idealism, and should be read daily by every Cabinet Minister and Government official. Let scholars at any rate read it, and trust that its spirit will permeate through them to those who control our political destinies.

R. B. A.

Études sur la Signification et la Place de la Physique dans la Philosophie de Platon. Par LÉON ROBIN. One volume. 8vo. Pp. 96. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1919.

THIS 'Study' of Plato's *Physics* is concerned mainly, as might be anticipated, with the *Timaus*. The author has already investigated the Aristotelian evidence for Platonic theory in an elaborate book (with which I must confess I am unacquainted) entitled *La Théorie platonicienne des Idées et des Nombres d'après Aristote*, and the views there arrived at are here applied to elucidate the significance of the physics of the *Timaus*. To determine as precisely as possible the relation in which that 'mechanistic' physics stands to the teleological idealism maintained side by side with it in the same dialogue is the problem to which M. Robin addresses himself. This peculiar association of idealism and mechanism cannot be explained, as he maintains, if we leave out of sight the doctrine of Ideal Numbers and Ideal Figures—*i.e.*, of means between the One and the Infinite, corresponding to the mathematical numbers and figures which mediate between Ideas and things sensible. This doctrine establishes 'une hiérarchie de l'être,' which descends from the One, first through all the grades of the intelligible world (*viz.*, Ideal Numbers, Ideal Figures, and Ideas which are 'essences qualitatives')—a world whose 'matter' is indivisible extension—and next through the world of sense, modelled on the ideal world, but char-

acterised by a different 'modality of existence,' as the sphere of divisible space-extension. The unifying principle, the link between the two worlds, is the Soul — 'et la mathématique de l'âme est ce qui lie l'une à l'autre ces deux modalités de l'existence, ce qui permet à la seconde de participer à l'intelligibilité de la première.' Moreover, since the sense-world is a copy of the thought-world, the flux of the sense-world implies an 'infinite mobility' in the (extended but indivisible) matter of the thought-world. 'L'univers intelligible est mouvement, vie et pensée, et c'est, je le crains, une faute de voir (comme parait le faire M. Bergson dans le dernier chapitre de *L'Evolution créatrice*) dans l'idéalisme platonicien une sorte de logique transcendante et d'ontologie statique.' M. Robin concludes with the observation that 'ce n'est pas autant chez Kant, comme on l'a cru, que se retrouverait le mieux l'esprit de la philosophie platonicienne. Ce serait plutôt chez Descartes . . . chez Leibniz . . . mais sans doute surtout chez Malebranche.' Besides the general exposition—marked by the wonted lucidity of French scholars—there are a number of footnotes dealing with special difficulties: many of these have reference to interpretations of passages in the *Timæus* by the English editor, the late Mr. Archer-Hind; and there are several allusions also to views of Mr. John Burnet; other notes of interest deal with points in the *Philebus*—e.g., the question as to how an Idea can be *μικτόν*. Altogether, this 'Study' shows both ability and acumen, but it is so largely dependent upon the earlier volume that its separate value is not easy to estimate. Just one peculiar interpretation may be noted: in *Tim.* 52c. (ἐτέρου δέ τινος ἀεὶ φέρεται πάντασμα) M. Robin, taking ἀεὶ with τινος, renders 'une apparence mobile de quelque chose d'éternel!' R. G. BURY.

Literary Recreations and More Literary Recreations. By Sir EDWARD COOK. Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net each.

IN his preface to the second of these volumes, Sir Edward Cook thus

modestly avows his object in writing them: 'As these essays are written by one whose scholarship is rusty and are addressed to "the general reader," they may perhaps serve to illustrate the interest which is to be found in the ancient classics, even at second-hand, and the relation which should exist between the study of English and of classical literature.' They may safely be recommended, especially to those whose scholarship is not rusty, as an antidote to the spirit of 'specialised,' or narrow, scholarship to which classical studies are peculiarly liable to lead in the case of those who pay more attention to the letter than to the spirit of the ancient writers. That this should be so is something of a paradox and—in so far as it is true—a condemnation of classical scholarship, for the ancient writers were the most humane of men, and their works form the *Literae Humaniores* of modern life, but the average classical 'commentary' is only too glaring an illustration of the truth of the paradox. Sir Edward Cook is far too polite to dwell upon the point, but we may take to heart his reminder of Addison's burlesque of an annotated classic (*Spectator*, No. 470) followed, as it is, by a comparison between Shelley's and Jebb's comment upon a line in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, which is greatly to the advantage of the former (Vol. II., p. 155). In the same connexion he reminds us of Boyle's dismissal of the art of emendation as 'next after anagrams and acrostics the lowest diversion a man can betake himself to' (Vol. I., p. 247). We may all profit by the mellow spirit of this 'rusty' scholarship.

The second of the two volumes will chiefly interest readers of the *Classical Review*, as it deals very largely with classical subjects—*The Classics in Daily Life*, *A Ramble in Pliny's Letters*, *The Charm of the Greek Anthology*, etc.—but both of them show us a man who habitually found literature a great 'recreation' of the spirit. Sir Edward Cook does not refer to Cicero's splendid panegyric of literature in the *Pro Archia*, but he could have found no better words than the following in which to describe his whole attitude to literature, both ancient and modern: 'nam ceterae

neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum; at haec studia adulescentiam acuunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.' All of the essays are rather graceful and charming than remarkable for any great profundity of thought, but as the author himself says, in connexion with a comparison of the letters of Pliny with those of Cicero—'there is nothing very fruitful in the kind of criticism which asks of a comedy why it was not a tragedy' (II. 97), and the essays will give pleasure to the scholar's leisure hour, greater, perhaps, for their occasional illuminations—such as the comparison of Turner's painting with Shelley's poetry (I. 220)—than would have been produced by a steadier and more constant glow of thought.

R. B. APPLETON.

Epicuro: Opere, frammenti, testimonianze sulla sua vita. Tradotti con introduzione e commento da ETTORE BIGNONE. One volume. 8vo. Pp. x+272. Bari: Laterza e figli, 1920. L.15.50.

THIS translation of the literary remains of Epicurus deserves the special attention of all students of later Greek and Graeco-Roman philosophy, if only because of the fact that the author has

spared no pains in making it as complete as possible. It is a pity that he has not supplied a text along with the translation, but it is a satisfaction to learn that he hopes in good time to publish a complete text. Meanwhile, the frequent references to the standard text of Usener (*Epicurea*) in M. Bignone's footnotes, and the care with which he indicates the places in which he diverges from, or supplements, Usener enable the reader to jog along, however tediously. The 'Introduction' deals mainly with literary questions, such as the authenticity and arrangement of the *κύρια δόξαι*. The 'Works' are taken in the order—*ad Menoeceum*, *κύρια δόξαι*, *ad Herodotum*, *ad Pythoclem*; the 'Fragments' include (besides those in Usener's collection) the 81 *δόξαι* ('Sentenze Vaticane') which Wotke discovered and published in 1888, the year after Usener's book appeared. The volume concludes with an Appendix in five sections, and an 'Indice' which is merely a 'table of contents.' The questions dealt with in the Appendix mainly concern the *Ep. ad Herod.* The book contains many points of interest for the textual critic since M. Bignone frequently rejects Usener's readings, sometimes in favour of the traditional text. But it will be easier to estimate the value of his critical work when he gives us a printed text of his own.

R. G. BURY.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE first number of the *Review* for 1921 will be published in February. Articles on the practical teaching of classics have been promised by Mr. J. G. Legge, Director of Education in Liverpool, and Dr. J. W. Mackail. Readers are requested to assist the Journals Board and the editors by finding additional subscribers, and also by sending to the editors suggestions for increasing the utility of the *Review*. General correspondence and all original contributions should in future be sent to Mr. J. T. Sheppard, King's College, Cambridge; reviews of books and correspondence relating to book notices

should be sent to Mr. R. W. Livingstone, Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

The *Agamemnon* and the *Choephoroe* are to be presented in an English version on November 26 and 27 by members of the University of Aberdeen. This is the second Aberdeen Greek play, and we hope to hear that it has been no less successful than was the performance of the *Antigone* in Professor's Harrower's version last year. The music for the *Choephoroe* is being composed by Mr. R. Whittaker, of Newcastle.

At Cambridge during the week March 2-9, 1921, there will be performances in Greek of the Oresteian Trilogy. An acting edition has been prepared and will shortly be issued by Messrs. Bowes and Bowes. This book, which is being printed by the University Press, will contain a new verse translation of the three plays, as abridged for this performance, specially written by Mr. R. C. Trevelyan, who is a poet as well as a scholar, and whose translations of the *Ajax* and of *Lucretius* are known to readers of the *Review*. The

Greek text is to be edited by Mr. J. T. Sheppard, who, with the assistance of Mr. Burnaby (the Creon of the last Greek play, the *Oedipus Tyrannus*), will be in charge of the production. New music has been composed for the Trilogy by Mr. Armstrong Gibbs, who is already known to Cambridge playgoers for his admirable incidental music to Webster's *White Devil*, and to a wider audience for his songs and chamber music. The vocal score, with Greek and English words, will be published by Messrs. Goodwin and Tabb.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DEAR SIRS,—Annotation on Hor. *Odes* B. 1, stanza 1. Concerning the comments on the above ode in recent issues of the *Classical Review*, permit me, if it is not too late, to make the following observations:

1. On 'fortiter.'—All sea-captains know by experience that to take a troublesome harbour or berth in bad weather, even in familiar waters, requires quite as much courage as facing a storm in the open sea, not merely in modern times but in earlier—even more so, especially in the latter case. One often wonders how they managed at all with the old broad prowed vessels with their clumsy hand steering-gear!

2. 'Fluctus' does not mean 'wind-storms,' but 'waves' or 'floods'; and 'novi fluctus' is far likelier to refer to uneven commotions of the sea, arising from earthquakes underneath, than to unusual winds about the entrance to the harbours. This interpretation compares well with Hor. *Odes* I. 2. Stanza 4, etc. is more in keeping with Horace's presentations of nature in relation to moral laws, with the religion

of the times, and the decadent morals of Augustus's age.

D(AVID) W. R. F. CAMPBELL.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

THERE is a small point in which Mr. T. L. Agar hardly seems fair to the 'Hymns' of Allen and Sikes. I mean the passage where he writes (*Class. Rev.* XXXI. No. 2, 40): ἡύρε μαινὰς, not as Allen and Sikes say, 'like a mad woman,' but 'like a Maenad.' The note in the edition criticised recognises the possibility of an alternative meaning, but no one would gather this from the review. Moreover, twenty years ago Mr. Walter Leaf expressed the contrary view in his notes on μαινάδι ἴση, *Il.* XXII. 460, and μαινομένη εἰκνία, *Il.* VI. 389. Mr. Leaf's authority, of course, is no greater than that of any other scholar of equal acuteness, but his name is not even mentioned. But for all that I feel Mr. Agar is right even if not ideally judicial.

Yours obediently,

A. J. HUGHES.

3, Malta Street, E.C. 1.
August, 1920.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Aufran (C.) 'Phéniciens': Essai de contribution à l'histoire antique de la Méditerranée. 13" × 10". Pp. xvi + 148. Paris: P. Geuthner, 13, Rue Jacob, 1920. 30 frs.

Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. Extrait du No. 5, 1919. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 305-320.—Extrait des Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Séance du 13 octobre, 1919. Pp. 593-601. Séance du 1^{er} mars, 1920. Pp. 45-66. Brussels: Hayez.

Byrne (A. H.) Titus Pomponius Atticus. 9" × 6". Pp. viii + 103. Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr, 1920.

Carcopino (J.) La Loi de Hiéron et Les Romains. 10" × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xxi + 307.—Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie. 10" × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. x + 818. Paris: de Boccard, 1919.

Crump (M. M.) The Growth of the Aeneid. 8" × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 124. Oxford: Blackwell, 1920. Cloth, 6s. net.

- Duckett* (E. C.) *Hellenistic Influence on the Aeneid*. 9" x 6". Pp. xii + 63. Northampton, Mass : Smith College Classical Studies.
- Ellis* (H. D.) *English Verse Translations of Selections from The Odes of Horace, The Epigrams of Martial and other Writers*. 8½" x 7". Pp. viii + 72. London : H. D. Ellis, 7, Roland Gardens, S.W. 7, 1920. Paper boards, 5s. net.
- Enlart* (C.) *Villes Mortes du Moyen Age*. 10" x 6½". Pp. 162. Paris : de Boccard, 1920.
- Flinck* (E.) *De Octaviae Praetextae Auctore*. Doctor's Dissertation. 9¼" x 6½". Pp. 101. Helsingfors : Societas Litteraria Fennica.
- Gayley and Kurtz*. *Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism*. 7½" x 5½". Pp. ix + 911. London : Ginn, 1920. Cloth.
- Guenoun* (L.) *La Cessio Bonorum*. 10" x 6½". Pp. 101. Paris : Geuthner, 1920.
- Handbook to the Maude Roll*. 13½" x 8¼". Pp. 46. London : Whitcombe and Tombs, 1920. 2s. 6d.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. Vol. XXX. 8¾" x 5¾". Pp. 189. Oxford : University Press (for Harvard University Press). 1919. Paper boards, 6s. 6d. net.
- Kreller* (H.) *Graeco-Aegyptian Papyri*. 9½" x 6½". Pp. xi + 427. Leipzig : Teubner, 1919. M. 24 (9s. 8d.).
- Laing* (G. J.) *The Genitive of Value in Latin and other Constructions with Verbs of Rating*. 9½" x 6¾". Pp. viii + 48. Chicago : University Press, 1920. \$75.
- Laurent* (J.) *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*. 9" x 6¼". Pp. xii + 398. Paris : de Boccard, 1919.
- Loeb Library*: *Martial's Epigrams*, Vol. II. (W. C. A. Ker), pp. 568 ; *Marcus Cornelius Fronto*, Vol. II. (C. R. Haines), pp. 371 ; *Seneca*, Vol. II. (R. M. Gummere), pp. 480 ; *Thucydides*, Vol. II. (C. F. Smith), pp. 445 ; *Plutarch's Lives*, Vol. IX. (B. Perrin), pp. ix + 619. 6¾" x 4¾". London : W. Heinemann, 1920. Cloth, 10s. net. per vol.
- Metz* (C.) *Aliso-Solicinium*. 8½" x 5½". Pp. 39. Giessen : University Press, 1920.
- Newton* (E.) *A Skeleton Latin Grammar*. 7½" x 5". Pp. viii + 191. London : Blackie, 1920. Paper boards, 3s. 6d. net.
- Norden* (E.) *Die Germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania*. 9½" x 6½". Pp. x + 505. Leipzig : Teubner, 1920. 10s. 6d. Cloth, 13s. 4d.
- Papers of the British School at Athens*. Vol. IX. 10½" x 8". Pp. xiii + 262, and 36 Plates. London : Macmillan. Paper boards, 42s. net.
- Papyrusinstitut Heidelberg: Schrift I*. Vom göttlichen Fluidum nach ägyptischer Anschauung von Professor Dr. F. Preisigte. 9¼" x 6". Pp. 63. Berlin : de Gruyter and Co., 1920. (No price given.)
- Pascal* (Carlo). *Scritti Varii di letteratura Latina*. 9½" x 6½". Pp. 376. Paravia : Torino, etc., 1920.
- Phillipotts* (Bertha S.) *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama*. 9" x 6". Pp. 216. Cambridge : University Press, 1920. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Ramsay* (A. B.) *Inter Lilia*. 7" x 5". Pp. 105. School Edition. Cambridge : University Press, 1920. Limp cloth, 3s. net.
- Reitzenstein* (R.) *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*. 8½" x 5½". Pp. viii + 268. Leipzig : Teubner, 1920. 3s. 2d. ; cloth, 4s. 3d.
- Roger Bacon*. Works hitherto unpublished. Vol. V. Edited by R. Steele. 9" x 6". Pp. lxiv + 327. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1920. 28s. net.
- Stebbing* (W.) *Some Masterpieces of Latin Poetry*. 8¼" x 5½". Pp. 223. London : Fisher Unwin, 1920. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Summers* (W. C.) *The Silver Age of Latin Literature*. 7½" x 5½". Pp. xii + 323. London : Methuen, 1920. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Sundwall* (Johannes). *Der Ursprung der Kretischen Schrift*. Acta Academiae Aboensis humaniora, I. 2. 6½" x 9½". Pp. 26. Åbo, 1920.
- Taylor* (E. H.) and *Black* (J. B.) *The Empire's War Memorial and a Project for a British Imperial University of Commerce*. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 56. Edinburgh : Macniven and Wallace, 1920. 2s. 6d.
- The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*. Edited by H. G. E. White. 8" x 5½". Pp. lxxvi + 48. Cambridge : University Press, 1920. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Toutain*: *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire romain*. Part I., *Les Provinces latines*. Vol. III. *Les Cultes indigènes nationaux et locaux: Afrique du Nord, Pér. Ibérique, Gaule*. 6½" x 10". Pp. 472. Paris : Leroux, 1920.
- Transactions of the American Philological Association*. Vol. L. 9½" x 6¼". Pp. 194 + lxii, 40. Cleveland, Ohio.
- Trevelyan* (R. C.) *Translations from Lucretius*. 7½" x 5". Pp. 114. London : Allen and Unwin, 1920. 3s. net.
- Ultimi Tibulli Dies*: *Carmen praemis auro ornatum in certamine poetico Hoeufftiano*. 10" x 6". Amsterdam : Müller, 1920.
- Veith* (G.) *Der Feldzug von Dyrrhachium zwischen Caesar und Pompejus*. 10½" x 6½". Pp. xix + 267. Wien : Seidel and Son, 1920.
- Virgil*: *The Sixth Book of the Aeneid*, by H. E. Butler, M.A. 5½" x 7¾". Pp. viii + 288. Oxford : Blackwell, 1920. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Welvert* (E.) *Le Secret de Barnave*. 7½" x 4¾". Pp. ix + 189. Paris : de Boccard, 1920. 3 fr. 50.
- Wiener* (Leo). *Tacitus Germania and other forgeries. Contributions towards a history of Arabico-Gothic Culture*. Vol. III. 9" x 6". Philadelphia, Pa. : Innes and Sons, 129, N. Twelfth Street, 1920. Cloth.

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1921

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

As new editors, we wish to thank our predecessors for the help which has lightened our difficulties. We shall try to maintain the reputation for which the *Review* is indebted to them, and to increase, if possible, its usefulness to teachers and others, as an organ for the interchange of ideas on the position of the Classics in the Schools and Universities, as well as in popular estimation. We are happy to be able, in the present number, to publish an illuminating article by Dr. J. W. Mackail on the teaching of Horace, and an account, which will be found instructive as well as amusing, by the Director of Education in Liverpool, of some old critics of the Classics. As a member of the Prime Minister's Committee, and a very practical friend of the Classics in the North of England, Mr. Legge will agree that the old critics, in anticipating the modern attacks, made some shrewd hits, and enunciated some sound doctrine, to which it would have been well if Classical teachers had paid more attention.

* * *

The new policy entails some sacrifice. It will be difficult in future to accept highly technical articles appealing mainly to the specialist rather than to the general classical reader. Detailed textual discussions, such as Messrs. Conway and Walters' notes on Livy, find their proper place in the *Classical Quarterly*, though important emendations in the best authors will always find a welcome here. Contributors will help us if they will aim at brevity, and will throw their material into a form that may interest the general reader. The present number contains, and the next will contain, several articles accepted before the new policy was adopted.

* * *

In our next issue we hope to publish an account by Mr. Norman Baynes of work that is being done in an Ancient History Circle, which has grown under his auspices in the somewhat unpromising soil of London to a paying membership of over one hundred persons. We shall be glad to hear from readers suggestions for articles on any subject connected with the practical side of Classical work and the popularisation—which is also of supreme importance—of the ancient humanities.

* * *

A correspondent writes:

Do you think it would be possible for the Association to act as intermediary between those interested in the same subject to a greater extent than it does? For example, would it not be possible for the periodicals to publish the fact that 'X. would welcome correspondence from those interested in, e.g., the declension of *mensa*'?

We shall be glad if this column can be used for this, or any similar purpose, which our readers think useful.

* * *

Mr. Shewan, to whose work on Leukas-Ithaka the *Review* has called attention in a past issue, writes:

A paper by Mr. Frank Brewster, 'Ithaca, a Study of the Homeric Evidence,' in the new volume of the *Harvard Studies* (XXXI), is an able and eminently fair and careful review of the evidence on the main points. Leukadists will be pleased that Arkudi is allowed to be the Asteris of the *Odyssey*; Ithakists that Ithaka remains Ithaka. The discussion of the difficult passage in the IXth *Odyssey* describing the home of Odysseus is of special interest; probably both parties to the dispute will admit that it is more satisfying than any that has been published in the past.

* * *

The *Oresteia* of Aeschylus will be performed in Greek at Cambridge in the week from March 2 to March 9.

ON 'AN UNKNOWN WARRIOR' BURIED IN WESTMINSTER
ABBEY, NOVEMBER 11, 1920.

τῷδε περικλειτῷ τύμβῳ πόλις οὐκ ἐμὲ μόνον
εὐκλείσ', ἀλλ' ἐτάρων μυριάδας δι' ἐμέ.

Mene sub hoc saxo properas laudare iacentem?
vix capiant socios iugera mille pares.
quippe mei similes peperit carissima tellus,
pro quibus innumeris hic situs unus ego.

T. C. W.

A GREEK ECHO.

OBLIVION'S dull water it overfloweth her, Orpheus,
Eurydice, in deep drowsed Elysian meadowlands.
Forgetful she gazes on asphodel, asphodel only
All day long; all night gold-lilied ether ablaze
Brings dim wonder, a yearning uneasy; remembering almost
Orpheus, she murmurs, doubtfully reaching her arms.
Cast the wizard strings from thee; let Earth, Skies, Ocean obey them,
What profit, if thy soul, Poet, is empy desire?

ALEX. LOTHIAN.

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A LESSON ON AN ODE OF HORACE.

[This paper is, in substance, part of a lecture given to Secondary School teachers attending a Latin Course in the series of Short Courses for Teachers organised by the Board of Education at Oxford last August. It seemed best for the present purpose to retain the personal form, as a direct address to those who are actually engaged in the teaching of Latin. For these it is primarily meant.]

CLASSICAL scholarship makes great demands on the intelligence; and the teaching of Latin is a fine and laborious art. Little good will come of your teaching unless two requirements are fulfilled; first, that you have accurate knowledge of what you teach; secondly that you can convey into your teaching

a sense of the human value of what is being read. Of these, the former takes priority. Clear thinking is the foundation of all studies; it means the accurate use and appreciation of language; and Latin if properly taught is incomparable as an instrument for this purpose. But education should not only discipline the intelligence, it should develop the imagination. Imagination is not dreaming, but the contrary, the seeing of things in their reality, through training of the perceptive and creative powers. A good teacher must have both, the accurate knowledge and the finer perception, from the first, and

must exercise both from the first. It has been truly said that scholarship, as a craft and a spirit, is most important in the teaching of beginners.

The lesson on a Latin text, such as you find it set out in the notes to any modern school edition, is a matter partly of linguistic and grammatical drill, partly of a summary of facts, historical and other, more or less relevant to the author or the passage being read. Much of this is necessary, though a good deal is not; but in any case it should not be all. It is worth considering whether minute formal study might not be concentrated on the portions of the text which are of less artistic and imaginative value, and the finer passages (particularly in poetry) dealt with in a larger and freer, though not a less searching way. To you classical teachers, the classics, or some of them, ought to be a vital force at the back of your work. Their vital quality should not be obtruded. To try to hammer it into a class is fatal. Even to talk much about it is dangerous. You must let it be felt through your personality. But as soon as your pupils have acquired the elements of Latin by strict and even severe linguistic drill, you can give them a taste now and then of the same cup. You must not do this mechanically; you had better not even do it systematically, but rather as one who now and then imparts a secret. Thus they will come to believe, and through believing will come, later, to know for themselves, the value of the classics. But this cannot happen unless you yourselves know and believe it.

What you give them in this way, do not water down to what you suppose to be their capacity. Do not mash it into a pulp for them. It does not matter so much whether they understand, if their intelligence is excited. A little given, and pure, may—in some of them it will—germinate and be a live force. You cannot tell how a young imagination will work, or to what it will respond; give it a chance. Napoleon's saying, *La jeunesse a de l'imagination pour saisir toutes les grandes choses*, might well be written up in gold in all schools, and ought to be engraved in the minds of all teachers.

What I wish to do now is to apply this method of handling to a concrete instance, taking one of Horace's Odes as a text. I shall take for granted all that may be said about Horace and about the Odes generally, only reminding you that while full appreciation of them is the last reward of trained scholarship and lifelong experience, they can be at an early age begun, learned by heart, greatly enjoyed, and in some measure appreciated; that no translation can replace them, or even convey much idea of what they are like; that they go straight to the centre of life and present attainable ideals; and that they are, throughout, a lesson in the use of language so as to get the greatest effect out of the simplest words. I shall take a single Ode, and ask you to weigh and test it with me while I try to show how it may be read as a poem and not as a mere exercise. For this purpose it must be a short one; and to make it a crucial instance, it should not be one of the great Imperial Odes, nor one of those, equally great, which embody the poet's profoundest reflection; but, as nearly as may be, an average specimen of a 'light Ode,' one which at first reading, and afterwards if it has been read unintelligently and unappreciatively, may seem trivial and unworthy of the high function of poetry. Let us see how on scrutiny it unfolds, expands, yields secret after secret, connects itself with the whole of literature, opens out the marvel of language and the rhythm of life.

Turn then to the Fifth Ode of Book I. You all know it. I ask you now to approach it as if you did not. Dismiss the commentaries; ignore the heading, *Ad Pyrrham*, which is modern; and neglect the modern punctuation. If ever you attempt a lesson of this kind with a class—which may be done as a rare experiment and favour—the passage or poem chosen should be read aloud very carefully at the beginning, and read aloud again at the end, with the most careful attention to rhythm and phrasing. The class may follow it in their books; but it would not be amiss to have it written out in clear script on a blackboard, so that the whole

class may have it before their eyes all the time :

quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
perfusus liquidis urget odoribus
grato Pyrrha sub antro
cui flavam religas comam

simplex munditiis ¶ heu quoties fidem
mutatosque deos flebit et aspera
nigris aequora ventis
emirabitur insolens

qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea
qui semper vacuum semper amabilem
sperat nescius aurae
fallacis ¶ miseri quibus

intentata nites me tabula sacer
votiva paries indicat uvida
suspendisse potenti
vestimenta maris deo.

Now observe in the Ode :

1. The structure. It consists of four stanzas, each self-contained metrically, but interlinked by the phrasing (3). Technically (as you will find in your annotated texts) the stanza is called the Fifth Asclepiadean, and consists of two lines of choriambic trimeter acatalectic or Minor Asclepiadean, one of choriambic dimeter catalectic or Pherecratean, and one of choriambic dimeter acatalectic or Glyconian. This jargon is as useless for your purpose as it is hideous. What you have to do is to feel the rhythm, which you can best do by knowing the Ode by heart and repeating it to yourself over and over, both silently and aloud ; and to grasp the choriambic basis, which gives the stanza its peculiar rippling quality, in contrast with the smooth steady movement of Horace's favourite Alcaic, with its weight and resonance. Horace uses the Alcaic in 33 of the 88 Odes of Books I.-III., this beautiful stanza only in 6.

2. The Content. It consists of three 'sentences' or 'periods,' the first and third of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lines each, the second of 7 lines. The subtle rhythmical relations involved by the fitting in, overlapping, and interplay of the metrical and syntactical structures are a matter for artistic feeling rather than for mathematical calculation.

3. The Phrasing. It plays across the metre, giving a constant delicate variation. It constitutes the *technical* secret of poetry, and was consummated for Latin by Virgil and Horace, and for

English by Milton. It will reveal itself to you gradually, the more fully if you know the poetry by heart, and let its phrases ring and repeat themselves in your head. New delicacies will appear, and you will come to understand what Dryden meant by calling poetry 'articulate music.' Always remember that poetry must appeal to the ear and not only to the eye if it is to exercise its proper virtue.

4. The Substance. In this Ode it is very simple. The substance of the three 'periods' or short 'movements' is merely :

(1) Who is your lover ?

(2) What disenchantment awaits him !

(3) I have passed through that and am thankful.

But in the development of these, look now at the detail ; at the distilled and concentrated art, the exquisite order of words and syllables, the parsimony of language, the economy of epithet ; the way in which words take a new colour from their setting (in separation as well as in juxtaposition) so that each word fulfils a multiplied function, and is raised to a new power ; and the skill with which each word comes so as to add to the cumulative effect. Notice, as one instance, how with a single exception the noun and its epithet are never placed together. This is a matter in which Latin has the advantage of English, or of any uninflected language : we can only partially get the same effect, chiefly by using Milton's favourite device of placing the epithet after its noun ; phrases of his like *the road of heaven star-pav'd* are about our utmost limit, as compared with *aspera nigris aequora ventis* or *tabula sacer votiva paries*.

Let us now take some points as they come in this Ode, as a sort of running commentary, of a sort which you will not find in your school-editions of Horace. And first, get the picture (Horace's pictures are always clear and precise) ; for if you miss that, you miss the whole.

Get rid of the absurd notion, to which the inappropriate heading *Ad Pyrrham* has largely contributed, that the Ode is a personal address to 'Pyrrha,' a former

love of Horace's. The picture, the *chore vue*, is a couple in a rose-arbour, just seen; a slim boy with his arms locked round a girl, who sits knotting back her yellow hair. Observe the individual touches. The first three words, *quis multa gracilis*, are one of Horace's masterly openings; you will notice how they all look forward, by themselves conveying nothing beyond expectation; they are going to be developed and resolved. *Gracilis* has a double or triple intention; it implies the contrast not only with the more opulent contours of the girl, but with Horace's own past youth, when he, too, 'was not an eagle's talon in the waist.' *Multa in rosa* does not mean 'on a bed of rose-leaves'; such enormities of actual or imagined later imperial luxury have nothing to do with the scene; it simply means what it says, 'amid clustering roses.' The *antrum* is an arbour or grotto—either word will do well enough, and the thing itself may be seen in any English public garden—over which, in an Italian spring, the roses (real roses, not ramblers) spout and foam. The boy belongs to the *beau monde*; he is heavily scented, and got up accordingly. In contrast to his slim, dark handsomeness is the blonde girl. 'Pyrrha' simply means this; a woman with hair of a warm yellow with a touch of red; in visualising the *flava coma* which has been dishevelled in his embrace, and which she is now tying back into a simple knot, remember that *flavus* is used of the colour of honey by Lucretius, of the colour of ripe wheat by Virgil, and that the colour-sense of both these poets is infallible. The simplicity of her dress is of a piece with that of her coiffure; she is not bedizened or jewelled or scented, but gives the effect of being beautifully clean. *Munditiae* is a prose word of daily household life, exactly equivalent to our 'cleaning-up.' Here it is reset and given a new value. Here, as so often, George Herbert gives, more than any English poet, the complement or converse of the Horatian touch, transferred from the physical to the spiritual sphere: *How fresh, O Lord, how sweet and clean!*

Such was the picture flashed for half a minute on Horace's eye as he passed

it, perhaps in Maecenas' gardens on the Esquiline; the same picture as may be seen anywhere, in any summer dusk. It remained with him, and germinated. That chance sight of a moment summoned up thoughts, memories, a wistful reflex of emotions; the envy of middle age for youth; the sense of transitoriness and disillusionment in those immature passions; and finally, the philosophic mind with its recognition of life's compensations and of life itself as a whole. All this is here crystallised, and the Ode is, in the full sense of the phrase, 'a moment's monument.'

In the central period, *heu quoties . . . fallacis*, some points (there are many others) deserve special attention. (1) The characteristic economy of language in *fidem mutatosque deos*, which is contrived so as to make *mutatos* colour both nouns, and constitute the equivalent of *fidem mutatam mutatosque deos*. (2) The tremendous even weight of rhythm in *aspera nigris aequora ventis* (as later, and even more strikingly, in *uvida suspendisse potenti vestimenta*) where the ripple of the metre spreads into a still pool. (3) The mass and edge of the sonorous *emirabitur*; the word is not found elsewhere in Latin and seems to have been coined by Horace here. (4) The meaning of *aura*; it is not 'wind,' or at least it is much more, and something subtler. The word means 'breath,' or more largely, 'emanation.' It covers whatever strikes out or radiates from an object on any or all of the five senses; and as applied to a person, it is the *aura* of that person in the modern technical sense. (5) The central position of the word *insolens* in the Ode. Here, again, neglect formal punctuation and you will feel how it is the hinge linking forwards or backwards according to the way in which you interpret your phrasing. It uses all the power of its double meaning; 'unaccustomed' to the strange experience of blackness and raging waves instead of sunshine on a sleeping sea, and 'arrogant' or 'immoderate' (as in the *insolenti laetitia* of Od. II. 3) in the present possession of the golden fruit (*fruitur aurea*) which credulous youth fancies will be its own for ever.

So far, the roused emotion or reflection

is sad, and almost cynical. Then comes the third movement, subsuming and resolving the preceding themes in understanding and acquiescence. 'Poor children of men, for whom the unexplored world glitters as a Paradise! with the tempest surely to come, and lucky if, like me, you come out from it alive and safe, and can hang your drenched garments up with thanksgiving.' The Ode is Horace's own votive tablet:

Life is stocked with germs of torpid life; but
may I never wake
Those of mine whose resurrection could not be
without earthquake!
Rest all such, unraised for ever! Be this, sad
yet sweet, the sole
Memory evoked from slumber; least part this:
then what the whole?

This is the sort of reading that, in addition to getting up what you will find in text-books, you should give to a classic. In each case, you must in the main do this for yourselves, making your own commentary. It is not, let me repeat, the sort of commentary which should be lavished (and still less, forced) on a class, though you may allow your pupils glimpses of it. But if you really appreciate your Horace (or any classic, in poetry or in prose), your appreciation will be a silent force behind all your teaching of it: it will tell of itself, and you need not preach over your liquor. This is one short Ode, and these notes are a very long way from having exhausted it; they are merely indications, to start you on your own search. In the volume of Books I.-III. of the Odes, that little handbook to life, there are eighty-eight. And there are people blind or foolish enough to say that there is insufficient food for the imagination in Latin poetry!

A word as to punctuation. Punctuation is really a compressed explanatory commentary, indicated by conventional marks in the text. It should follow, not prescribe, the phrasing. In this Ode, the first two lines are a single prolonged phrase. So are the last three and a half (*me . . . deo*), except for the slightest possible pause after *indicat*. But what about line 3? In modern editions, you will find it attached to lines 1 and 2, with an interrogation mark after *antro*, and another after *munditiis*. But the rhythmical as well as the rhetorical

balance rather requires the pause to be made at the end of line 2, line 3 running continuously on into line 4. Is *cui* in line 4 a fresh interrogative or a relative pronoun? Here again the rhythmical structure suggests the latter. Milton's famous translation of the Ode leaves it curiously, perhaps purposely, uncertain in which way he took it. Line 8 is best left unpunctuated, and the interpretation of *insolens* left to individual feeling.

To reinforce all this, we may attempt to follow the Ode again in a literal prose rendering. It of course leaves out not only the beauty and music of the words, and much of the artifice of their arrangement, but also their implications, their harmonics, their complex functions—all, in fact, that makes Horace untranslatable.

*What slim boy steeped in liquid scents
strains you close amid clustered roses, for
whom under the pleasant arbour, Fair-hair,
so fresh and clean, you knot back these blonde
tresses? Ah, how often shall he weep for
faith and gods estranged, and gaze aghast
on seas rough with black winds, witless,
who now confidently possesses you his golden
one; who knowing not the treacherous atmo-
sphere, expects you always open-armed,
always loveable. Wretched they to whom
you shine unexplored; me a tablet on the
holy wall records to have hung up my
dripping garments to the mighty God of
the Sea.*

It is not only prose which succumbs to the task of translating Horace. In the very interesting and in some respects beautiful version of this Ode by Fanshawe (1651), for which he used the stanza best known as that of Marvell's famous Horatian Ode, the phrase *indicat uvida suspendisse vestimenta* is rendered 'shows that I have hung up my wet clothes.' Nothing could be more unimpeachably exact: and all the words in the Latin are words of the commonest prose use. But how Horace has transfigured them, lit them up and made them sing! Here Milton's rendering (his version was probably occasioned by Fanshawe's) is nobly adequate, 'declares to have hung my dank and dropping weeds.'

As with the wording of the Ode, so with its substance. The picture, the incident, you may say, is trivial and

even vulgar, whether long ago on the Esquiline or now at Hampstead. Quite so. Out of such things the stuff of life is woven. Horace has distilled from

it an essence, has immortalised it. That is what poetry and poetry alone can do.

J. W. MACKAIL.

London.

OLD CRITICS OF THE TEACHING OF THE CLASSICS.

THE criticism of classical studies has been very active of late. Many writers in the periodical press, quite uninformed of the changes that have taken place in the higher school curriculum since they left school, have misrepresented the public schools and the grammar schools of the country as places where, in the words of *The New Statesman*, 'natural science is still only a tolerated "extra," and classical education still dominates the curriculum.' Such writers are ignorant not only of the remarkable developments in the teaching of modern languages, and of the natural science which have taken place during the last two decades, but also of the results of the great Education Act of 1902. That Act has given Local Education Authorities a statutory footing in secondary education. The result has been the absorption into the national state-aided and rate-aided system of many old-established schools, grammar schools and others, and the foundation of a vast number of new Municipal and County Secondary Schools, in a large proportion of which, particularly boys' schools, science is supreme, and the classics, so far from being a 'tolerated extra,' find no place at all.

A fresh impetus has been given to the development of these state schools by the Act of 1918, and the progress since 1902, remarkable as it is, is nothing to what may be expected, despite all economic difficulties in the next ten years. The whole population of the public schools and independent grammar schools and girls' high schools will then be in quantity, if not in quality, negligible as compared with the thousands swarming in the State Secondary Schools. It behoves all interested in the maintenance of the humanities, ancient as well as modern, to take stock of the position, and to exert themselves to avert the danger to

which the Prime Minister's Committee on Science and Mathematics has in its recent report pointedly drawn attention. The Chairman of the Committee was Sir J. J. Thomson, and the Committee contained many other eminent representatives of science. Nothing could be more drastic than their condemnation of the one-sided education in science, which they evidently found to be too common. The following is the substance of paragraph 56 of their Report :

All through the science course the greatest care should be taken to insist on the accurate use of the English language, and the longer the time given to science, the greater becomes the responsibility of the teacher in this matter. It is not always recognised that there are excellent opportunities for teaching clear writing in connection with everyday laboratory work. A boy may fail to write a good essay because his command of English is insufficient to express what he would like to say, or because he has little or nothing to say on the subject ; but if he has been doing an experiment, he should at least be able to describe what he did and what he saw, in simple and comprehensible language, in the plain English of educated people. The conventional jargon of laboratories, which is far too common in much that is written on pure and on applied science, is quite out of place in schools. The science master cannot be allowed to repudiate responsibility for the English, in which the work of his class is written.

There is a tendency at present in some schools to discourage boys from reading anything about their science work, except the notes which they take in class and in the laboratory. We consider that this policy is most pernicious. . . .

The practice of discouraging private reading is responsible for the tendency which has become more noticeable in recent years, for students of science at the universities to rely entirely on the instruction they get in lectures. Some of them seem to have lost any desire to read for themselves, and from want of practice lack the ability to use books to any advantage. . . .

That is the danger of the future, not the domination of the classics in educa-

tion; and the prospect should give food enough for thought to the critics to whom we have been alluding.

But there are other critics, and within the classical camp, who are in full sympathy with the humanities, who, like the eminent representatives of science who served on the Science and Mathematics Committee, are determined that science and humanities shall proceed side by side, or even interpenetrate one another, and who are seeking for reforms in method which will economise time and secure for all fit pupils, whatever section of society they come from, and whatever district of the country they live in, the essentials of an education which has its spiritual as well as its material elements. These critics, better informed, cannot conceal from themselves the necessity of insuring the provision for the future of scholars or specialists who can not only teach as a master should, but who may also be expected to carry on that research, without which no progress is possible, and all knowledge but *crambe repetita*.

Many are the criticisms and suggestions that are flowing in; but it is interesting and amusing to observe how few of them are new. The harassed teacher of to-day may find some consolation, and perhaps instruction, in a few extracts from the English pedagogic literature of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.¹

To begin with let us take the ruthless condemnation of the classics altogether which we get from people like Sir Harry Johnston. He suggests, in *The New Statesman* of November 13, 1920, that 'if there are beautiful thoughts, sudden perceptions of undying truths, original apothegms and genuine wit in Latin and Greek, are there not sentences equally pregnant of

value in the Ila language of South Central Africa?' And he goes on to state that 'translations fortunately pullulate' of all the more important authors, giving whatever access is necessary to 'the rapid, diffuse, confused, reiterated, ill-founded, philosophies, sentiments, ideals, records, and aspirations of the Greeks and Romans who lived between 1000 B.C. and A.D. 500.' Against this we may set a racy extract² from Professor Mayor's edition of Ascham (p. 245):

Erasmi Epist. 346 (A.D. 1519): 'England has two celebrated Universities, Cambridge and Oxford. Greek is taught at both, but at Cambridge without disturbance, as its school is under the government of John Fisher, Bp. of Rochester, a divine not only in learning, but in life. At Oxford, on the other hand, when a young scholar of rare attainments lectured in Greek with much success, a barbarian began in an address to the people to rave against Greek learning with great and vehement abuse. The king, however, who is a patron of literature and himself not unlearned, being then in the neighbourhood, and hearing of the case through More and Pace, gave order, that all who desired might embrace Greek studies. So those brawlers were silenced. Hear another story of a piece with this. A certain divine, preaching at court before the same king, began no less impudently than blockishly to rant against Greek and the new interpreters. Pace looked towards the king, to see how he took it; who by and bye smiled pleasantly at Pace. Sermon ended, the divine was sent for, and More appointed to defend Greek against him. The king was pleased to be present at the disputation. When More had spoken at length and with great eloquence, and all now awaited the divine's reply, he fell straightway on his knees, begging pardon and excusing his fault on the plea, that during his sermon a spirit had possessed him to speak against the Greek language. Then said the king, "This spirit was not Christ's, but the spirit of folly." He then asked, "had he read any work of Erasmus?" (For the king had marked that he had aimed some shafts at me.) "No." "A plain proof," replied the king, "of sottishness, to condemn what you have not read." On this our divine, "I have read one thing, called *Moria*." Here Pace broke in, "A fit argument, your grace, for this reader." Lastly the divine bethought him of another enthy-meme to palliate his offence. "I the less

¹ The works cited are the following, viz.: Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named the Governour* (1531), in Everyman's Library; Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1570), in Professor J. E. B. Mayor's edition, published by Bell and Daldy in 1863; Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* (1612), and Hoole's *New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole*, both in Professor Campagnac's scholarly edition, published by the Liverpool University Press and Messrs. Constable. Quotations from Milton are from the Amsterdam edition of 1698.

² Messrs. George Bell and Son have kindly given permission to print this extract from Mayor's Notes in Bell and Daldy's edition.

distaste Greek, because it is derived from the Hebrew." The king, amazed at the man's rare folly, had him begone; but on condition that he should never come back to preach in court. . . .

Cf. the very interesting 'ORATIONES RICHARDI CROCI duae altera a cura qua utilitatem laudemque | Graecae linguae tractat, altera a tem-|pore, qua hortatus est Canta-|brienses ne deserto-|res essent eius-|dem.' Paris 1520. . . . In a second speech 'qua Cantabrigienses est hortatus, ne Graecarum literarum desertores essent,' (fo. c. 7. vo.) he says that some have been discouraging the study of Greek. But who are they? he asks. Those who hate Greek, because they are ignorant of Latin; who fear that their barbarism may be exposed, for which they fight as for hearth and home, and by which they court fame 'apud pullatum circulum.' They cry that religion is in danger, and rave in their sermons against Greek learning till they are hoarse. He conjures them by the honour of the university to allow every science and every language to be taught; especially that without which others cannot be understood. 'For what have we, we Latins, I say, that we have not borrowed from Greece? Some will mutter that all Greek books have long since been turned into Latin. What then? Does not the Greek survive? Tell me, learned Sir (if I may call you learned "qui tam impie deliras"), what will you do when versions disagree? Must you not, as Augustine bids, recur to the Greek original?' etc.

Tyndall against More (Works of Tyndall, Frith, and Barnes, 1573, fol.) fo. k. k. 5. vo.: 'Within this xxx yeares and farre lesse, and yet dureth unto this day, the old barking curres Dunces disciples and lyke draffe called Scotistes, the children of darknesse, raged in every pulpit agaynst Greke, Latin, and Hebrue, and what sorrow the Scholemasters that taught the true Latin tounge had with them, some beatyng the pulpit with theyr fistes for madnesse and roaring out with open and foming mouth, that if there were but one Tirence or Virgil in the world and that same in their sleves and a fire before them, they would burne them therein, though it would cost them their lives, affirming that all good learnyng decayed and was utterly lost since men gave them unto the Latin tounge?'

The argument from the existence of Latin translations to the uselessness of Greek studies is well met by Conr. Heresbach 'de laudibus Graecarum literarum. Argent. 1551.' Fo. 22, 23; cf. 26: 'Thomas Scotus, Bonaventura,' say the enemies of letters, 'the subtle, seraphic, irrefragable doctors, were content without Greek, why should we be wiser than they? These languages have filled the world with heresies.' 'Not long since I heard a monk declaiming in a church. "Of late," says he, "a new language has been discovered, called Greek;

beware of it, it is the mother of all these heresies," and I shudder to repeat what he added, "in this language a book has been published, now in all men's hands, called the New Testament, a book full of toads and vipers." He went on to say that another language was springing up, called Hebrew; "They who learn this become Jews." Cf. Erasmi Opera, i. 900 A; v. 78 C. seq.; ix. 88, 780 seq., 1699 E; and on the 'Greeks' and 'Trojans,' Wood's *Annals*, A.D. 1519. Some may be surprised to find Hobbes in the company 'Obscurorum Virorum.' Yet see *Behemoth*, 148: 'Now . . . we have the Scripture in English, and preaching in English, I see no great need of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.'

Next let us take the complaint that too much time in the teaching of classics is spent over the painful study of grammar. Says Sir Thomas Elyot in *The Governour*:

I wyll nat contende who, amonge them that do write grammars of greke, (whiche nowe all most be innumerable,) is the beste: but that I referre to the discretion of a wyse mayster. Alway I wolde aduysen hym nat to detayne the childe to longe in that tedious labours, eyther in the greke or latyne grammar. For a gentyll wytte is therewith sone fatigate.

Grammar beinge but an introduction to the understanding of autours, if it be made to longe or exquisite to the lerner, hit in a maner mortifieth his corage: And by that time he cometh to the most swete and pleasant redinge of olde autours, the sparkes of feruent desire of lernynge is extincte with the burdome of grammar, lyke as a lyttel fyre is sone quenched with a great heape of small stickes: so that it can neuer come to the principall logges where it shuld longe bourn in a great pleasaunt fire.

John Milton's preface to his *Latin Grammar*, 'Accedence Comm'd Grammar Supply'd with Sufficient Rules for the Use of such as are desirous to attain the Latin Tongue,' contains the following:

It hath bin long a general complaint, not without cause, in the bringing up of youth, and still is, that the tenth part of man's life, ordinarily extended, is taken up in learning, and that very scarcely, the Latin Tongue. Which tardy proficiencie may be attributed to several causes: In particular, the making two Labours of one, by learning first the Accedence, then the Grammar in Latin, e'er the Language of those Rules be understood. The only remedy of this, was to join both Books into one, and in the English Tongue; wherby the long way is much abbreviated, and the labour of understanding much more easy.

Hoole, in his *New Discovery*, says :

This I require aforehand (which Mr. Mulchaster also wisht for) that a childe may have his reading perfect, and ready in both the English and Latine tongue, and that he can write a fair hand before ever he dream of his Grammar. For these will make him he shall never complain of after difficulties, but cheerefully make a wonderful riddance in the rest of his learning.

The commonly received way to teach children the first Rudiments of Latine-Speech, is to put them to read the Accidents once or twice over, and then to let them get it without book by several parts, not respecting at all whether they understand it, or not. Thus they spend two or three years (for the most part) in a wearisome toile to no purpose, not knowing all the while what use they are to make of their book, nor what the learning of such a multitude of Rules may tend to, and in the interim of getting the Accidents by heart (if great care be not taken) they loose that ability of Reading English, which they brought from the Petty-Schoole; and this makes the Parents cry out against Learning Latine, and complain of their Childrens not profiting at the Grammar-Schooles, whence they are therefore sometimes taken and sent back again to a Mistresse or Dame to learn English better.

It will be noted that Hoole alludes to a complaint that children lose their English in learning Latin. The same complaint was very faithfully dealt with by Brinsley before him, in his *Ludus Literarius* :

It were much to be wished, that none might bee admitted to the Grammar schooles, untill they were able to reade English : as namely, that they could reade the New Testament perfectly, and that they were in their Accidences, or meet to enter into them.

... concerning the complaint of the Parents for their children going backward in reading English, when they first learne Latine; the chiefe fault in truth is in the Parents themselves; although wee poore schoolemasters must be sure to beare all. For if such murmuring Parents would but cause their children, every day after dinner or supper, or both, to reade a Chapter of the Bible, or a piece of a Chapter, as leisure would permit, and to doe it constantly; thereby to shew their love to the Lord, and his Word, and their desire to have the Word dwell plentifully in their houses, to have their children trained up in it, as young Timothy was; then, I say, this complaint would soon be at an end: for they should either see then, their children to increase in this, or else they should discerne the fault to bee in their children's dulnesse, and not in our neglect.

As Latin was in the sixteenth and at least the early part of the seventeenth century still spoken as well as written by many educated people, the direct, or at least the oral, method of teaching Latin must have been common enough. Here is a passage from Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* on the subject.

In examining the Syntax, it is best to do it in Latine: for by that time they will be well able to do it so, if they be rightly trained up. And it will much helpe them, as was said, to speake and to parse in Latine: yet still asking the question also in English, and answering both in English and Latine, so farre as need is; as thus, out of the words :

Q. Quot sunt concordantiae?

R. Tres.

Q. Quae est concordantia prima?

R. Nominatiui & verbi.

Q. Verbum personale cum quo cohoeret?

R. Cum Nominatiuo, &c., &c.

We are strongly urged to get children on to reading easy texts as soon as possible to counteract the tedium of grammar. On this Hoole says :

Let them procure Aesops Fables then in English and Latine, and the rather because they will take delight in reading the Tales, and the moral in a Language which they already understand, and will be helped thereby to construe the Latine of themselves. And herein I would have them to take a whole Fable and its moral at one Lesson (so that it do not exceed six periods).

Brinsley, again before Hoole, cannot be too explicit in his recommendation of the free use of translations, and he takes a wide view, embracing the needs not only of young boys, but also of 'weaker schoolemasters,' weaker scholars in the Universities, and those who, like many of us in these later days, have grown rusty in Greek and and Latin, and have hailed the advent of the Loeb Classics. Here is the gist of what Brinsley has to say on the value and use of translations :

To helpe the yonger schollers to understand their lectures, so farre as need is. . . .

Also to take their lectures for most part of themselves, as was said; to get and bring their lectures more surely and sooner then by the Masters teaching alone, as a little experience will shew. . . .

To save all the labour of learning most Authours without booke, as all Authours in prose; which labour in many schooles is one of the greatest tortures to the poor schollers, and cause of impatience and too

much severity to the Masters, though with very little good for most part : to be able as it were by playing, onely reading their Authors out of the English over and over, at meet times, to have them much better for all true use and each good purpose, then by all saying without booke ; to trouble the memory only with getting rules of Grammars and the like, and such other of most necessary use, as the Poets : which also are exceedingly furthered hereby. . . .

These will be also a helpe to many weaker Schoolemasters, for right and certaine construction, without so oft seeking Dictionaries for English, and proprietie of words . . .

Also, weaker schollers in the Universities, who have not been so well grounded in the Grammar schooles, may proceed in their private studies, by the use of some of these translations. . . .

Likewise, any who have lost the knowledge of the Latine tongue, may recover it hereby within a short time ; and they who have had but a smattering, or some little beginning, may soone come to understand any ordinary Author, and proceed with pleasure and certainty. . . .

Among matters that are now being questioned is the desirability of learning Latin alone, without Greek, or Greek without Latin. There will be general agreement that after a certain stage the two languages are an absolutely necessary complement to one another for anyone who pretends to even a modicum of scholarship in either. One of the most remarkable and most successful developments of recent days has been the establishment in the modern Universities of Honours Schools in Latin and Greek up to a pass standard, or vice versa, with a proviso that for those who distinguish themselves in one language facilities are provided for an additional year's study, during which they may bring up their subsidiary language to an honours standard. A protagonist in this movement is Professor Conway of Manchester. But for a delightful condemnation of any attempt to be satisfied with Latin without Greek let us hear what Ascham has to say :

I say farder, though it be not unpossible, yet it is verie rare and mervelous hard to prove excellent in the Latin tong, for him that is not also well seene in the Greeke tong. . . . I have bene a looker on in the Cockpit of learning thies many yeares : And one Cock onelie have I knowne, which with one wing even at this day doth passe all other, in myne opinion, that ever I saw in any pitte in England, though they had two

winges. Yet neverthesse, to flie well with one wing, to runne fast with one leg, be rather rare Maisteries moch to be merveled at, than sure examples safelie to be folowed. A Bushop that now liveth, a good man, whose judgement in Religion I better like, than his opinion in perfitnes in other learning, said once unto me : we have no nede now of the Greeke tong, when all thinges be translated into Latin. But the good man understood not, that even the best translation is for mere necessitie but an evill impd wing to flie withall, or a hevie stompe leg of wood to go withall : soch, the hier they flie, the sooner they falter and fail : the faster they runne, the offer they stumble, and sorer they fall.

If the reader is not wearied with these extracts he may brace himself to read one more, a magnificent passage from Milton's famous letter to Master Samuel Hartlib ; he will probably be merely refreshing his memory when he cons this passage, which refers to more than one point already touched upon :

And though a Linguist should pride himself to have all the Tongues that Babel cleft the world into, yet if he have not studied the solid things in them as well as the Words and Lexicons, he were nothing so much to be esteem'd a learned man, as any Yeoman or Tradesman competently wise in his Mother-Dialect only. Hence appear the many mistakes which have made Learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful ; first we do amiss to spend seven or eight years meerly in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year. And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind, is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to Schools and Universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of Children to compose Theams, Verses, and Orations, which are the acts of ripest judgment, and the final work of a head fill'd by long reading and observing, with elegant maxims, and copious invention. These are not matters to be wrung from poor striplings, like blood out of the nose, or the plucking of untimely fruit : besides the ill habit which they get of wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom, with thir untutor'd Anglicisms, odious to be read, yet not to be avoided without a well continued and judicious conversing among pure Authors digested, which they scarce taste ; whereas, if after some preparatory grounds of speech by thir certain forms got into memory, they were led to the praxis therof in some chosen short book lesson'd thoroughly to them, they might then forthwith proceed to learn the substance of good things, and Arts in due order, which would bring the

whole Language quickly into thir power. This I take to be the most rational and most profitable way of learning Languages, and wherby we may best hope to give account to God of our youth spent herein. . . .

For thir Studies. First they should begin with the chief and necessary rules of som good Grammar, either that now us'd, or any better : and while this is doing, thir speech is to be fashion'd to a distinct and clear pronuntiation, as near as may be to the Italian, especially in the Vowels. For we Englishmen being far Northerly, do not open our mouths in the cold air, wide enough to grace a Southern Tongue ; but are observ'd by all other Nations to speak exceeding close and inward : so that to smatter Latin with an English mouth, is as ill a hearing as Law-French. Next to make them expert in the usefulest points of Grammar, and withal to season them and

win them early to the love of Vertue and true Labour, e're any flattering seducement, or vain principle seize them wandering, som easy and delightful Book of Education would be read to them ; wherof the Greeks have store, as Celebs, Plutarch, and other Socratic Discourses. But in Latin we have none of classic authority extant, except the two or three first Books of Quintilian, and some select pieces elsewhere. But here the main skill and groundwork will be, to temper them such Lectures and Explanations upon every opportunity as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, enflam'd with the study of Learning, and the admiration of Vertue ; stir'd up with high hopes of living to be brave Men, and worthy Patriots, dear to God, and famous to all Ages."

J. G. LEGGE.

Liverpool.

THE HOMERIC HYMNS.

XIV

Εἰς Ἑρμῆν.

12 εἰς τε φῶως ἄγαγεν, ἀρίστημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο.

THIS line is generally regarded as an interpolation ; but whether it be the work of the author of the hymn or not, there is no justification for the usual misinterpretation of the writer's plain meaning. There was a secret we are told in the opening lines unknown to immortal gods and mortal men, the secret of the birth of Hermes. The approaching fulfilment of the purpose of Zeus renders secrecy no longer necessary, and there is a full disclosure. This is stated in our line, 'He brought the facts to light and they stood revealed,' and is quite in accord with the rest of the Hymn. The parentage of Hermes is known to himself, to Apollo, and to all the assembled Olympians. Only Zeus jestingly speaks as if he did not know, 330-2 ; but v. 378,

καὶ γὰρ ἐμεῖο πατήρ φίλος εὖχεται εἶναι,

which is decisive enough, one would think, for anybody.

Now listen to those inimitable critics, Messrs. Allen and Sikes, on the words εἰς τε φῶως ἄγαγεν : 'This view (*i.e.*, the explanation I have just given) is most improbable ; the object at all events

can hardly be anything but *παῖδα*.' After accusing the writer of the hymn of clumsiness and inaccuracy, they roundly declare : 'The fact that εἰς φῶως ἄγαγεν is an exact equivalent of καὶ τότε ἐγένετο παῖδα (13) presents no great difficulty in this hymn.'

Now where is the improbability ? There is none, unless we assume that the author was such a dolt that he could not possibly have held a view consistent with common sense. The next statement that the object can hardly be anything but *παῖδα* is not so plainly indefensible. It proceeds from the assumption that the writer was closely imitating T 118 ἐκ δ' ἄγαγε πρὸ φάοσδε, II 188, both dealing with midwifery. But in the old epic new matter is continually presented in old formulae : cf. B 721 and ε 395. The very expression here used may be found *parce detorta* in H. Dem. 338 ἐς φάος ἐξαγάγοι in a different connexion. No valid objection can therefore be taken to the application of the words to the revelation of secret action. A poet cannot be restricted and tied up in this way to suit the fancy of a narrow-minded criticism which next moment expands, and can see no great difficulty in the wild extravagance of a meaningless tautology in two consecutive lines.

In defence of this last our critics charge the hymn-writer with 'diffuse style' because of two manifestly corrupt passages, 24-5 and 34-5.

Even if the tradition of our line be accepted as unquestionable, these statements of Allen and Sikes can only be considered rash and ill-founded: but there is considerable probability that the tradition is not to be implicitly trusted in the particular phrase on which they rely because of its associations—

εἰς τε φάος ἄγαγεν, (ἀρίσημα).

We have two metrical difficulties here. As *φάος* is merely conventional for the epic *φάος*, neither the second nor the third foot is a true dactyl. Both are good tribrachs. Are we to suppose that the composer of the hymn did not know this? Is it not more likely that *ἄγαγεν* which causes both defects has been introduced here from T 118 by some foolish rhapsodist or out of his own head by some over-wise grammarian?

There are some unusual aorist forms of *ἄγω* besides *ἤγαγον* and *ἤγαγόμην*: we meet *ἄξεσθε, ἄξοντο* (-ασθε, -αντο), *505, 545, ἄξέμεν, ἄξεμεναι, Ψ 50, 111*, in early epic. In the *Βατραχομονομαχία* the reading *ἤξαν* is almost a certainty (rather than *εἰλξαν*) in 115, because *ἄξας* is quite a certainty in 120. Later writers may be left out of account. Possibly, then, our grammarian may have found here—

ἐς τε φάος πάντ' ἤξ',

or *πάντ' ἤλθ'*, as we find *ἐλθέμεν* and *ἄξέμεν* confused *H. Dem. 409, q.v.*

23-4. The abnormal ending *ὑψηρεφός* *ἄντροιο* should be made metrical by reading *μεγάροιο*, as in 65 *εὐωδέος ἐκ μεγάρου*; but 25, the marginal summary of the story that follows, ought, as Ruhnken saw, to be bracketed as an intruder. 'Narrative style,' on such flimsy evidence as Allen and Sikes offer, cannot be pleaded for an interruption so gross and palpable as this.

30 *σύμβολον ἦδη μοι μέγ' ὀνήσιμον, οὐκ ὀνοτάζω.*

The punctuation here is of a dubious kind. The order of the words is not, simply because it is indubitably wrong, the position occupied by the enclitic

pronoun *μοι*, being contrary to early epic usage. "*Ἢδη μοι* might begin a line or, if metre be disregarded, *σύμβολον μοι*. The reason is this: One independent word standing apart from ordinary conjunctions and particles may be emphasised in this manner, but not two as here. I may perhaps refer, for brevity's sake, to the discussion in *Homeric on a 37*. The true reading is

σύμβολον ἦ δὴ μοι.

The emphatic position of the noun is wonderfully effective. It is also quite probable that *ἐναίσιμον* (Stadtmüller) is right rather than *ὀνήσιμον*, which seems to have displaced the epic word owing to the influence of 35 *σὺ δέ με πρῶτιστον ὀνήσεις*. I find, and am sorry to see, that in every recent edition of the Hymns published in England the difficult lines 32-3 read thus:

*πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἀθύρμα
αἰόλον βστρακὸν ἔσσο χέλυσ ὄρεσι ζώονσα;*

All the MSS. have *ἔσσι*. *ἔσσο* is a conjecture made by Matthiae and afterwards by Tyrrell, who supported it by the old story of the late Mr. Gilbert (I have heard it told of Douglas Jerrold, and it may be still older) who taking a walk on a cold day without an overcoat met a friend wearing a heavy one. This friend remarked: 'Mr. G., you never wear a topcoat.' He replied: 'No. I never was.' Unfortunately this proves nothing as to the reading here. Matthiae afterwards abandoned *ἔσσο* for a very good reason, because the metre will not admit it here on account of the digamma. Allen and Sikes, whose judgment is so often at fault, say dogmatically, 'this is no objection to the word,' and quote *Γ 57 λάϊνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα*. They forget that one swallow does not make a spring, and even if two blacks ever can amalgamate to make one white, which I deny, both should at least be traditional, not one traditional and the other conjectural as here. The true reading of *Γ 57* is *λάων ἔσσο χιτῶνα*, of which *λάϊνον* is the natural and inevitable modernisation. There are two other instances of neglected digamma in nouns derived from the verb *ἐννυμι*, one, *η 259*, is corrected by Homer

himself in § 285: for the rest *v. Homericæ* on § 82.

The objection, then, taken by Matthiæ to his own conjecture here is a serious one, and indeed quite fatal to ἔσσο. But even if it were not, there is still another reason against the introduction of ἔσσο. It makes absolute nonsense. It does not mean, and cannot mean, what it is supposed to mean. The supposed meaning, the only appropriate meaning, is 'whence came this καλὸν ἄθυρμα (I say nothing of the strangeness of wearing an ἄθυρμα at all) you *are* wearing?' but the Greek for this would be of necessity

πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα ἔσαι;

and ἔσαι cannot be introduced here for a very obvious reason. The real meaning, the only possible meaning, of the sentence with ἔσσο is 'whence came this καλὸν ἄθυρμα you *were* wearing?' which under the circumstances here is, as I have said, mere nonsense. Compare

π 199 ἦ γάρ τοι νέον ἦσθα γέρον καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσο
ψ 65 πάντ' αὐτῷ μέγεθος τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' εἰκνύα
καὶ φωνήν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χρότ' εἴματα ἔστο

where in 66 μέγεθος εἰκνύα καὶ ὄμματα καλὰ should be read: let anyone, I say, compare these and every other instance of ἔστο ἔεστο (*H. Aph.* 86, M 464, ρ 203, 338, τ 218, 237, ω 158, 227) ἔσθην Σ 517, εἶατο Σ 596, with ω 250 αὐχμῆς τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσαι λ 191, τ 72, and ψ 115, and the case against ἔσσο is placed beyond all doubt or question.

Now let us return to the tradition, condemned by Allen and Sikes for 'great awkwardness of the construction' and for 'a very weak sense.'

πόθεν τόδε, καλὸν ἄθυρμα;
αἰδὼλον ὄστρακόν ἐσαι, χέλυσ' ὄρεσι ζῶνυσα.

'Whence comest thou here, my pretty plaything? A chequered shell thou art, O tortoise whose home is on the hills.' Where is the great awkwardness here? We have πόθεν τόδε; for πόθεν τόδε ἰκάνεις (*cf.* Ω 172, α 409, κ 75, τ 407); a natural and easy colloquial ellipse. Where is the weak sense? Only in the imagination of our misjudging critics who would have little fishes made to talk like great whales. In these two lines the vindica-

tion of the tradition against injudicious emendation is complete; but can we be satisfied with what follows immediately?

34 ἀλλ' οἶσω σ' εἰς δῶμα λαβὼν· ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσση,
οὐδ' ἀποτιμήσω· σὺ δέ με πρῶτιστον ὀνήσεις.
οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ βλαβερόν τὸ θύρηφιν·

It may be well to begin by recognising two verbal difficulties in these lines. First, ἔσση is an unepic form, ἔσσεια alone being current, and being moreover necessarily a dactyl, as in 37, not a spondee in spite of § 33 for which see *Homericæ ad loc.* This is a far more weighty matter than is commonly supposed. Secondly, ἀποτιμήσω, if the word is to be accepted at all which is quite a questionable point, must be read ἀπατιμήσω (Matthiæ) as is proved beyond doubt by N 113—

οὐνεκ' ἀπητίμησε ποδῶκεα Πηλείωνα

and the numerous instances of ἀτιμάω, ἀτιμάζω.

It is idle to defend the often impugned lines 35 and 36, as Allen and Sikes do, on the ground that the author of the Hymn was capable of anything in the way of vain repetition and inane tautology particularly on the flimsy evidence referred to on l. 12. In this Hymn we have to deal with an exceedingly faulty and defective tradition. Occasionally the words of the writer are beyond recovery, yet in many places it is possible to restore the original with more or less probability. A curious instance is l. 457 (No. V.).

The situation is something like the well-known case of the Spider and the Fly. The tortoise, however, is not a bird: so Hermes says 'I will pick you up and carry you into my parlour.' Otherwise he is as persuasive and polite as the spider. To say ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσση, even if it were metrically possible, would be rude not to say brutal. He probably said,

ὄφελός τί σοι ἔσται,

'It will be a good thing for you,' 'it will do you good.'

The key to the next line is to be found in Plutarch's statement that the tortoise was οἰκουρίας σύμβολον ταῖς γύναιξι καὶ σιωπῆς. I would accordingly read the line thus:

οὐδ' ἀποδημήσεις· σὺ δέ με πρῶτιστον ὀνήσεις,

'And you shall not be an outcast from home'—i.e., be a homeless wanderer like a lost child. Then he adds the reason why he takes such care of the tortoise, 'because you first did me a service.' The service is that mentioned in l. 30, the omen of success in his expedition against Apollo's oxen. So far all is consistent. 'Αποδημήσεις, with δ for τ, is but another instance of the vocal confusion of ι and η so often found in the tradition, and this also indicates why ἀποτιμήσω appears rather than ἀπατιμήσω. Lastly, the absolute appropriateness of the sequent

οἱκοι βέλτερον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφιν

vindicates it for the author of the Hymn as against Hesiod, and the scholiast's τὸν Ἡσίοδον κλέψαντα (or κεκλοφότα) τὸν στίχον is right. Probably the original ending was βλαβερὸν γε θύρηφιν.

In 38 the moods of the two verbs should certainly be reversed thus:

εἰ δὲ θάνοις, τότε κεν μάλα καλὸν αἰδέηαι.

'If you should —, then you shall —.'

46 ὥς ἄμ' ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐμήδετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.

It requires no great discernment to comprehend the obvious certainty that an original and metrically correct ἔπος καὶ ἔργον would become ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον in later times. The supposed improvement would meet with no opposition. It would be welcomed with a unanimous approval. It would probably inspire the introduction of ἄμα before ἔπος in place of ῥα or a pronominal ὁ, and so a good line

ὥς ὁ ἔπος καὶ ἔργον ἐμήδετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς

would be made to bear false witness ἀσυνέτοισιν, to the witless.

50 καὶ πήχεις ἐνέθηκ', ἐπὶ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤραρεν ἄμφοῖν,
ἐπτα δὲ συμφώνους ὄϊων ἐτανύσσατο χορδὰς.

Ἀμφίς is a certain correction of the unepic ἀμφοῖν. The ζυγὸν extends between the two projecting arms, πήχεις, which dual form should in all probability be also restored—e.g., καὶ ῥ' ἐν πήχε' ἔθηκ' (or καὶ τ' cf. T 86).

Little reliance can be placed upon ἐπτά for determining the date of the Hymn. The numeral could be so easily introduced for an original ἔνθα when there was such rash tampering with the text, as is shown in this line by the impossible variant θηλυτέρων for

συμφώνους attributed to Antigonus of Carystus, who, if guilty, ought to have remembered that θηλυτεράων would have been the proper form. Even συμφώνους wears a suspicious aspect, and may represent an earlier εὐφώνους following ἐς in tmesis thus:

ἐνθα δ' ἐς εὐφώνους ὄϊων ἐτανύσσατο χορδὰς.

The enterprising Antigonus was probably dissatisfied with the expression ὄϊων χορδὰς, but he ought not to have forgotten σάκος ταύρων, τόξον αἰγός and ἱμάντα βοός, unless indeed he was the proud author of λάϊνον for λάων (Γ 57), in which case he may be partly excused for his consequential offence here.

52 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῦξε φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθρυμα
πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέρος,

One of the minor injuries inflicted by Mr. Allen, when left to himself, upon these Hymns is a freak punctuation. Here he has removed the comma altogether from 52 (*Bibl. Class. Oxon.*). The combined editors placed the missing comma after ἄθρυμα.

Now, the position of this comma is not unimportant. They acknowledge this in their note, in which an attempt is made to show that Gemoll is wrong in placing it after τεῦξε. In reality it is not Gemoll who is mistaken, but his critics, who, however, are quite right in treating the seven conjectures they record χερῶν, λύρην, etc., as of little value comparatively.

Taking τεῦξε φέρων together they translate 'when he had brought and fashioned his plaything.' Linguistically this seems to be justified by 63 κατέθηκε φέρων, and I take no exception to it on that score; but rationally its case is hopeless. No writer or singer in his senses, after 34 and its fulfilment in 40, could possibly describe at length and in detail the killing of the tortoise and the construction of the lyre, and then tell his hearers or readers again that Hermes brought the tortoise into his cave from outside in the very sentence in which he says that the little god had done his work and was beginning to play the new music.

Still more decisive is the absolute fitness of the sense given by

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῦξε, φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθρυμα
πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε

'But when he had wrought it, holding it in his hand he tried his lovely playing with the striker or key.' The lyre was held in the left hand, and played with the right. The statement of Allen and Sikes that 'the rhythm requires that φέρων should be taken

with τεύξε rather than with ἐπειρήτιζε' betrays a surprising incapacity for the appreciation of epic metre. Does not the *τομή κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον* admit of even a comma? *Aufer tales nugas ineptiasque.*

T. L. AGAR.

MELEAGER: NOTES AND TRANSLATIONS.

(a) A.P. XII. clxiv.:

ἦδὺν μὲν ἀκρήτῃ κεράσαι γλυκὺ νᾶμα μελισσῶν
ἦδὺν δὲ παιδοφιλεῖν κἀντὺν ἐόντα καλόν.
οἷα τὸν ἀβροκόμην στέργει Κλεόβουλον Ἀλεξίς
† θνατὸν δὲντως τὸ Κύπριδος οἶνόμελι.

The fourth line is a well-known difficulty: 'quod ulcus plurimi tetigerunt, nemo successu fausto.' τὸ θνατοῖς ὄντως; ἀθανάτων ὄντως; ὄντως τὸ θνατόν; ὄντως θηητόν, are some of the many guesses that fail to explain the cause of corruption. It is possible that the line offers an example of double lipography, and that what Meleager wrote was:

θνατὸν ὄν ὡς δὲντως Κύπριδος οἶνόμελι.

Two things are sweet, honey with wine to blend,
And in youth's bloom to love a loving friend.
Such love Alexis Cleobulus gives,
For in their hearts the Cyprian's nectar lives.

(b) V. 139:

ἡδυμελεῖς Μοῦσαι σὺν πηκτίδι, καὶ λόγος ἔμφρων
σὺν Πειθοῖ, καὶ Ἔρως καλὸς ἐφ' ἡνιόχῳ,
Ζηνοφίλα, σοὶ σκῆπτρα Πόθων ἀπένειμαν, ἐπεὶ σοὶ
αἱ τρισσαὶ χάριτες τρεῖς ἔδωσαν χάριτας.

V. 194:

αἱ τρισσαὶ χάριτες τρισσὸν στεφάνωμα συνείραν
Ζηνοφίλα, τρισσᾶς σύμβολα καλλοσύνας·
ἃ μὲν ἐπὶ χρωτὸς θεμένα πόθων, ἃ δ' ἐπὶ μορφᾶς
Ἰμερον, ἃ δὲ λόγοις τὸ γλυκύμυθον ἔπος.
τρισακίς εὐδαίμων, ἃς καὶ Κύπρις ὥπλισεν εὐνὰν
καὶ Πειθῶ μύθους καὶ γλυκὺ κάλλος Ἔρως.

These two poems as they are usually printed illustrate the sort of *contaminatio* the blending of two separate compositions which is not uncommon in the *Anthology*, where superscriptions, attributions of authorship, and divisions of poems are especially liable to confusion. Meleager has suffered from all three kinds of error. The beautiful poem to Heliodora for example (v. 214),

Have mercy, Love, and lull my sleepless pain,
Nor leave my Muses voice to cry in vain,

is shamefully plagiarised in Straton's *Musa Puerilis*, and appears there as a new composition, with the superscription 'To. *Heliodorus*'; and a wrong superscription is the initial cause of mistake in v. 139, which is really two short poems, one written for the boy Heniochus, the other for Zenophila. The various emendations proposed for the second line, *καλὸς ὑφηνιόχῳ*; *κάλλος ὑφηνιοχῶν κ.τ.λ.*, then become unnecessary:

The Muses love the sounding lyre;
Wise words Persuasion's aid desire;
And Love doth ever shine most fair
When Heniochus is there.

The second couplet alone justifies the superscription to Zenophila, and is a repetition of the idea expanded in v. 194. For the Syrian the graces are what the fairies are for Celtic poets:

Three charms the fairies to my Zeno gave,
And said, 'With these Love's empire thou shalt have.'

In v. 194 the second couplet is corrupt, and probably we should accept Dithely's correction:

ἃ μὲν ἐπὶ χρωτὸς θεμένα Πόθων, ἃ δ' ἐπὶ μορφᾶς
Ἰμερον, ἃ δὲ λόγοις τὸν γλυκύμυθον Ἔρως.

The third couplet is a separate poem, as Jahn saw, addressed to an unnamed girl, and one of the most beautiful that even Meleager ever composed:

Soft is her voice, Persuasion in it speaks;
Cupid himself sent roses for her cheeks;
Love decked the bed wherein she now is laid—
Happy, thrice happy maid.

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PLATO, *REPUBLIC*, 421A.

ὁ δ' ἐκείνο λέγων γεωργούς τινας καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν πανηγύρει ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πόλει ἐστιάτορας εὐδαίμονας . . .

MR. R. G. BURY, referring to a proposal of mine to read *χορηγούς* for *γεωργούς*,¹ suggests (in *C.R.*, vol. xxxiv, p. 32) that Plato wrote *γεωμόρους*. This emendation is attractive on palaeographical grounds, the more so as the reading of O² in *Laws* 843b actually substitutes *γεωμόροις* for *γεωργοῖς*. But does not such a confusion or correction on the part of the scribe, who must have recalled the name that Plato gave to the citizen holders of allotments, put Mr. Bury's reading out of court? He suggests that Plato had in mind such great landed proprietors as the Syracusan *γαμόροι*. There is no evidence that the word, without a guiding context such as the historians or the Argive plays of Aeschylus supply, would convey this sense to Athenian ears. For in Attica the Eupatrids were the magnificent order, contrasted traditionally with the serviceable *γεωμόροι* or *γεωργοί*² and the *δημιουργοί*. As the Aristotelian fragment quoted in Plutarch's *Theseus* (XXV) shows, the *γεωμόροι* excelled in *χρεία*, and the Eupatrids in *δόξα*. Now the context here requires, as I argued and Mr. Bury seems to allow, some word signifying a class pre-eminent in *δόξα*. In Athens the historical distinction had not faded from memory; a certain state was still recognised to be proper to the Eupatrid,³ and Plato's adoption of *γεωμόροι* in the *Laws* to designate his citizens shows that the traditional sense of this word retained its vitality. If *γεωμόρους* were used in this passage of the *Republic*, would it not convey to an Athenian that tang of *ἀγροικία*, or at least of undistinguished mediocrity, which renders *γεωργούς* unacceptable?

¹ *Classical Quarterly*, October, 1919.

² Hesychius: ἀγριῶται, ἀγροῖκοι, καὶ γένος Ἀθηνησι, οἱ ἀντιδιστέλλοντο πρὸς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας, ἦν δὲ τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν, καὶ τὸ τρίτον τὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν.

³ See, e.g., Xenophon, *Symposium*, VIII. 40: 'Ὡς μὲν οὖν σοι ἡ πόλις ταχὺ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτήν, εἰ βούλει, εὖ ἴσθι. Τὰ μέγιστα γάρ σοι ὑπάρχει· εὐπατρίδης εἶ, ἱερεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἑρεχθέως . . . καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἱεροπρεπέστερος δοκεῖς εἶναι τῶν προγεγενημένων.

But even if *γεωμόρους* of itself unambiguously meant the class of great landowners, it would be out of place here. Mr. Bury's argument is that 'the ownership of *land* was assumed, we may suppose, to be the very foundation-stone of *noblesse* and *μεγαλοπρέπεια* and *λαμπρότης*.' But foundations are not in question. As I confined myself to analysing the argument in my former paper, perhaps I may be allowed to touch upon the background of popular thought presupposed by the imaginary objector in the *Republic*.

The *στολή* καὶ *ἀβρότης* of Ionian civilisation ruled the older Athenian tradition. It was not so long since men of the richer classes discarded the sumptuous dress that still was worn by tragic actors and on state occasions,⁴ as at a *πανήγυρις*; and even later Thucydides could put in Pericles' mouth the boast that Athenians, *ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι*, were equal to dangers for which Spartans fitted themselves by a lifetime of arduous self-discipline.⁵ Now this discussion of Plato's does not stand alone in fourth-century literature. The twelfth book of Athenaeus (*περὶ τρυφῆς*) contains the fragmentary remains of a dispute whether *τρυφή* was the mark of a free state or the cause of its downfall,⁶ and we have only to turn over his pages to discover why Socrates selected fine raiment and banqueting in his rebutting argument. The fine flower of the severance of function and pleasure was that king, recorded by Herakleides of Cumae, who passed his life *ἐν τρυφῇ καὶ δαπάνῃ—καὶ πράττει οὐδὲ ἐν πράγματι <αὐτός>*. Such devotion fitted him, in Plato's language, rather for the *πανήγυρις* than for the *πόλις*. But a quotation more relevant to our passage (since it touches Athens) may be taken from Herakleides Pontikos, *περὶ ἡδονῆς* (Athenaeus, XII. 5): οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ

⁴ I need not quote the well-known passage in Thucydides, I. 6, about the dress of the *εὐδαίμονες*: but note the phrases *ἀνειμένη τῇ διαίτῃ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν* and *διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίατον*.

⁵ II. 39.

⁶ See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II. 68.

βασιλείς πάντων ἀγαθῶν ὄντες κύριοι καὶ πάντων εἰληφότες πείραν τὴν ἡδονὴν προκρίνουσιν, μεγαλοψυχότερας ποιοῦσης τῆς ἡδονῆς τὰν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις. ἅπαντες γοῦν οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν τιμῶντες καὶ τρυφᾶν προηρημένοι μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰσιν, ὥς Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι . . . ἐστὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἡδεσθαι καὶ τὸ τρυφᾶν ἐλευθερῶν· ἀνίησι γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ αὔξει· τὸ δὲ πονεῖν δούλων καὶ ταπεινῶν· διὸ καὶ συστέλλονται οὗτοι καὶ τὰς φύσεις· καὶ ἡ Ἀθηναίων πόλις, ἕως ἐτρύφα, μεγίστη τε ἦν καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατους ἔτρεφεν ἄνδρας. ἀλουργῇ μὲν γὰρ ἡ μπίσχοντο ἱμάτια, ποικίλους δ' ὑπέδυνον χιτῶνας, κορύμβους δ' ἀναδούμενοι τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόρρας ἐφόρουν . . . καὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν [οἱ τοιοῦτοι] οἱ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι νικήσαντες μάχην. . . . This piece of special pleading urges that rulers, as such, whether kings or a ruling class as at Athens, should seek *τρυφή* as an end. But that is no other than the fallacy that Plato seeks to uproot.

For Books II. and III. of the *Republic* purge the *τρυφῶσα πόλις*, with its inflamed craving for luxuries, so that when the purgation is complete, guardians neither possess nor desire personal property, and the pleasures attached to it. The objector at once (419) raises the popular *τόπος* that a ruler's *εὐδαιμονία* requires *ἄλβος*. He has behind him the whole tradition of Ἰωνικὴ *τρυφή*. Now this claim has no strictly political or economic bearing. Certainly external goods are the condition of the pleasures of the *μεγαλοπρεπής*, but the nerve of the argument is psychological. The objector desired the pleasures *derived* from possession, pleasures and activities that are spectacular and elegant, possessions that in themselves mark the dignity and refinement of the ruler. The holding of land is naturally among the marks of the *μεγαλοπρεπής*; for the great man must have his estate—if only *διαγωγῆς χάριν*,¹ and a Peisistratos or a Kimon will show his quality

by throwing open his grounds and leaving its products for the people. But such *λαμπρότης* is not bound up with one special type of ruling class in certain foreign states, nor with the economic basis of their power. Consider the effect if Socrates had used land as an example in the rebutting argument. He says that if farmers and potters (*i.e.*, *δημιουργοί*) are enervated by the pleasures of costume and the table, how much more dangerous are the temptations of such pleasures for the ruler. If you try to insert land (as the solid foundation of *noblesse*) anywhere in this argument, you dislocate its structure. Apart from the confusion incident to coupling farmers and land in this context, you would have (if a modern instance is permissible) to imagine the farmer entertaining his friends at a battue of pheasants, and trying to plough at the same time. The psychological point is clinched in the conclusion. Such pleasures as the objector demands, which gain *δόξα* at the expense of *χρεία*, find their natural outlet in the *πανήγυρις*. If we take the reference to the *πανήγυρις* as a clue, it seems not improbable that Plato did have in mind the 'useless' services of *χορηγία* and *ἐστίασις* associated with it at Athens. Then, having dealt with the refined *τρυφή* of the *μεγαλοπρεπής*, he proceeds in the next argument to forbid the trading classes to indulge in *τρυφή*. However that may be, the objector is not, I urge, said to plead for a special landed class, nor could he well have used *γεωμόρους* to specify it.

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POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing the above note I have found that Adam 'once thought of *θεωρούς* to suit ἐν πανηγύρει,' but withdrew it in favour of *λεωργούς* (C.R. X. p. 385). I note also that Nauck proposed *χορηγός* for *γεωργός* in Clement, *Stromata*, I. i. 18, where *γεωργοί* is used more than once earlier on the same page (as in the *Republic*), and *ἐχορήγησεν* for *ἐγεώργησεν* in Heraclitus, *Alleg. Homer.* c. 22. But a comparison of the latter passage with Clement (Stählin, p. 13, l. 4) suggests that the text is sound.

¹ When Dion, the friend of Plato, arrived in Athens, he bought an estate with this purpose, and, like a *μεγαλοπρεπής*, gave it to Speusippus when he left (Plutarch, *Dion*, c. XVII).

ΤΟΔΕ ΤΙ ΙΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙ.

I WISH here to retract an error in regard to the meaning of this term in the works of Aristotle, for the propagation of which I have, I fear, some responsibility. In making it I was, it will be seen, following high authority, or at least proceeding in good company. But in fairness I must refrain from attributing the mistake to anyone other than myself. In any case it may be worth while to reconsider the question of its meaning.

The conventional equivalents of the term current in translations were *hoc aliquid*, *dies etwas*, *this somewhat*. These were mere 'transverbatations,' and did not necessarily commit their users to any distinct view of the meaning of the term or of the construction of its constituent words. Still they seemed to imply, and probably were intended by some of their users to imply, a view as to both. The whole phrase was held to signify what in scholastic language may be called the *individuum vagum* of the class of 'somewhats'—i.e. 'this or that somewhat,' 'any somewhat.' This implies that Aristotle recognised a class of *τι*'s or 'somewhats,' and that the *τόδε* singled out a member, taken at random, of that class. In fact the phrase *τόδε τι* was construed as parallel to, and indeed as the generalised form of, such phrases as *ὁδε ὁ ἄνθρωπος*. The first objection of Professor Burnet (edition of *Nic. Eth.* p. 66 n.), who evidently so understood his predecessors (and I with him), was that in that case the definite article would have been required. 'The Greek,' he says, 'for "this somewhat" would be *τὸ τι τόδε*.' I imagine he rather shrank from *τόδε τό τι* (which, if it occurred, could, I think, mean only 'this instance of *τι*'). If *τὸ τι τόδε* occurred in that order—I have never seen it—it would, I think, by parallelism with *ὁ τις ἄνθρωπος* signify the *individuum vagum* of the class of *τόδε*'s ('any this').

The alternative equivalent which it was proposed to substitute was 'a this' or 'any this.' This would take the phrase as parallel to, and the general form of, such phrases as *ἄνθρωπος τις*, *ξύλον τι*—i.e. as signifying the *individuum vagum* of the class of *this*'s. On

this view *τόδε* is a sort of general noun or class-name, and *τι* is the indefinite article 'a' or 'any'; so to construe the phrase is at least to keep within the ordinary rules of Greek grammar. The same interpretation was offered of *τοιόνδε τι*, where *τοιόνδε* was taken as the general adjective, of which *λευκόν τι*, *καλόν τι*, *κτλ.* are the specific instances.

But I now see more clearly than I did the grave objections to this view. For (1) it imputes to Aristotle the doctrine that there is a class of *this*'s with the universal class-character of *thisness* (concrete individuality). I could understand this doctrine being attributed—I do not say correctly—to Hegel or Bradley or the Scotists, but to ascribe it to Aristotle even as latent in his mind appears to me an anachronism. (2) The meaning thus arrived at for the whole phrase *τόδε τι* is not what it bears in the works of Aristotle.

The two interpretations have this in common, that *either τι* or *τόδε* is a highly generalised class-name, and that the other word restricts it to a single instance of the class named, taken at random. Neither of these interpretations is satisfactory.

There remains, however, another possibility of construing the term which I now believe to be the correct one—viz. that of taking *both* words as general. The Greek for 'a this' is simply *τόδε*, for 'a somewhat' simply *τι*; *τόδε ἐν τῷδε* certainly means 'a (or "any") this-in-that,' *τόδε τοιόνδε* 'anything which is both a this and a such-and-such.' Similarly *τόδε τι* would mean 'anything which is both a this and a somewhat,' the two characterisations being co-ordinate. *x* is *τόδε τι*, if it is both (a) singular and so signifiable by 'this' and (b) possessed of a universal nature, the name of which is an answer to the question *τί ἐστι* in the category of *οὐσία*; in other words *x* is a *πρώτη οὐσία*. It is 'a designated somewhat'—a placed and dated specimen of some definable and substantial nature or kind.

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MISCELLANEA.

1. *Crown-head*.—According to Serv. *Aen.* I. 276 (cf. 292) Romulus placed on a curule-stool at his side, 'the head of Remus,' represented by a crown. An illustration of this act you will see in the picture of the Etruscan Tomba del Letto funebre at Corneto (Fig. 34 in the first volume of the new publication *Fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptoteks Samlinger*, Copenhagen, 1920, where Dr. Fr. Poulsen has written a very interesting treatise on the sepulchral pictures of the Etruscan tomb): on a mighty lectus you see on the torus not two recumbent defuncts, but *two green crowns*, surmounted by the Etruscan (and Roman) pointed head-dress, the *tutulus*. On the right hand of the lectus you see two recumbent symposiasts and two slaves behind them, one bringing an egg—a decidedly sepulchral symbol—the other a bread in the uplifted hands. On the left hand a slave is playing the double flute before a table with bowls. We clearly see before us a *feast* in commemoration of the defunct two relatives who accept the traditional sepulchral sacrifice. But a *crown with a tutulus* alone takes the place of the *anima* to be revered. The picture itself is dated to the fifth century B.C., but the editor was not aware of the interesting vestiges of this sepulchral custom which belongs to Roman political as well as religious tradition. Cf. Fest. p. 472, Lind.: '*struppi* (from the Greek *στρόφος*, *στρόφιον*?), vocantur in pulvinaribus fasciculi, de verbenis facti, qui *pro deorum capitibus* ponuntur.' Consequently we have to state that the Romans knew *lectisternia*, where the images of the gods were represented by these *struppi* only. And, secondly, we have the notice of Servius cited above (cf. my *Opferritus*, p. 74 f. and p. 157, where I cited Crooke, *Folklore of Northern India*, I. 46: 'In the Punjab, the headman of a village makes an offering of money and a cocoanut to the flood-demon, when there is danger of flood: the cocoanut representing the head of a human victim'). The *tutulus*, however, the Romans seem to have left out in

their symbolic representation of the dead and of the gods. We may, perhaps, in this connexion recall what Clem. Alex. *protr.* II. p. 15, 3 Stählin states about the mysteries of the Corybants and their introduction into Etruria: τὸν τρίτον ἀδελφὸν ἀποκτείναντες οὗτοι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ φοινικίδι ἐπεκαλυψάτην καὶ κατὰ στέψαντε ἐθαψάτην, φέροντες ἐπὶ χαλκῆς ἀσπίδος ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Ὀλύμπου. According to Clement, the two Corybants, or 'Kabeiro,' just brought the basket, and with the basket the mysteries, to Etruria. In the mysteries the head might perhaps have been represented by a crown.

2. *The Public Festival Meals of the Romans*.—The Roman *Liberalia*, the origin of which clearly goes back to very remote times, is a feast with many peculiar traits, one of which is the custom mentioned by Tertull. *apol.* 42 (with Oehler's note): *non in publico Liberalibus discumbo, quod bestiariis supremam cenantibus mos est*. I do not know of any other exact parallels to this public banqueting than Dion. Hal. *ant. rom.* II. 34, 2, where the triumph of Romulus over the Sabines is described in the following way: οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπήντων αὐτοῖς ἅμα γυναῖξί τε καὶ τέκνοις παρ' ἄμφω τὰ μέρη τῆς ὁδοῦ τῇ τε νίκῃ συνηδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοφροσύνην. ὥς δὲ παρήλθεν ἡ δύναμις εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρατήρσί τε ἐπετύγχανεν οἶνον κεκραμένοις καὶ τραπέζαις τροφῆς παντοίας γεμούσαις, αἱ παρὰ τὰς ἐπιφανέστατας τῶν οἰκῶν ἔκειντο, ἵνα ἐμφορεῖσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις ᾗ. This really looks like a legendary reflex and an exaggerated picture of the custom in question (cf. the festival of Anna Perenna two days before, and Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 50 ff.).

3. *Mensam evertere*.—The sacred hearth was originally and until late times the religious centre of the family worship of Greeks and Romans, and the table in front of it (with the salt-cellar and the sacred salt-cake of the Romans) partook of the same religious character

(Fowler, *Relig. Exper.* 73); cf. e.g. Val. Max. IX. 2, 2, where the cruel Marius holds the head of M. Antonius in his hands: 'laetis manibus inter epulas per summam animi ac verborum insolentiam aliquamdiu tenuit clarissimique et civis et oratoris sanguine contaminari mensae sacra passus est.' On the other hand, the overturning of the table was the sign of the utmost wrath (e.g. Sen. *de ira* I. 19, 4: 'quid opus est mensam evertere? quid pocula adfligere,' etc.). Now we all remember the Apollinic feast, the Stepterion (Septerion) at Delphi (e.g. Nilsson, *Feste* 151), 'the imitation of the god's fight with the dragon Python' according to Plut. *qu. gr.* p. 293c: a hut (καλιὰς) is erected and set on fire by a κόρος ἀμφιθαλής, the holy table therein is overturned, and all those partaking of this holy drama run out of the doors of the sanctuary: they must not look behind themselves (Plut. *def. or.* p. 418a); cf. my note in *Festskrift til A. Torp* (Kristiania, 1913, 82), where I was not able to adduce further parallels. Of course you have the mythic reflex of this ritual detail in the story of Zeus' visit to the sons of the Arcadian Lycaon: Zeus overthrows the inhospitable table, strikes the sinners with his lightnings, and sets the house on fire (Apollod. III. 8, 1; Hyg. f. 176, etc.); Weizsäcker, in his article in Roscher's *Lexicon*, is decidedly wrong, when he affirms that the whole story was invented *only* to explain the local name Trapezus. A ritual fact must be the basis of the story. Just the same story was told of another similar occasion, viz. Thyestes' meal according to Aesch. *Ag.* 1599: λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεῖς ἀρᾶ, οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος. On the rôle of the table in sepulchral customs cf. e.g. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus* II. 301 f. (in Argentièrre the table is placed on the tomb), and Sartori, *Speisung der Toten*, 32, 39. Especially interesting is a notice on a prophylactic measure against conflagration, given by Wuttke³, § 618. You may be sure that you will be able to evacuate a burning house if you place the table *legs up* in the midst of the room, and then put a crucifix between the legs—we may suppose that the fire demon(s) cannot run past it. Just in

the same way the dragon at Delphi may have been prevented from pursuing its enemies, the dragon, you may imagine, originally being burned in its hut.

4. To catch the captives *by the hair*—i.e. the hair of the forehead—was a very widespread custom to show that you were the absolute master of the prisoner. The archaeological proof of this custom you observe in the representation of *Kairos* or *Bonus Eventus* on different reliefs (cf. the article 'Kairos' in Roscher's *Mythological Dictionary* with illustrations and references); on a relief from Torino you distinctly observe the long locks depending from his forehead and his temples, the back part of the head being left quite bald or shaved. We know the same usage from literature. In Hom. *Il.* XIX. 91 ff. Zeus seizes the Ate *by the hair* and throws her down from heaven; and more explicitly Philostratus, *Apoll. of Tyana* I. 37, comments on the custom as a Babylonian one: εἰληπτο εἰνούχος τις ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως παλλακῶν ξυγκατακείμενος τε καὶ ὅποσα οἱ μοιχοὶ πράττων, καὶ ἦγον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἐπισπῶντες τῆς κόμης, ὃν δὲ ἄγονται τρόπον οἱ βασιλέως δοῦλοι. Of course it is very practical to seize one's adversary, having a fine head of hair—not only women—by the locks. So Appian, *b.c.* IV. 17, tells us that the murderers of the triumvirs, sent to kill the tribune of the people Salvius, ran into the banquet where Salvius was sitting; the leading centurion ordered the other companions to keep quiet, τὸν δὲ Σάλουιον, ὡς εἶχε, τῆς κόμης ἐπισπᾶσας ὑπὲρ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐς ὅσον ἔχρηζε (i.e. so much as he wanted for his purpose), τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε. In just the same way we 'take time by the forelock,' to hold it hard and fast and to improve the opportunity. This really very practical consideration accounts for the manner of dressing the hair named *Θησηὶς*, Plut. *Thes.* 5: . . . ὅπως οὖν μὴ παρέχοιεν ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν ἀντίληψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπεκείραντο, the natural result being of course ὅπιθεν κομῶντες.

To cut the hair is a very widespread *rite de passage* that may be interpreted in different ways (see *Opferritus*, p. 381).

In Rome the emancipated cut their hair, but already the Sumerians (*cf.* the 'Babylonian' custom just mentioned above) seem to have known the right of a father to cut the hair of his recalcitrant son, in order to show the son up as his slave (*cf.* Ed. Meyer, *History of Ant.* I. 2, 512). Even suppliants, as well as captives (on the Column of Trajan the Dacian women burn the hair of the captive Romans, S. Reinach, *Rép. des Reliefs*, I. p. 342, 37) and the battle-horses of the defeated enemies (Plut. *Nik.* 27) had their hair cut, *cf.* Eur. *Tr.* 1026 (ἀπεσκυθισμένην, *prop.* 'scalped'), and *Ant. Lib.* 11, § 5, gives us one more instance of the well-known custom of cutting the hair of the slaves.

But to return to the hair-dressing of Kairos, from which we started, we have to be aware of different sorts of hair-dressing that did not belong to everyday life, and therefore do not seem to be noticed in the handbooks or encyclopaedias. Artemid. I. 21 seems to imply the cutting of the hair on the right, respecting the left side of the head (in sickness?), with which we again have to compare Val. Max. 9, 3, ext. 4: Semiramis, when making her toilet, gets news of the revolt of the Babylonians—'*altera parte crinium adhuc soluta protinus ad eam (Babylonem sc.) expugnandam cucurrit nec prius decorem capillorum in ordinem quam totam urbem in potestatem suam redegit. Quocirca statua eius Babylone posita est illo habitu, quo ad ultionem exigendam celeritate praecipiti tetendit.*' The story was of course invented to explain the peculiar coiffure.

5. The history of the *gloriole* dates back to heathen times (*cf.* Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*). Besides some gods (Apollo, Silvanus especially), the Roman emperors seem to have favoured this emblem as a symbol of their divinity and power. On Italian ground the tradition is very old and strong—compare the nimbus around the heads of Servius, Iulus, Lavinia, signifying their divine origin. A quite distinct nimbus you observe above the head of the infernal daemon in the picture of Tomba del Orco (*Mon. d. Inst.* IX). And in later times the

wall-painters of Pompeii have decorated the head of Circe of Iris in the same way (Helbig, *Wandgem.* nr. 1329, *cf.* Zahn III, table 44, and A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I. 238).

But the Greeks, too, very well knew the shining or burning hair—as well as the divine odour—as the distinctive feature of gods and heroes. For the divine odour you have to compare the smell streaming forth from the corpse of Alexander, Plut. *Alex.* 4, with Artemis in Eur. *Hipp.* 1391. And already in the *Il.* XVIII. 214 we hear of the fiery sheen on the head of Achilles, reappearing on the side of the Achaeans, a gift of Athene: ἄμφι δέ οἱ κεφαλῇ νέφος ἔστεφε δία θεάων | χρύσειον, ἐκ δ' αὐτοῦ δαίε φλόγα παμφανώσαν, etc. This feature of even this hero's divine nature Philostratus (*her.* p. 319, Kayser) dates back to his boyhood, when he lived in Chiron's cave: ἐφήβου δὲ ἀπτόμενος ἀκτῖνα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου ἔπεμπεν. In this connexion it does not make much difference whether the hair or the face is shining. In the like way the modern Greeks imagine the hair of Charos 'shining as the sun' (Passow, nr. 430), and a brilliant application of the same idea you recognise in Philostratus' *ephr.* 21, where the adored belle puts a crown of roses on her head: τί δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν στεφανοῖς πυρί; In the cults of the heroes you hear of the odour as well as the splendour of their appearance, Philostr. *her.* p. 290: Κ. ἀβρῶ δ' ἰούλω βρῦει καὶ ἀπόζει αὐτοῦ ἥδιον ἢ τοῦ μετοπώρου τῶν μύρτων, φαιδρὰν δὲ ὄφρυν περὶ τὸ ὄμμα βέβληται. We may, moreover, perhaps adduce a personal name as Ἀλκίας Στίλβου (*Dial. inscr.* 5313, 19, Eretria) and the like, s. Bechtel, *Histor. Person.* 407, on Στίλπυρις, Λάμπυρις.

Especially amongst the Romans this idea of a nimbus as the proper sign of gods and godchildren has been a favourite one. We remember the story of Marcius in Spain 212 B.C., first mentioned by the annalists (Peter, *H.R.F.* p. 248, fr. 23), Liv. XXV. 39, 11: *etiam miracula addunt, flammam ei con- tionanti fusam e capite sine ipsius sensu cum magno pavore circumstantium militum* (Val. Max. I. 6, 2). Then we have

to record a real nimbus in the story told by Vell. Pat. II. 59, 6 about Octavian as he returned to Rome by Brindisi after Caesar's death: *solis orbis super caput eius curvatus rotundatusque in colorem arcus*, etc. (cf. Sen. n.g. I. 2, 1); and Herodian, I. 7, 5, shows that Commodus once was the object of the same exaggerated worship: *ποσοῦτον ἐκλάμπειν αὐτῷ πυροειδές τι ὡς τοὺς μὲν οἶεσθαι ῥίνημα χρυσοῦ προϊόντι ἐπιτάσσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκθρεῖν αἰεὶν, λέγοντας αἰγλήν τινα οὐράνιον περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν συγγεγεννησθαι αὐτῷ*.

Finally, I want to add the account of Gregory, *de glor. conf.* 38, about the wonderful fire surrounding the head of a friar: *quamquam coma in sublimi producta excreverat, non tamen flamma noxia erat capiti* (cf. Diels' Treatise on the Alcohol!).

6. In the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-vereins*, Vol. XXXI, G. Dalman published two inscriptions from Christian times, written above the door-case: *τούτω νικᾷ* and *πύησον κὲ σύ*. The latter inscription, which Dalman correctly transcribes *ποίησον κὲ σύ*, the Hebrew scholar thinks *rätselhaft*, but the meaning is clear. The apotropaeic formula *καὶ σύ* is here filled out with the active *ποίησον*, 'the same to you,' already correctly interpreted by Panofka

as a means of averting evil influences, cf. O. Jahn, *Ber. der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1855, 61. To the former inscription, written around a cross framed by a wheel, compare the formula *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ* (cf. e.g. Newton, *Travels*, etc., I. 212).

For connexion with these formulas I want to draw the attention of students to the conduct of the maniac Caligula under thundery weather, Cass. Dio LIX. 28, 6 (p. 655, Boissen.): *ταῖς τε βροιταῖς ἐκ μηχανῆς τινας ἀντεβρόντα καὶ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ἀντήστραπτε· καὶ ὁπότε κεραυνὸς καταπέσοι, λίθον ἀντηκόντιζεν, ἐπιλέγων ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου 'ἢ μ' ἀνάειρ' ἢ ἐγὼ σε'* (= Il. XXIII. 724). Here as elsewhere in Caligula's competition against the gods we catch a glimpse of the real basis for his crotchets. As in modern Italy the peasants fire shots against hailstorms, so this antique Salmoneus on the imperial throne really tried to avert the strokes of lightning—the Masurian peasant still throws his stony axe against the door during thunderstorms (cf. Blinkenberg, *The Thunder Weapon*, ch. 4).

S. EITREM.

Kristiania.

DE NIHILO NIL.

In his communication to the last issue of the *Classical Review*, November-December, 1920, pp. 161 ff., inscribed 'De Nihilo,' Professor Housman mistakes in supposing that my observations in *Hermathena* XLII. pp. 54 f. were penned for his 'guidance.' Had instruction been my object, I should have sought an apter pupil than a scholar who has taken over twenty years to learn that in Ovid the last syllable of *nihil* was normally short, and who is still unable to see that at *ex Pont.* II. 5, 11 f.¹ the removal of the corruption

salui produces no 'dangerous' or 'treasonable ambiguity.' My aim was other and humbler, to throw such light as I could on some perplexing diversities in the treatment of *nihil* and *nil* in Latin poets, Ovid only one amongst the number.

Professor Housman complains that in this matter of *nihil* he has had less than his due; and I am willing to make such amends as I can. Up to about

¹ The sense of this couplet which the MSS. give thus—

optastique breuem solui mihi Caesaris iram
quod tamen optari si sciat ipse sinat,

may, if *breui solui* be read with me (or *breui minui* with Mr. E. H. Alton), be rendered as follows: 'You prayed that Caesar's anger against me might end—a prayer of which even he would not disapprove if he knew it.' And in the couplet taken as a whole, as taken it should be, there is nothing in which even the nose of a *delator* could have detected treason.

1916 he held,¹ in submission to Lachmann, that Ovid did not use *nihil* at all, undeterred by the facts that in 48 places it was attested by the manuscripts and that in two (or three if *Her.* XIX. 170 be included) protected by the metre as well. Dagon now fallen, he has reverted to Heinsius, who read *nihil* with the manuscripts in all these places, and in *Met.* XIII. 266, *Fasti* I. 445, and *Ibis* 284 against them. Professor Housman's own contribution is this. Observing that in all the twenty-one places where the word (in the MSS. *nihil* in 18 instances, *nil* in 3) appears in the second half of the first foot of hexameter or pentameter it is followed by a vowel,² he drew the conclusion that 'Ovid must have had a motive for saddling himself with this restriction; but, if he meant the word for a monosyllable, he can have had none. His only imaginable motive was to procure a dactyl instead of a spondee for the first foot.' On this I wrote: 'By needlessly restricting his imagination Mr. Housman has failed . . . to divine the significance of the poet's behaviour, who was not pursuing a dactyl, but avoiding *nil*.' I now see that, with Mr. Housman as adversary, this sentence, in its pregnant use of 'pursuing' and its omission of a supererogatory qualification, contained 'dangerous ambiguities'; and so, sacrificing point to perspicuity, I would amend it by reading 'not so much endeavouring to procure a dactyl instead of a spondee as avoiding *nil* in the place of the verse in question.'

It is quite true that Ovid much preferred the dactyl to the spondee for the first place in his verse. In *Met.* XII, 503 lines out of 620 and in *Tristia* II, 472 out of 578, or in both together

975 out of 1198, or something over 81 per cent., so begin. This may be taken as the pull towards the dactyl. To estimate the pull against *nil* in the 'fall' of the foot I will take my statistics from the *Tristia* and the *Epistles from Pontus*. I find there that *nil* occurs 48 times out of 50 in the 'rise' and twice only in the 'fall.' This is 96 per cent., and represents a stronger pull than the 'dactyl's,' and, in fact, one even strong enough (allowing for accident) to account for the whole 21 examples, if Ovid is to be restricted, as Mr. Housman would restrict him, to a single motive. But this is gratuitous, and the combination of the two pulls would be irresistible.

So much for *nihil* and *nil* in the first foot, to which Professor Housman has expressly limited his declarations. I went further. Having regard to the 30 instances where, as I wrote (*l.c.*), 'in the second, third, and fourth feet of hexameters the same word precedes a vowel, and where the MSS. or the best part of them (in one place, *Met.* XV. 165, about a half) favour the form *nihil*,' I formulated for the first time the rule that '*nil* may be used in the "rise" of a foot before both vowels and consonants, but in the "fall" before consonants only.' On this Mr. Housman writes: 'This opinion, as I mentioned in my paper,'³ was apparently held by Servius in the 4th century.' What Servius said on *Aen.* VI. 104 was that *nihil* is used before a vowel, and *nil* before a consonant. But, not being a modern scholar, he may be liberally interpreted. 'It was certainly held,' he goes on, 'by Heinsius in the 17th.' Heinsius certainly observed the Ovidian practice, but he formulated no rule. Lastly, he says, 'I learnt it at school.' Doubtless. But neither he nor any preceding scholar had said a word about the rise and the fall of the foot till after the publication of my paper in *Hermathena*.

A word about the 'precariousness'⁴ of the manuscript witness. In the first foot of the verse, Mr. Housman, before

¹ On this I wrote in *Hermathena*, *l.c.* 'It is now twenty-seven years since I protested against that dictum' (Lachmann's), 'as others had done before me. And it gratifies me to observe that Professor Housman's attitude has passed from acceptance to doubt (*Class. Quart.* 1916, p. 138) and from doubt to rejection (*Class. Rev.* 1919, p. 57).'

² He complains that I did not state this explicitly. It did not occur to me that where *nihil* gave a dactyl in the first foot a reader could imagine that the second foot began with a consonant.

³ What he had spoken of there was 'the rule which Servius tried to formulate.' The change in his phrasing is slight but instructive.

⁴ 'This rickety regiment,' 'forty eight precarious examples' (Mr. Housman).

he found salvation, was prepared to remove *nihil* in 18 instances out of 21. In these he now holds that Ovid wrote what the manuscripts give. But the old Adam still persists and reminds him that once he held these instances to be corrupt. And so they are dubbed 'precarious.' For this reason and since, in addition, his theory of the attractive dactyl cannot be applied without qualification to the instances of *nihil* outside the first foot, these too must be 'precarious.' But impartial critics will see that manuscripts faithful in the first foot should not be suspected of unfaithfulness in the second, the third, and the fourth, unless tangible and independent evidence be produced for this suspicion, and that for this no such evidence has been produced by Professor Housman; who on the contrary rejects their reading in not one of the instances and argues for it in several. And they will conclude that here too the manuscripts have been true to their original, and that their witness is not 'precarious.' And having thus concluded they will, if I mistake not, be disposed to accept an explanation which will fit every one of the instances and to agree with me that in his preference for *nihil* in the fall of a foot Ovid was not so much pursuing a dactyl as avoiding *nil*.

In a note Professor Housman imputes inconsistency to me on the ground that I have urged that in the MSS. of Phaedrus *nihil* is often a corruption of *nil*, when, as he says, I have left Ovid a safe distance behind me. There is nothing inconsistent here. The scribes of Ovid did not corrupt the word because their knowledge of the metre restrained them. The scribes of Phaedrus were ignorant of the fabulist's metre and could do as they pleased. Mr. Housman knew this as well as I do. But his immediate object was not to set out the truth, but to discredit a rival attempt to ascertain it.

Professor Housman also discusses two passages of Juvenal (whom he remarks he has edited), in which either

nihil or *nil* will scan, and where the MSS. are divided between them, and I found the grounds of his preference obscure. In XV. 88 the word ends the second foot preceding the main caesura, and an elision follows in the middle of the third. He tells us that in these circumstances Juvenal has more monosyllables than disyllables (pyrrhics) in the proportion of 3 to 1, while in the absence of a such elision the ratio is only as 3 to 2. About this he may be right. But at VI. 58 the word comes *after* the main caesura, ending the third foot and preceding an elision in the fourth foot, and here Professor Housman takes another line of defence. He says that in these circumstances the ratio of monosyllables to pyrrhics is as 7 to 1. But he omits to show what are the total occurrences of monosyllables and pyrrhics in his author; and till this is done, the reasoning halts. For the number of occurrences in any given position in the verse must obviously bear some relation to the total number of their occurrences. I find that in Satire X. there are 456 long or 'lengthened' monosyllables and 86 disyllables with pyrrhic scansion, and the ratio here is over 5 to 1, not so very different from the ratio that we are considering.

Professor Housman is a gladiator whose brilliant logomachy has in the past provided much entertainment for the readers of classical journals, and may be hoped to do so in the future. It is a pity then that he impairs the artistic effect of these exhibitions by heavy humour, as

Has Dr. Postgate any news from the sick bed of our beloved sovereign lady Queen Anne?

and laboured irony, as

I gather that because he cannot divine it he thinks that I was contradicting myself, and as I am sure that this suspicion cannot be agreeable to him I will try to dispel it.

J. P. POSTGATE.

Cambridge.
December, 1920.

ON THE WORD 'EDUCARE.'

It has been generally assumed that *educare* is a sort of doublet of *educere*, derived from the *dūc* stem appearing in *dux*, as the other is from the *dūc* stem of *ducere*. This derivation appears to be doubtful etymologically, and inconsistent with the meaning and use of the word in Latin.

It is no doubt possible enough that two cognate forms, *dūcare* and *dūcere*, should exist side by side, like *dīcare* and *dīcere*. But it is hardly credible that there should be no distinction of meaning between them. Nor is there otherwise any trace of the existence of a word *dūcare*. It would be, to say the least, very singular if a verb *e-ducare* existed entirely by itself, without either the uncompounded *ducare* or any collateral compound. Such formations occur in groups, either where the simple verb exists (*dicare*: *abdicare*, *dedicare*, *indicare*, *praedicare*), or where it does not (*aggregare*, *congregare*, *segregare*). The one instance cited by Ducange of a mediaeval word *ducare* (= *guidare* vel *nutrire*) counts for nothing.

But further, the original sense of *educare* is quite certain. It meant to feed a child, and is equivalent to *nutrire*. Usage makes this perfectly clear; but we have also the express and precise definition of Varro given by Nonius: 'educit obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister.' Its Plautine usage fully confirms this meaning. *Educata huius nutrimentis eloquentia*, says Cicero, *Orator* 42. The poets give the same testimony: so *educat imber*, Catullus lxii. 11; so *tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros*, Horace, *Epist.* I. xv. 22; so *totidem quos educat Ufens*, Virgil, *Aen.* X. 518. (Conington-Nettleship and Ladewig-Schafer-Deuticke are, I think, wrong here in suggesting that Sulmo and Ufens are the names of persons, not of places, and Mr. Page quite wrong in saying positively that they are.) *Educare* was a woman's function, not a man's. Even in its metaphorical extended meaning the verb is generally, if not always, attached to feminine substantives, as in Cicero, *Rep.* I. 8, 'neque enim hac nos patria lege genuit aut educavit ut nulla quasi alimenta expectaret a nobis,' and *de*

Oratore II. 356, 'ars dicendi habet hanc vim ut ea quae sunt orta iam in nobis et procreata educet atque confirmet.'

In view of these double considerations, I believe that *educare* is a verb formed from the verb *ēdo*. The root *-ēd* is found also as *-ēd*; the third person singular of *ēdo* is, with probability approaching to certainty, *ēst*, and not *ēst* (see Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 456). It may be objected that the form to be expected from this origin would be *edūcare*, not *edīcare*, like *mandūcare* from *mandere*. I cannot cite any precise parallel. But there is a whole class of verbs in *-icare* so formed (*fodicare* from *fodere*, *vellicare* from *vellere*, etc.) which are exactly analogous except for the vowel being *i* and not *ū*; and this difference may only mean, as with *proximus* and *proxumus*, *optimus* and *optumus*, a slight variation in customary pronunciation.

There is a further interesting point to be noticed. Augustine, *C.D.* IV. xi. 34, mentions an *Educa* as the Latin goddess of infant nutrition and expressly connects her with *esca* and hence with *ēdo*: 'in diva *Educa* *escam* praebeat.' This form of the name has been doubted. Varro *ap.* Non. 108, 15 gave it as *Edusa*, if we can rely on the MSS. of Nonius, all derived from one lost original. Elsewhere it appears as *Edula* or *Eduia*. Full particulars will be found in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Edusa*—the form which is there, on grounds which do not seem very decisive, chosen as preferable. In any case, the name is undoubtedly connected with *ēdo*, as the sister-goddess *Potina* is with *poto*. There seems no sufficient reason to doubt the existence of *Educa*, even if there were variants of the name.

But what were the vowel-quantities in *Educa*? There is no direct evidence. Through the kind offices of Professor Lindsay, I have ascertained from Mr. Vollmer that the material collected for the *Thesaurus* throws no fresh light on this point. It has generally been taken for granted, without much reflection, that the word is *Ēdūca*. It is just as likely (I think more so) that it is *Ēdūca*. Vollmer rightly observes that the words

aquiducus and *felliducus* are not properly analogous: in them, as in the coupled goddesses *Iterduca* and *Domiduca*, the derivation from the *-duc* stem is certain, and the long vowel highly probable, though here also there is no direct proof. But *Educa*, like *educare*, stands by itself. The close relation between the two words, in view of their meaning, is certain; and the argument for the

derivation of *educare* here proposed is, I think, thus materially strengthened.

I submit it for consideration and criticism. Should it be confirmed, it might possibly put some check on the popular fallacy, so tediously and endlessly reiterated by writers and speakers on educational matters, that 'education' means drawing out what is in the pupil. But that is, perhaps, too much to hope.

J. W. M.

NOTES

PYGMIES AND CRANES.

ἤυτε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρὸ,
αἶτ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,
κλαγγὴ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο βόαων
ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρονται.

Homer, *Iliad* III. 3-6.

ONCE some young men of the Cherokee set out to see what was in the world, and travelled south until they came to a tribe of very little people called Tsundige/wi, with very queer-shaped bodies, hardly tall enough to reach up to a man's knee, who had no houses, but lived in nests scooped in the sand and covered over with dried grass. The little fellows were so weak and puny that they could not fight at all, and were in constant terror from the wild geese and other birds that used to come in great flocks from the south to make war upon them. The travellers showed them how to make use of sticks for clubs, and the little men managed to drive them off. The Cherokees heard afterwards that for some time after their departure the little men successfully repulsed the attacks of birds, until a flock of sandhill cranes came. They were so tall that the little men couldn't reach up to strike them on the neck, and so at last the cranes killed them all.—Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, Nineteenth Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology, p. 325.

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ΠΑΡΑ ΠΟΔΑ AND ΕΝ ΠΟΣΙΝ.

(Soph. *Trach.* 196, Eur. *El.* 641).

IN *Trach.* 196, for τὸ γὰρ ποθοῦν ἕκαστος ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων, read τὸ παρὰ

πόδ' οὖν . . . Each person in the crowd pressed as close to the speaker as he could in his desire to get the news 'hot from the wire.' Cf. *Phil.* 838 παρὰ πόδα (*extemplo*), Plato, *Soph.* 242a παρὰ πόδα μεταβαλὼν ἄνω καὶ κάτω. Sophocles is fond of such expressions as ἐν ποσί, πρὸς ποσί, παρὰ πόδα (denoting *res praesentes et instantes*). Cf. *O.T.* 130 τὸ πρὸς ποσί (identical in meaning with τὸ παρὰ πόδα here), and *Ant.* 1327 τὰν ποσὶν κακά. Even the genitive with παρὰ occurs sometimes, to denote *id quod praesens est*, as well as the dative (Pind. *P.* 3. 60 γνόντα τὸ παρ ποδός). Cf. Hesych. παρὰ τοῖς ποσί, παρὰ πόδας (εὐθέως, ἐγγύθεν), Eur. *Alc.* 739 τοῦν ποσὶν γὰρ οἰστέον κακόν (where the connective is put after the phrase, as in *Soph. Tr.* 196), Hdt. 3. 79 τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον, Plato, *Theaet.* 174a τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ παρὰ πόδας . . . περὶ τῶν παρὰ πόδας καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς διαλέγεσθαι, *Rep.* 432d. πρὸ ποδῶν, Pind. *O.* 1. 118 παρ ποδί, Luc. *Bis Acc.* 34 πρὸ τοῖν ποδοῖν, *Nigr.* 7 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν ποσίν, Xen. *An.* 4. 6. 9 τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν, Pind. *P.* 8. 32 τὸ δ' ἐν ποσὶ μοι τράχον, Sext. *Emp.* 361, Polyb. 8. 11. 12. Finally, in Eur. *El.* 641, read παρέσται δ' ἐν ποσίν (for the impossible ἐν πόσει).

The scribe had written τὸ γὰρ shortly before, and at the beginning of a verse (144). Moreover, the article with γὰρ in this position occurs very often in Sophocles. Cf. 695, 714, *El.* 4. 528, *O.T.* 598, 671, 1082, *O.C.* 1617, *Al.* 964. Add to these examples the occurrences of τί γάρ, ἃ γάρ, ποῖ γάρ, οὐ γάρ, ἦ γάρ, εἰ γάρ, and one sees how a scribe might mistake τοπαρ for τογαρ, especially as

the connective was delayed until the fifth syllable of the verse (it could come nowhere else in such a phrase as τὸ παρὰ πόδα). Such phenomena are not rare. In Aesch. *Cho.* 224, for example, the interrogative τῷ carried δέ along with it to the seventh syllable, and caused the scribe to write τᾶδε. Furthermore, the tribrach, employed designedly by the poet to indicate the breathless haste of the speaker, was calculated to add to the copyist's confusion. A little farther on we find an anapaest in the first foot in a similar situation (424). Sophocles is not very fond of resolution in the first foot of the trimeter. In a rapid survey of the extant plays and fragments I have succeeded in finding barely seventy examples (excluding proper names). If we bar such words as πότερα, ποδαπὸν, τίποτε, this number is reduced to sixty. Most of them occur in passages of haste and excitement. The *Trachiniae* does not show a single tribrach in the first foot (except τὸ παρὰ and πότερον, 342, 862). An anapaest occurs in 372 and 424. There are no dactyls. The *Ajax* contains only one example of resolution (besides πότερα, 265, 460): *ικέτης* (1172). The *Oedipus Coloneus* has only *ὄνομα* (265, 306) and *πατρίδα* (850). There are three anapaests: *ῥδατος* (481), *ῥδατων* (1599), *ἰκετεύδομεν* (1327), and *ποδαπὸν* (1160). The *Philoctetes*, on the other hand, has twenty-six examples—as many as in all the other extant plays together. But the capital fact is that seventeen of these occur between verses 740 and 999, just where the suffering and emotion of Philoctetes cause him to speak with the same rapidity as the messenger in the *Trachiniae*. The next three appear quite close together (1003, 1018, 1054) in similar situations. The *Antigone* contains *ῥσια*, *νόμιμα*, *ἄγετε*, *ἄφετε*. In the fragments I have found eight examples.

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AESCHYLUS AND THE HUNTING FIELD.

THE passage in the first chorus of the *Agamemnon* (*Ag.* 110-50), where the elders describe the omen which marked

the sailing for Troy—the pregnant hare devoured with its unborn leverets by the twin eagles—is familiar enough; and that Artemis, as 'Our Lady of Wild Things,' should be angered by this massacre of innocents, needs in itself no explanation. There is, however, a remark in the Xenophontic *Cynegeticus* (5. 14) which makes it possible that Aeschylus' audience, so many of whom must have themselves hunted the hare over the grey uplands of Attica, had a specially vivid association on this point. The author, Xenophon or another, after describing the fecundity of hares and the ease of tracking the leverets owing to their stronger scent, adds: 'Accordingly, good sportsmen let the very young ones go, in honour of the Goddess.'

Game-preserving taboos are no new thing in Polynesia: so utilitarian an end does not make their infringement less awful to the simple mind. The eagles, symbols of the Atridae, are then, I would suggest, not merely outraging Artemis in her general capacity of loving Mother of all things wild, but specially also as counterpart of the mediaeval St. Hubert. To kill hares may be cruel, yet Artemis sanctions the hunt: but to kill leverets! Even the shooting of foxes pales beside that religious enormity.

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PINDAR, NÉM. III. 59-63.

ὄφρα . . . ὑπὸ Τροίαν . . . ἀλαλὰν Λυκίων . . .
προσμένει καὶ Φρυγῶν | . . . καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις
ἐπιμίξαις |
Αἰθιόπεςσι χεῖρας, ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ', ὅπως σφίσι μὴ
κόλρανος ὀπίσω | πάλιν οἴκαδε . . . Μένων μῶλοι.

So the MSS.; Professor Bury translates '(Cheiron nourished for her a son most brave); to the end that he should . . . abide the battle-whoop of the Lycians and Phrygians, and having fought hand to hand with the Ethiop spearmen, should fix in his soul a firm purpose that their chieftain Memnon should never return again to his home.'

I do not feel, with Professor Bury, that ἐπιμίξαις Αἰθιόπεςσι χεῖρας is a solecism, as it appear well borne out by the passages he cites in his commentary *ad loc.*

But the expression ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ', ὅπως μὴ Μένων μῶλοι seems extremely clumsy as well as doubtful Greek, and ὅπως moreover would appear to be an un-Pindaric conjunction in final

clauses. Modern translators do not help matters, I think, by insisting on the antithesis between *χείρας* and *φρασί*, for if a man's *acts* are to be sharply opposed to his *purposes*, the inevitable impression arises that the purposes remained unfulfilled—a *reductio ad absurdum* in this case.

The difficulties of the passage might be disposed of if we write

ῥφρα . . . προσμένοι . . . καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμίξαι |
Αἰθίοπεσσι χεῖρας, ἐν φρασί πλάξαι θ', ὁ δ' ὡς σφίσι μὴ
κοίρανος ὀπίσω . . . Μέμνων μόλοι

'that he might abide the Lycians' war-whoop, fight hand to hand with the Ethiop spearmen, and smite them to the midriff; but that that other, their leader Memnon, might never return again to his home'—the *ὁ δ' ὡς* clause being co-ordinated with the *ῥφρα* clause above.

Corruption might arise as follows:

1. *πάξαιθ'* for *πλάξαι θ'* (uncials);
2. The phrase *ἐν φρασί πάξαιθ'* was then understood as recent translators understand it; hence, to make the following clause dependent and explanatory, *ὁ δ' ὡς* was altered to *ὁπως*;
3. To repair the construction of the sentence and also, perhaps, to avoid hiatus between the ends of the lines (cf. *Pyth.* IV. 9, *ἀγκομίσαιθ'*, *mss.* for *ἀγκομίσαι*, through similar considerations) *ἐπιμίξαι* was altered to *ἐπιμίξαις*.

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ON AETNA 597, 8.

nunc gloria uacca Myronis
et iam illa manus; operum turbaeque morantur.

Vacca Haupt, *uina* MSS. Munro objects with some truth that 'after Greek painting has been illustrated by three of its greatest masterpieces, it is

hardly in keeping that a *uacca*, however great its merits, should be the sole representative of Greek sculpture.' Might he not have added with equal truth that it is hardly fair to oppose Myro alone to the three great painters? Surely we want another sculptor. And when I look at the mutilated remains of the next line the name of Alcamenes flashes on my mind; when I enquire what was his 'greatest masterpiece' I learn that it was an Aphrodite; and I am irresistibly driven to restore for that heap of débris <nunc Venus> *Alcamenus*.

Et iam may be a corruption of *alcam*, a marginal correction of *illa manus*; *a* has been often corrupted into *e* in the volcanic tradition of this poem, e.g. 19, 20 (Munro, p. 30), but indeed to trouble about single letters in such a text is to strain at gnats; and *et iam* may have then occupied the first foot of the line and thrust out the original owner.

We should also restore *Myronos* in 597, for the Latin and Greek terminations of the two genitives are not in harmony; it is notorious how fond the author is of keeping the Greek forms in proper names; and so Martial has *Myronos* and *Praxitelus* together in IV. 39. *Vacca* is now absolutely necessary.

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REVIEWS

THE BUDÉ CLASSICAL SERIES.

Lucrèce, de la Nature. Texte établi et traduit par ALFRED ERNOUT, Professeur adjoint à l'Université de Lille. Two vols. Pp. xxvii+290. Paris: Société d'Édition 'les Belles Lettres,' 1920 (Association Guillaume Budé). 10 francs each volume.

SINCE imitation is the sincerest flattery, this new French series should be welcomed even more heartily than the Italian Paravia series (described in the *Classical Review* of August-September, 1918). Its orange covers (but

of paper, not limp cloth), its *apparatus criticus* under the text, its preface on the MSS., are all in the style of the Oxford Classical Texts, though a new feature is the addition of a translation, side by side with the text. But an editor of Plautus, Martial, Isidore, and (prospectively) Terence in the Oxford series may be allowed to remind our friendly rivals in Italy and France that the Oxford Greek and Latin volumes derive their value from their editor's patient work over the MSS. of each author. The Lille Professor makes

satisfactory excuse in his preface for not having seen the Mayence (Oblongus) and St. Bertin (Quadratus) transcripts at Leyden; and presumably this implies that his omission is not going to be followed by the other editors.

Little new can be got from the threshing of old straw and when the readers of the *Classical Review* have been told that the translation is cultured, the text scholarly and the preface on the MSS. clear, the reviewer has nothing more to say, unless he finds opportunity of trotting out some pet hobby. My hobby at present is 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte.'

Professor Ernout seems unfair to Lachmann's 'fameuse reconstruction de l'archétype, qui pendant tout le dix-neuvième siècle fut un article de foi en matière philologique.' He is right in claiming that Chatelain in the prefaces to the Sizthoff reproductions has demolished much of Lachmann's argument, and he might have added that Clark's *Descent of Manuscripts* has taught us sounder inferences from lacunae. But Lachmann was a pioneer. His discoveries, whose importance was recognised by the great Cambridge Latinist, led the way to Traube's science of 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte'; and who can say what may not be possible for future editors when Traube's precepts have been followed out? It is a debatable point whether Mr. Dull Dog who has mastered the practice of medieval scribes, or Mr. Nimble Wit who cannot read a MS., is likelier to emend a text. I would bet on Dull Dog, for the tenth and eleventh-century scribes were dull enough, but their familiarity with scribal error made them very fair emendators. But, not to insist on this, are we not all agreed that the best results will come when Nimble Wit acquires Dull Dog's knowledge? Why, then, do our heaven-illuminated scholars not study Palaeography? Are they afraid that the work will make their wits dull? Hard work need not have this effect. No harder spade-work has been done by any editor than by the editor of Manilius. Do the *Lines to a Mercenary Army* suggest that dulness has invaded the author of *A Shropshire Lad*?

Their aversion probably has the same reason as the boy's aversion to a study of the alphabet. It is worth while going through so much to learn so little? Well, if they would read Traube's writings (now collected in one volume, *Kleine Schriften*, Munich, 1919), they would be convinced that it was. Let me give an example. Our traditional text of Catullus is taken from Renaissance transcriptions of a lost Verona minuscule MS. These transcriptions followed the usual rule: *Divinare oportet non legere* 're-cast as you write,' 'make your transcript not an apograph, but an edition.' What was the Verona exemplar like? Was it written in that clear minuscule of the Caroline type which we call the 'Pacífico minuscule' and of which photography are easily accessible? If written when Pacífico presided over the scriptorium, it probably was. There would not be much room for error in transcription of these beautiful rounded letters. But suppose it to have been earlier than Pacífico, in one or other of the half-cursive hand which are so hard to read, a hand like that of Verona 33, or like that of Verona 40, or of Verona 62. Will our native common-sense allow even the most bigoted of the 'old gang' to deny that an editor of Catullus might get a useful clue from a study of all the types of Verona minuscule?

To return to the Budé Series. When I recollect how my own respect for the pages of conjectural emendations in our classical journals was shattered when I had to edit Plautus and Martial and found that not one in a hundred of these random suggestions could be mentioned by a self-respecting editor, I have strong hopes from the new French and Italian series. In France and Italy will be raised the same protest as in England against the absorption of all that space in classical journals by the haphazard, 'feet-on-the-hob' type of conjectural emendation. May Holland soon start a series too! For it has been truly said that 'the pages filled with dogmatic (and eristic) divination can provide illumination in the literal sense only, not the metaphorical.'

W. M. LINDSAY.

PRIMITIVE TIME RECKONING.

Primitive Time Reckoning. By MARTIN P. NILSSON. London: Humphrey Milford, etc.

THIS book certainly has long been wanted. It is true, it deals with a wide field and only at certain points touches the classics, but nevertheless it throws light indirectly on such writers as Hesiod and on many things which puzzle the ordinary reader: directly, the author deals with the Greek calendar and the intercalary month. For our purpose, a fuller treatment of Greek and Roman problems, with illustrations, would have been preferable; but the author preferred to take his subject the other way. He ranges all over the earth, and gives exact references for everything important: his only serious fault is, that the index is wholly inadequate, consisting of three pages when it ought to be thirty.

The reader will be astonished, as well as amused, by the variety of ways in which the time of day may be measured, some very artificial. Africa is especially rich in these; and the unique *βουλυτόνδε* may be illustrated from Sumatra, where 10 a.m. is 'the loosening of the ploughing gear,' and, from the Malays, 'when the plough rests,' although Homer clearly refers to a somewhat later hour, midday or thereabouts. So in Borneo: 'when the buffalo is sent to pasture,' 'when the buffalo is brought back from pasture,' and 4 p.m. 'home-coming from work in the fields.' For similar reasons, the author regards *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ* as the 'milking-time.' Hesiod's maxims of the seasons are also illustrated; most

of such titles come from the changes of climate or the acts that accompany such changes. There is even an instance of time counted forwards and backwards in Iceland, reminding us of one method of counting the Greek days of the month.

With the year, we find many strange oddities. Years of less than twelve months are not uncommon; it is not mentioned, however, that the Romans must have had such a year originally. There is confusion and overlapping of various countings, by the moon, by seasons, by the stars. Names of the months are of great variety, and some are taken from the chief work of the month (as now in parts of Greece). No explanation is attempted of the reason why Romans preferred so awkward a system as they had, or of the word *λυκάβας*, which I, like Mr. Platt, believe to mean a month (compare Dion Chrysostom, *Or.* VII. 84 *αὐτοῦ τοῦ μηνός*). On p. 168 will be seen a very careful piece of reasoning, typical of the author's method, to prove that the Greek month was originally divided into two, not three parts: in *μὴν ἱστάμενος* or *αὐξόμενος*, and *μὴν φθίνων*, *μὴν* clearly means 'moon,' but in *μὴν μεσῶν* it means month as clearly, the last being therefore later than the first two.

Besides the general considerations as to the basis of Greek chronology, there are a large number of classical passages which are discussed on one page or another; but the reader will have to find them for himself, since they are not in the index.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

THE DELPHIC ORACLE AND LES 'MAISONS SACRÉES' DE DELOS.

The Delphic Oracle: its Early History, Influence, and Fall. By T. DEMPSEY.

With a Prefatory Note by R. S. CONWAY. One vol. Octavo. Pp. xxiv + 200. Oxford: Blackwell, 1918. 6s. net.

Les 'Maisons Sacrées' de Delos: au Temps de l'Indépendance de l'Ile. Par SYLVAIN MOLINIER. One vol. Octavo. Pp. 108. Three plates. Paris: Alcan, 1914. Fr. 5.

MR. DEMPSEY and M. Sylvain Molinier offer us pictures of Apollo taken from two separate angles. Molinier has provided us with a useful study of the work done by the Hieropoioi of Delos in letting the houses and lands which belonged to the god, and in receiving the rents therefrom; in fact we are reminded of our own Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The details of

the tenancy of the Delians during their century and a half of freedom (B.C. 315-165) furnish an addition not without importance to our knowledge of Greek private law. After the impassioned pages of many writers on Greek religion, it is, I confess, a relief to remind oneself sometimes that, in addition to the hierophants, there were also persons living under the shadow of the temples to whom, as to us in our less exalted moments, the commonplace relation of landlord and tenant meant something. It is the business of the historian of religion to strike a balance between Martha and Mary, between the economic and spiritual sides of the religious life. And the Hieropoioi of Delos, to whom Sylvain introduces us, furnish an illuminating parallel to the more obscure Hosioi of Delphi, who also, I think, were engaged in daily business.

Dempsey, in an appendix to his scholarly and welcome history, inquires who the Hosioi of Delphi were. Help indeed is not lacking to the curious. They were—so we are variously told—‘the remnant of an anterior priesthood analogous to the Selloi of Dodona,’ or ‘they preserved at Delphi the archaic cult of Prometheus,’ or, as the author is inclined to believe, they were Dionysiac. They may have been any, or all, or none of these. But I suspect that with these important but indeterminate functions, they, like their *confrères* of Delos, combined a care for the material possessions of the god, as distinct from the victims or other offerings with which the priests were concerned. For *ὄσιος* is used so to speak with less religious emphasis than *ἱερός*, and passes almost into the sense of ‘profane.’ In their hereditary character the Hosioi at Delphi closely resembled the Levites after the return of the Jews from exile.

It is indeed perplexing to find the respectable rent-collectors of Delphi transformed into shadowy half-divine figures. Let us put ourselves, if the

effort is really needed, into the temper of the Philistine bourgeoisie, who, in Greece as elsewhere, constituted the bulk of the comfortable class. At any rate we shall sympathise with the material background upon which the Greek temple, for all its spiritual appeal, so firmly rested. And even if we are not sufficiently enlightened, with Herr Marx and the writers on Tithes, to deduce all religion from temple finances, we shall perhaps understand better how the average pilgrim to Delphi had his attention first caught by his lodging, perhaps in one of the sacred houses, and then by the material glories of the temple and its votive ornaments.

Mr. Dempsey, who, I gather, is neither a Marxian nor any other highly improved modern, but simply a careful student, deduces the wholesome influence of the oracle upon colonisation and law-giving and morals not from material causes, but from a certain sincerity and wisdom on the part of the oracle itself. This very sincerity and wisdom gained from the management of the temple finances. A care for the preservation of the sacred precincts is really not inconsistent with something higher. And after reading this little history, we are left wondering whether after all some inspiration from the inmost court of heaven came directly, and not through any archaeological tradition, to the solemn temple under the ‘brother’ peaks. Socrates thought so: a fact which is of more importance for the history of Greek religion than some of the folklore analogies which at present are exalted out of all proportion. And Mr. Dempsey furnishes those who would reconstruct the pilgrim spirit and accompany Chairephon to the shrine with what, at the risk of being called a pro-German, I will describe as an excellent Baedeker.

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GREEK TRAGEDY.

Greek Tragedy. By GILBERT NORWOOD, M.A. 1 vol. Pp. vi+394. 8½" × 5½". Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1920.

THIS agreeable and attractively printed volume is a handbook of a sort likely to be of great use to beginners, but deserving of study by riper scholars also. Its modest size alone would show that it is not an attempt to displace Haigh's well-known treatises; but a work by the author of *The Riddle of the Bacchæ* is at least not likely to be dull, or a mere rehash of other men's ideas. The six chapters discuss 'The Literary History of Greek Tragedy,' with an account, sane but far too short, of the problem of its origin; 'The Greek Theatre and the Production of Plays'; the works of the three great tragedians; and finally 'Metre and Rhythm in Greek Tragedy.' The last is an elementary chapter, with many virtues of clear and simple treatment; one misprint, *ομφη* for *ομφη*, p. 328; perhaps a little too much of the theories of J. H. H. Schmidt; and one statement with which we wholly disagree, namely that ictus is stress-accent (p. 347). We would like to see, first of all, some sort of proof that stress-accent existed in classical Greek.

We like best the chapters of literary criticism and interpretation. Here, as might be expected from an admirer of Verrall, we have insistence on the dramatic worth, the good and bad points of the technique, the insight shown into human motives, and the sheer poetic beauty of the work of the three masters, with many illuminating parallels with modern drama. We like, to mention one or two points out of many, the comparison of Admetos to Thorvald Helmer in *A Doll's House* (p. 189), and indeed the whole discussion of the play; the analysis of the characters of Aias and Antigone in the chapter on Sophokles; and the remarks on the *Prometheus*, p. 97. We also disagree with much in these chapters; but we acquit them of that worst of blunders, failure to interest the reader

and to make him realise that he is being introduced to great and fascinating works. That the classical authors were real and alive in their own day, and still live in ours, and are not dead and fossilised relics of a past wholly gone from us, is a lesson no longer new, but each generation of students needs to be taught it afresh, and from this book we hope many of them will learn it.

We pass now to some minor points in which we think the author demonstrably wrong. It is odd to find (p. 49) the impossible derivation of *Λήναια* from *λήνος* put forward once again; p. 35, Professor Norwood and the printer between them, by dint of writing diphthongs in a ligature, have disguised Aerope under the strange form *Ærope*; p. 309, it is not quite true that we owe the preservation of *φθείρουσιν ἥθη χρησθ' ὁμιλίας κακαί* to St. Paul, for though most of the writers who quote it are Christian, Diodorus Siculus had used it a century before any of the Epistles were written (XVI. 54, 4, *ταῖς πονηραῖς ὁμιλίαις διέφθειρε τὰ ἥθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων*); and in any case the claims of Menander to the verse ought to be considered; p. 46, a passage of the *Poetics* is used without any hint that Susemihl bracketed it and that the Arabic version does not contain it; 312, *τραγικώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν* is torn from its context in the conventional manner, unworthily of Professor Norwood's more scientific treatment of Aristotle; p. 99 and elsewhere, we wish he would not write Clytaemnestra against the evidence of *M* and of early Latin; p. 7, we doubt the statement that the Thanatos of *Alc.* was borrowed sword and all from Phrynichos; were not both poets drawing upon popular belief?

We feel equally sure that Professor Norwood is wrong in his adoption of certain hypotheses of Verrall. He is inclined, for instance, to agree with his famous theory of the *Agamemnon*; but it has been more than once pointed out that the cardinal assumption on which that hypothesis rests, namely that the

action lasts only a day, is put out of court by Aeschylus himself, who plainly tells us that it lasts several months. Troy falls in November, according to 827, where Verrall himself (note *ad loc.* and appendix P of his edition) sees that date, not hour, is meant by the reference to the Pleiads; but the Herald enters about July 1, on the 'tenth day of the (Athenian) year,' 504, by the only reasonable interpretation of *δεκάτῳ φέργει ἔτους*. The theory of private performances of tragedies also seems to us to ignore the sacred character of the dramas. A tragedy was as much a religious ceremony as High Mass; and we doubt if the populace who showed such fanatical resentment at the vagaries of Alkibiades and even made trouble for the orthodox Aeschylus would have taken quietly the degradation of the ancient mimetic rites of Dionysos to subserve the pleasure of their intellectuals. The difficulties which such a theory may rid us of (p. 196) are trifles to the prodigious difficulty that we have no record of any heresy-hunt on a grand scale, with Euripides for the quarry.

On the *deus ex machina* the last word will perhaps never be said. Professor Norwood talks better sense than most of the commentators we have seen, p. 313 ff.; but we doubt if he adequately recognises how much Euripides was bound by his very love for truth to use some such device in not a few situations. 'Here,' he says in effect, 'are certain people who, if they acted as the story says, must in any ordinary sequence of events have landed themselves in fatal positions. But their adventures were not fatal to them, for there are people living to-day who trace their descent from many of them through marriages contracted after these adventures were over. So there

must have happened something very strange and abnormal indeed. What that was I have no idea; it was certainly as odd as any of the miraculous people relate of the gods.' And as an act of a god he accordingly represents it.

We omit many other points of agreement and disagreement, and conclude by noticing that the vexed question of stage or no stage is treated judiciously, pp. 53 ff. It might be added that on the one hand the Harvard performances show an arrangement of actors and chorus on the same level to be perfectly satisfactory, and on the other, *Equit.* 145 ff. seem to call for an ascent first from the agora to the bema—*i.e.* as we would suppose it staged, from the orchestra to the logeion—and then on to something higher (169, *ἀλλ' ἐπανάβηθι κατὰ τοῦλεόν τοδί*). From the bema a tall man to-day can just see 'the islands all about,' or at least Salamis. Would not the audience recognise that Agorakritos' head was now level with the top of the Pnyx, and see in his chopping-block a means of looking over the city wall? And if so, would Aristophanes introduce such a situation unless the theatre provided him with something to represent the first part of the climb—*i.e.*, as we think, a platform or raised stage of some kind?

We hope that in future editions the author will be a little more generous with his footnotes. At present several statements on minor points are presented in a way which would lead a learner to take them for undoubted facts, instead of the deductions, however correct, of modern writers.

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THE LIBRARY OF PHOTIUS.

The Library of Photius. Vol. I. Octavo. One vol. Pp. 243. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920. Price 10s.

It says something for the breadth of view of the S.P.C.K. that it includes in

its 'Translations of Christian Literature' the *Myriobiblon* of Photius. Though its contents are nearly half homiletic, we do not usually regard the *Bibliotheca* as particularly Christian, and Photius' *Amphilochia* and *Letters*, to say nothing of the specifically theo-

logical works, are more devotional. Certainly Photius was manysided. As a philologist who excommunicated a reigning Pope he is the head of our profession; as a Churchman interested in teaching children (if we are to believe what he says) he resembles the prelates of the sixteenth century; in his collection of books and his epitomisation of them he is alone.¹

The *Bibliotheca*, which with his *Lexicon* and some discussions in the *Amphilochia* constitutes his claim on the philologist's attention, is valuable as evidence of the survival in the ninth century of profane, historical, and ecclesiastical literature. When the dark ages were over, of the abundance that Stephanus and Stobaeus had before them this basketful of fragments remained. As we eye the entries, Julius Africanus' *κεστοί*, Arrian's *Bithyniaca*, Ctesias' *Persica* in twenty-three books and *Indica* in one, Arrian's *τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον*, Phlegon's *Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφή*, Amyntianus' *βίοι παράλληλοι*, Antonius Diogenes' *τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην*, Theopompus Libb. LIII. (of which he analyses only one), and the fuller survivals of Dion. Hal., Diod. Sic., Dio Cass., Appian, *movetur saliva*; and the Metamorphoses of Lucius of Patrae,

¹ He has been fortunate in his tradition. The *Bibliotheca* is extant in the admirable MS. Ven. 450, written within a hundred years after his death (two facsimiles are given by E. Martini, *Textgeschichte der Bibliothek des Patriarchen Photios*, Abh. sächs. Gesellsch. 1911); the MS., also of the tenth century, from which Bishop Mountagu printed in 1651 the first collection of the letters, is one of the treasures of the Bodleian, Barocci 217; the *Lexicon* is contained in the Gale MS. at Trinity College, Cambridge, written early in the eleventh century (not 'about 1200' as Porson said, followed by everyone, except Dr. James, down to Naber, Reitzenstein and Schmid). On the other hand, the gap at the beginning (*Ἀδίακριτος . . . Ἐπώνυμοι*) is partly supplied by a Berlin MS. No. 22 of s. XI.-XII. according to Reitzenstein, its discoverer, but of s. XIII. according to his facsimile.

were perhaps worth the rest. The *Bibliotheca* is also valuable as telling us in what the culture of the Byzantine renaissance consisted. We take for granted the major classical writers which still survive (and which never ceased to be included in ordinary school teaching) and find that doctrinal theology predominates; next comes ecclesiastical history (out of forty-seven historians twenty-one are lost, and the epitomes of Olympiodorus and Philostorgius are very valuable); and next secondary history, doxographi, etc., usually of the first and second centuries P.C. The Byzantine public had an appetite for these anecdotists, and the information we also can glean from Pamphila, Conon, Memnon, Ptolemaeus-Hephaestion, Cephalion, is far from unimportant. We note the absence of poetry, a characteristic of Arethas' collections also. Further, in the third place, the *Bibliotheca* preserves a certain number of epitomes of lost authors. Of these Ctesias is probably the *clou*; and we may add to those just noticed Proclus' *Chrestomathia*. Further Photius' criticisms and *renseignements*, which he adds to some of his epitomes, be they original or not, are remarkable, and better on analysis than the scholia which Arethas compiled and added to his splendid series of prose writers.

Mr. Freese has undertaken to translate this collection, and has completed one out of five volumes; the sixth, which will interest profane readers most, will give an account of Photius himself. Notes are appended, some elementary (we are told what a peltast is, an oekist, and surprising etymologies are suggested for *aborigines*); most contain abstruse and very varied information. The client of the S.P.C.K. who reads these five volumes will emerge a well-informed man.

T. W. ALLEN.

UN DÉCRET ATHÉNIEN.

Un décret athénien relatif aux combattants de Phylé (Extrait des *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. Tome XLII.). By P. FOUCART. Pp. 35. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale (C. Klincksieck, Libraire), 1920. 2 fr. 50 + 75 per cent.

AMONG the epigraphical sources for Athenian history which have been preserved for us by a capricious fortune, not the least interesting is a fragment of a decree discovered on the Acropolis in 1884, and published first by E. Ziebarth nearly fourteen years later (*Ath. Mitt.* XXIII. 27 ff.), and two years thereafter in a revised form by H. von Prott (*ib.* XXV. 34 ff.). The *textus receptus* of this decree is that contained in *I.G.* II. et III. (*editio minor*), 10, which reproduces von Prott's restoration with two modifications due to the criticism of A. Körte (*Ath. Mitt.* XXV. 392 ff.).

It is to this fragment that M. Foucart returns in the monograph before us, and his attempt to arrive at a more satisfactory restoration and interpretation affords fresh proof of that accuracy of observation, that mastery of Greek history in general and of the epigraphical sources in particular, that sane and penetrating criticism, that lucidity of expression, which have secured for the author an unchallenged place in the front rank of epigraphists. It does more than this: it supplies us with a version of this piece of historical evidence which, whatever doubts may still linger regarding this or that word, gives us in all probability an accurate rendering of its true purport. Phrase by phrase, sentence by sentence, M. Foucart reconstructs the original upon the threefold foundation of the extant letters, the more or less stereotyped formulae of the Attic epigraphical language, and the historical facts and probabilities. He agrees with Ziebarth and Körte in restoring in line 2 [Ξεναίνεται]ος ἦρχε, thus attributing the decree to the year 401-0 B.C., and emphatically rejects, with Körte, the

proposal of Ziebarth and von Prott to see in it the famous decree of Archinus quoted by Aeschines (III. 187 ff.). According to his interpretation, its effect was to grant citizenship to those metics who either came down from Phyle with the returning democrats or took up arms in their support upon their arrival at the Peiraeus, and to bestow the rights of *ἰσοτέλεια* on those metics and foreigners who had taken part in the battle of Munychia or had fought against the oligarchy until the conclusion of the convention (*διαλλαγῇ*) which terminated the struggle.

After a brief discussion of the list, engraved upon the reverse of the slab, which gives the names and professions of those who under the terms of this decree acquired Athenian citizenship—a list which, it is argued, contained at least 300 names and probably a much larger number—M. Foucart rapidly reviews the history of Athens from 403 to 395 B.C., pointing out the wretched condition of timorous vassalage to which the Athenians were reduced by the Spartan hegemony until the liberation brought about by the Corinthian War and Conon's victory at Cnidus. In this connexion he suggests a very interesting interpretation of the episode of Demaenetus, recently brought to light by the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (I.-III.).

Excellent as the work is, it is not, however, wholly free from blemish. For example, M. Foucart's words on p. 12 unintentionally leave the impression that the word ἦ in l. 4 and the phrase ἐψηφίσθαι Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι αὐτοῖς in l. 5 are his own restorations; in reality they appear in Ziebarth's original transcription of the decree. On p. 29 καρυ[πώλης is an error for καρυο(πώλης) and ἐλαι[πώλης for ἐλαιο(π)(ώλης), represented in the original by ΕΛΑΙΟΓ. That M. Foucart does not mention Nachmanson's edition of the inscription (*Hist. att. Inschriften*, 23) might be accounted for by the war, though Nachmanson's useful little collection appeared in 1913; more surprising is his failure to allude to Hicks

and Hill's *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, where the decree figures as No. 80, and the similar silence preserved regarding its occurrence in Michel's *Recueil* (No. 1442) and in the third edition of Dittenberger's *Sylloge* (No. 120), to which he refers only in connexion with another inscription (p. 16, note). Still more strange, however, is the absence of any reference to the discussion of the decree by P. Cloché on p. 459 ff. of his work *La restauration démocratique à Athènes en 403 avant J.C.*, published at Paris in 1915, and to the same scholar's long and suggestive study entitled *Le décret de 401-0 en l'honneur des métèques revenus de Phylè*, which appeared during the first half of 1919 in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, XXX. 384-408. Further, had M. Foucart consulted the above-cited works of Hicks and Hill and of Nachmanson,

he would have modified his footnote on p. 16, for he would have found that his proposed restoration of *I.G. II. 5. 1 b* has been accepted in both of them (Hicks-Hill, No. 81; Nachmanson, No. 22).¹

But these are minor flaws, which hardly impair the value of the work. The main point to be emphasised is rather this, that M. Foucart has succeeded in coming much closer than any of his predecessors to the real meaning of the decree, and has provided us with what is practically a new and valuable source for a significant episode in Athenian history at the close of the fifth century B.C.

M. N. TOD.

¹ Why does M. Foucart adhere to the superseded notation *Corpus inscr. attic.* IV. n. 18? Even so, the reference should have read IV. 2, n. 1 b.

VORSTUDIEN ZU EINER GESCHICHTE DER ATTISCHEN SAKRALGESETZGEBUNG I.

Vorstudien zu einer Geschichte der Attischen Sakralgesetzgebung I. Die Exegeten und Delphi von AXEL W. PERSSON. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1918.

THE author, a pupil of Professor M. P. Nilsson, announces in his Foreword that this treatise is meant as the first of some introductory studies to the history of Grecian sacred legislation. His second study will treat of *ἀσυνία*.

In the course of his Introduction Mr. Persson rightly emphasises the union between politics and religion in ancient Greece—a closeness of relations which to the modern world is rather surprising, accustomed as it is to separation between Church and State.

The first of his introductory studies is devoted by the author to the Exegetae, because in his opinion that institution is but little understood, and furthermore in the treatment of this theme light will necessarily be thrown upon the whole domain of sacred law in Hellas. He deals with the Exegetae principally in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., because it is only for this period that we have tolerably reliable sources of information.

Who were the Exegetae? We find a good definition in Pollux, *Lex.* VIII. 124: 'Ἐξηγηταὶ ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τὰ περὶ τῶν διοσημιῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν διδάσκοντες. But it is to Plato that we owe most of our knowledge of Greek sacred legislation in general and of the Exegetae in particular. (We cannot, however, always be certain how far Plato's ideal state corresponded with fact.) In *Laws* VI. 759D he gives in detail the method of election, the qualifications, the number, and the duration of office, of the Exegetae. According to this statement—which is borne out by inscriptions and other sources—there were two main divisions of the Exegetae, those elected by the people (οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθεσταμένοι) and those chosen by Delphi (οἱ πυθόχρηστοι). The latter dealt principally with *κάθαρσις* or purification, *vid.* Plato, *Laws* IX. 871C, 873C; XI. 916C; Suidas and Timaeus, *Lex. s.v.* 'Ἐξηγηταί; while the former expounded τὰ πάτρια. (What is meant by τὰ πάτρια is most probably explained in Plato, *Rep.* IV. 327B ff.) In *Laws* 759D he limits their number to six, three of each kind. Like the priests, they must be sixty years of

age, and they are appointed for life after a severe δοκιμασία (*ibid.* E). At Athens the institution was from of old a prerogative of the Eupatridae, *vide* Plut. *Thes.* XXV.

The Exegetae were not confined to Athens. Mr. Persson quotes Petersens, *Philologus*, Suppl.-Bd. I., p. 197, showing that they—or at least equivalent functionaries—existed at Sparta, Olympia, Argos, and other places in Greece.

A special section is devoted to Delphi, in which the author outlines the influence and activities of the Oracle, the method of consultation, the nature of the responses, and such questions. He rightly points out that the development of the cathartic doctrine in Greek religion was largely due to the spread of the Apolline cult.

In the final section Mr. Persson discusses the relations between the Exegetae and Delphi. The Exegetae, especially those directly chosen by the Oracle (οἱ πυθόχρηστοι), took over a large portion of its functions, particularly in regard to purification from blood-guiltiness. Furthermore, they in-

terpreted the responses of the Oracle—and indeed all the skill of the professional interpreter was often needed to elucidate the dark sayings of Apollo Λοξίας.

How, the author asks, did the Oracle maintain its credit so long in Greece? His answer is that the Delphic priests, ably assisted by the Exegetae, were wise diplomats, commanding vast sources of information, and even if knowledge failed, they could fall back upon some obscure or ambiguous χρησμός which would suit any event and thus save their credit. This explanation no doubt carries us a long way, but it takes no account of the clairvoyant powers which the Oracle seems at times to have possessed.

The author has produced a notable piece of work, thorough in its methods and sound in its conclusions.

Misprints are happily rare. A few, however, are to be noted: p. 34, n. 4, l. 2, ἐκδοῦναιτ; l. 3, ἀπτοραπίς; p. 47, n. 1, last l., ἐποίηταν.

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HOUSMAN'S MANILIUS, BOOK IV.

M. Manilii Astronomicon: Liber Quartus: Recensuit et Enarravit A. E. HOUSMAN. Pp. xvii+130. London Grant Richards. Price 6s. net.

It is at least twenty-two years since Mr. Housman published his first *Emendations of Manilius* (*Journal of Philology*, XXVI.). His edition of Book I. saw the light (or created it) as long ago as 1903. Book II. was pondered for nine years; its successor for four; and at the end of another quadrennial silence we now have Book IV. Mr. Housman will probably account himself fortunate if, when he has completed his undertaking, he finds that it has cost him less than five-and-twenty years of work. A quarter of a century is a considerable period in the life of the individual, and one of perceptible magnitude even in the history of scholarship. Certainly Mr. Housman, during this period, has sensibly affected the standard of

European learning, and, in his own country at least, has influenced powerfully the whole method and character of Latin scholarship. In his own University—for by temper as well as by adoption he belongs essentially to Cambridge; and he has recently reminded readers of this journal that it is not the habit of Oxford to produce great scholars—in his own University he enjoys a repute such as has fallen to the lot of no scholar, perhaps, since Bentley; and I should conjecture that this repute was well-founded and likely to endure. He writes always as one conscious of his kindred with the great scholars of the past. He can no more conceal the fact that he thinks himself as good as Bentley than Wordsworth could conceal the fact that he thought himself the peer of Milton. Wordsworth knew what he was talking about; and I should not be surprised if the same were true of Mr. Housman. It is

easy to say of either of these great men that they take themselves too seriously. But what would you have? The seriousness of Mr. Housman is, in fact, fanatical. Scholarship to him is like righteousness: an extreme which has an opposite, but no mean. Solecism is sin, and all sins are equal and equally deadly, and equally without forgiveness. Other scholars have been impatient of the ignorance or stupidity of their fellows: but within the due limits of pedantism. Mr. Housman soars out of pedantry into fanaticism. If you are less learned or less able than himself or Bentley, you are an Albigensian, and nothing short of extirpation will do you any good. Scaliger chastised ignorance with a whip, Salmasius with a scorpion. Housman carries fire and sword—and into households as seemingly innocent as those of Ellis or Mr. Owen. From this essential fanaticism of learning proceed all those qualities in him which excite at once admiration and repulsion. There are people who think him rude. But one might as well think the prophet Jeremiah rude, or Savonarola, or Shaw. All that is the matter with Mr. Housman is that he is more serious than other people. A fanatically serious man born into a world of gentlemanly amateurs, how should he speak comfortable words? The fact is that one must take great men as one finds them. For myself, I can appreciate the serenely impersonal learning, the urbane reserve, of a scholar like Bywater, and yet admire in Mr. Housman (preferably at a distance) this turbulent earnestness, this inspired egotism, this devastating zeal for philological exactness. I am sure, indeed, that it hurts him more than it hurts its victims.

I was reviewing a book—and I find myself reviewing (I hope not impatiently) a personality, and its influence upon a quarter of a century of English scholarship. I believe this influence to have been great and serious, and Mr. Housman's *Manilius* to be a noble and imposing monument of it. Whether Manilius was altogether worth while is another question, and one too fundamental—for it conducts us to a meta-

physics of scholarship. Certainly Manilius is often a true and great poet. But whether the understanding of him where, as so often, he is both difficult and tedious, is worth five-and-twenty years of a great man's leisure, I do not know. How much knowledge and patience is required for such an understanding (I am thinking merely of the subject-matter of the book) I have had to learn from Mr. Housman. I take it that I was asked to review this book because I was supposed to know something about Manilius. I have at least learned from Mr. Housman how little that something is. In the wide and dark circle of astrological learning, Mr. Housman works at the centre, and the rest of us do but play about the circumference. This much should be known in common fairness; and I feel no pang of shame in saying it.

The Introduction to Book IV. is brief, technical, lucid, unprovoking. The Commentary is ampler than that of preceding volumes, though, as the editor observes, the subject-matter is less intricate. The old tart manner is not absent from some of the notes. A few of them, however, appear to me unduly prolix (a thing rare in Mr. Housman). The most valuable feature of the notes is, to my mind, their wealth of citation from, and reference to, other astronomical and stoical writers. In the text more lacunae are postulated than I am prepared to believe in; and an unusually large proportion of Mr. Housman's emendations seem to me to be without probability. For example:

	<i>Text.</i>	<i>Emendation.</i>
75	mora saepe	medicina
115	gaudente venit	laudem debent
610	secat aequora bellum	fert aequore lembum
800	piscis eruptor	ab his ope sumpta
890	spiritum et totum rapido	hospitium menti totum

There is a certain unfairness, no doubt, in setting out these 'corrections' thus, without the notes accompanying them. But the examples I have selected, however they may be argued, do, I think, show a reckless disregard for palaeographical probability. Mr. Housman may cry 'Ratio

et res ipsa' until he is hoarse; but such emendations are—to use his own phrase—merely 'an interruption to our studies.' There are, indeed, a certain number of notes which suggest to me that palaeography is not the field in which Mr. Housman feels most thoroughly at home. For example, when at 42, for *rei* (so *L*, saec. x-xi) he suggests *patriae* (*prie*), I feel some need to be assured that the abbreviation *prie* is found in MSS. of so early a date. In the same note the variants *rei* and *regi* could have been far more effectively illustrated. Such variants arise from the confusion, in pronunciation, of *G* and *I*. Mr. E. A. Lowe has some interesting remarks upon this in his *Studia Palaeographica*, p. 15. Good examples—among countless others which I have collected—are *Veiento* and *Vegento*, Juv. 4, 113; *Graii* and *Gragi*, Ov. M. 12, 70; *Hieria* and *Geria*, *Magia* and *Maia* in the *Vit. Verg.* One emendation of Mr. Housman's, in this fourth book, I think both ingenious and true: *Aethiopes* for *aetherios* at 804: but with all the goodwill in the world I cannot find a second. On the other hand, there are few of his notes which are not distinguished by that learning and acuteness which he has long habituated us to expect from him. It is to be

presumed, moreover, from remarks of his own, as well as from his known exactness, that his record of the MS. readings is more accurate than that of other editors; and in view of what he says of the Apparatus of Wageningen, this is a matter of importance. I observe that, in this book, he cites somewhat freely from the *Codex Venetus*, as well as from some others of the *deteriores*. There is no indication that his opinion as to the value of these MSS. has changed; and, if that be so, there is no very good reason for citing them.

I notice that at 890 Mr. Housman, accepting my *infusa*, for the MS. *iussa*, complains that this involves further emendation, and that I have left the following lines untouched. I do not expect Mr. Housman to read all my published works with the care with which I study his—heaven forbid!—but somewhere among my infinite *opuscula* I have in fact printed a suggested emendation of 892: it matters not where, for no conjectures upon this passage are convincing—least of all Mr. Housman's.

However, I have no call, nor competence, to criticise a work of so much distinction. I am content to be the pupil of this austere greatness.

H. W. GARROD.

SHORT NOTICES

HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE.

Hellenistic Sculpture. By GUY DICKINS. With a Preface by Percy Gardner, Litt.D., F.B.A. Pp. ix + 99, 23 plates. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 16s. net.

GUY DICKINS was appointed University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology at Oxford in 1914, but was killed in action before he had taken up the post. For some years, however, he had been collecting materials for a history of Hellenistic art, and the pages here printed are a preliminary sketch for part of the work. Even as a preliminary sketch they are incomplete—they contain, for instance, no chapter on

Hellenistic portraits; and there are here and there slight redundancies and inconsistencies which betray the lack of final revision. Nevertheless, incomplete as they are, they form a most useful supplement to existing works on Greek sculpture, which are seldom satisfying on this period. The book is divided into five chapters, of which the first three deal respectively with the schools of Pergamum, Alexandria, and Rhodes, the two remaining with the sculpture of the mainland and the debt of Rome to Greece.

It cannot be said that the three chief schools here dealt with are at all points very clearly distinguishable from each other or their background. In this book

that is partly because the background is itself nowhere defined, and Dickins left no sketch of the tendencies common to the schools he differentiates, of the characteristics, that is, which distinguish Hellenistic art from that of the Classical period. The main difficulty, however, lies deeper. In cosmopolitan ages, such as the Hellenistic was, the boundary lines between local schools become indistinct, and it is to be feared that the lapse of two thousand years has in places blurred them irretrievably. It is, therefore, no small achievement to have provided a framework into which the majority of the more important monuments can be fitted. In detail it is possible that some of Dickins' conclusions will require modification, but his method commands assent, and his main results seem to us secure.

The book is agreeably written, on broad lines; and its usefulness is much increased by the numerous and excellent illustrations which accompany it. It is greatly to be regretted that the author did not live to complete his work; for in spite of its brevity, this sketch is a valuable contribution to the history of a very complex and difficult period.

A. S. F. G.

Manuel des Études grecques et latines.

Par L. LAURAND. Fascicule VI.: Grammaire historique latine. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1918. Fr. 3.50 sewn; fr. 4.50 in boards.

THE present volume contains pp. 623-741 of this handbook, Parts IV. and V. of which were noticed in our issue for November-December last. The characteristics there remarked on are found in this part also: it is severely compressed, but within its limits sound and reliable. Twice as much space is given to syntax as to morphology. The bibliographies contain (not unjustly) but few English names, and of these few only W. M. Lindsay is from this side of the Atlantic. It is noticeable that Livy is repeatedly stigmatised as 'non-classical' or 'post-classical.'

E. E. G.

THE IDYLLS OF THEOCRITUS.

The Idylls of Theocritus. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by R. J. CHOLMELEY, B.A. New edition, revised and augmented. Bell, 1919. 10s. 6d. net.

IN this new edition the original notes seem to have been printed without change; they correspond page for page and line for line, except in one or two instances, so far as I have compared them, and I have not noted any changes in the words. The additions come at the end. No doubt if the author had lived he would have incorporated the new items in their places; but he is one of that large band of men who gave their lives for their country.

The new matter occupies forty-two pages, including the notes on Dialect, which have been largely expanded. In these pages are discussed the various new points that have been raised since the book appeared, and theories or interpretations proposed. The editor rejects Wilamowitz' date for *Id.* XVI.; and in another place he justly finds fault with the same scholar's rash conjectures, which he so often combines with 'discourtesy in argument.' He has himself an ingenious suggestion (p. 381) that Theocritus may have attended the medical lectures of Erasistratus at Cos, which is a model of neatness and of modesty.

Unhappily, the puzzles of the poet remain puzzles still. Mr. Edmunds's conjectures or new interpretations are mentioned, without agreement for the most part. There is a good deal of new and interesting matter relating to folklore and magic, where illustrations might have been found from modern Greece: for the *κατάδεσμος* is universal there as *δέμα*, and much is known about it. A good conjecture is *καθ' ὑπέρθυρον* II. 60. Most of the additions are too minute to summarise; they are drawn from papyri and inscriptions as well as from literature, and have a wide range. The dialect notes are valuable, and the editor's judgment is sound in his estimate of the poet's use of dialect: the poet is eclectic, and must not be forced into absolute consistency with himself.

On the whole, the second edition is a distinct advance on the first.

W. H. D. R.

Flosculi Graeci. By A. B. POYNTON.
Pp. 162. Clarendon Press. 7s.6d. net.

THIS little volume is the best imaginable defence of the claim of Greek to form an essential part of all education. Recently both friends and foes of Greek have indulged in much *ἀδολεσχία* as to whether it should be 'compulsory' or not; quietly and unassumingly Mr. Poynton publishes this little prose chrestomathy, which should be enough to silence all argument, for it is a most striking reminder of the wealth of Greek literature. No other language could show within so few pages such a selection of deservedly immortal pieces as are here gathered together. The selections cover a wide period—from Thucydides to St. Paul—and are beautifully printed, but the paper covers are regrettable, for the scholar would have liked the book in cloth for the pocket. Apart from its charm, which is great, the book has a distinctly useful aim as an aid to the teaching of Greek prose style. For this it is admirably adapted, for in it the pupil can study the different styles of, say, Demosthenes and Isocrates in treating the same subject. And the recommendation, in the preface, of the third speech of Andocides is a word of wisdom for all classical schoolmasters. They will be doubly grateful to Mr. Poynton for the success with which *miscuit utile dulci*. R. B. A.

The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans: A Paraphrase. By ALEX. PALLIS. 9"×6". Pp. 22. The Liverpool Booksellers' Co., 1917.

MR. PALLIS is known to students of the New Testament by his little commentary on the first two Gospels, in which he approaches certain problems of exegesis from the standpoint of modern Greek. It is clear that N.T. Greek is a stage in the progress from the classical to the modern language, and some help in doubtful cases may

well be derived from the latter. Mr. Pallis claims far more than this, but his claim cannot be taken seriously without far more argument than he has yet given.

If the former book is suggestive, so much cannot be said of the present pamphlet, which is a paraphrase in not very happy English of such parts of Romans as appear to the writer likely to be genuine. In accordance with this purely subjective criterion he decides against vi. 14—viii. 39. 'The epistle was probably addressed to the Alexandrians,' he states quite groundlessly. The main purpose of the pamphlet is apparently to introduce some fifty conjectural emendations of the text. However, the textual criticism of the N.T. is a branch of historical science with rules of its own, which Mr. Pallis has not attempted to master.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

COLOGNE ABBREVIATION SYMBOLS.

Die Abkürzungen in den Kölner Handschriften der Karolingerzeit (Inaugural Dissertation, Bonn). Von HANS FOERSTER. Tübingen: H. Laupp, jr., 1916. Pp. 119. M. 5.

THE reviewer finds this collection of Cologne abbreviations especially interesting, since he has a suspicion that the Plautus minuscule archetype may have come from the Cologne scriptorium, and that the strange inability of the scribes of B, C, D, to decipher correctly the the last pages (with the *Truculentus*) of their exemplar may be explained by a feature of some of the older MSS. in the Cologne Cathedral Library. In these the last part has been assigned to an old-fashioned scribe who used cursive letters and ligatures and obsolete abbreviation.

But we have all learned from Professor Clark and others the importance of the Cologne scriptorium. Dr. Foerster has made a very careful and systematic study of about a score of dateable MSS. (from Hildebald's Archbishopric to Hermann's), and his monograph may be commended as a model to those

who think of making similar investigation. And very useful investigation it is. Not every scriptorium has its hall-mark like Verona's 'mā "misericordia," mih "mihi,"' but a clear presentation of the peculiarities of the early minuscule of all the great writing-centres, Corbie,

Fleury, Tours, and the rest, will help to bring in that enlightened era when every editor of a Latin text shall know something of the practices of the medieval scribes who conserved it for us.

W. M. LINDSAY.

OBITUARY

C. E. GRAVES.

A. W. SPRATT.

(1839-1920.)

(1842-1920.)

CAMBRIDGE has lately lost two of the oldest of her resident scholars, who may the more fitly be commemorated together, since both of them were specially devoted to the study of Thucydides.

The first of these—CHARLES EDWARD GRAVES, who was born on November 11, 1839, and died on October 21, 1920—was educated at Shrewsbury School and St. John's College, Cambridge. He won the Porson Prize for Greek Iambic Verse in 1861, and, in the Classical Tripos of 1862, was placed second in the First Class, between two future Professors of Greek—Jebb and Jackson. Elected to a Fellowship at his own College in 1863, he vacated it by marriage in 1865, was ordained in 1866, was re-elected Fellow in 1893, and, late in life, was one of the Tutors of the College from 1895 to 1905.

Graves was an attractive lecturer in Classics for thirty-five years at St. John's, and for shorter periods at Sidney and Jesus Colleges. Apart from a small edition of Plato's *Menexenus* and *Euthyphro*, he produced handy and useful editions of four plays of Aristophanes—the *Wasps*, the *Clouds*, the *Acharnians*, and the *Peace*—and two books of Thucydides, the Fourth and the Fifth.

In revising the historian's text, his attitude was eminently conservative. In the preface to his edition of Book IV (1884) he declares that, as a rule, he has 'held aloof from that indiscriminate "restoration" which would remove from a Classical work every accretion of harshness or redundancy, and destroys in the process many an original and characteristic feature.' In

that of Book V (1891) he displays a similar spirit in his apt quotation from Quintilian:

Quaedam in veteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent et, dum librorum insectari volunt inscientiam, suam confitentur.

Graves was much more than an editor of textbooks. On his character as a man, I may repeat the last words of a tribute which I have already paid to his memory (*The Times*, October 23):

To the end of his long life, a sunny and cheerful temper, a keen sense of humour, a kindly and courteous manner, and an exceptional aptitude for felicity of phrase were among the main characteristics which endeared him to his many friends.

Little more than three years junior to Graves, ALBERT WILLIAM SPRATT, who was born on December 12, 1842, and died on November 15, 1920, was placed in the middle of the First Class in 1864. Elected Fellow of St. Catharine's in the following year, Spratt became one of the Tutors of the College in 1892.

In *The Times* for November 18 he has been justly described as 'a man in many ways remarkable.' 'In power of intellect—many sided in its aspects—in accuracy of memory, sanity of judgment, strength of character, and physical vigour, Spratt possessed potentialities which, evoked in a favouring environment, would have enabled him to obtain distinction in many fields of activity.' 'He was best known as a classical scholar . . . who cultivated the Classics . . . on their literary and linguistic side.' The writer subsequently dwells on Spratt's success as a private tutor, his devotion to music, to cricket and boating, shooting and fishing, and touches also on a certain severity of manner which served as

'protective colouring' to a singularly sensitive and kindly nature.

He edited the Third Book of Thucydides in 1896 and the Sixth in 1905. From his excellent Introduction to the Third Book a characteristic criticism of the Speeches may be quoted :

Some indeed would claim for the speeches the place of honour. But, well as they may serve the purpose of emphasising any serious political conjuncture, admirably as they reflect the *ἦθος τοῦ λέγοντος*, it can hardly be said that, in these rhetorical efforts, Thucydides is seen at his best. Those, however, who look for clearness of argument, nervous strength of diction, or incisive power of retort, will find all these and something more—they will find 'writ large' the lesson of democratic brutality, of oligarchic *mala fides*, of diplomatic shiftiness and over-reaching astuteness.

The services rendered to learning by both these Cambridge scholars, deserve to be retained in grateful remembrance. In the language of the Funeral Oration of Pericles, *δίκαιον αὐτοῖς — τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι*.

J. E. SANDYS.

ARTHUR LUDWICH.

ARTHUR LUDWICH, professor of Classical Philology at Königsberg, died on November 12, 1920, at the age of 80. Most of his life was given up to Homer, of whom he was the principal editor in our time, coming between

Jacob la Roche and Mr. Leaf, part of whose material he absorbed. His principal books are the index to Lentz's *Herodian* (1870), the third edition of Lehrs' *Aristarchus* (1882), *Aristarchus Homerische Textkritik* (1884), the *Odyssey* (1889), the *Batrachomyomachia* (1896, with an ample commentary), *Die homerische Vulgata als voralexandrinische erwiesen* (1898), the *Iliad* (1902); and, outside Homer, Proclus' *Hymns* (1895), and Nonnus (1909), besides countless articles and Programs. All this he carried out singlehanded. His editions, especially that of the *Iliad*, are models. He may be called a second Heyne. He had less skill as an emender, or at filling gaps in papyrus. He was a sound traditional grammarian, successor of Lobeck and Lehrs. Time has vindicated his principles of editing, his conception of the Homeric language, and his exposition of the Alexandrians. The truth of his view of the oldest text of Homer is not so clear.

Professor Ludwich had long and friendly relations with many people in this country. The writer, who met him at Venice in 1891, received more than one benefit at his hands, and mourns his loss. No one can but feel for an aged scholar whose last days were passed in East Prussia during the war.

T. W. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

PAPYRUS FRAGMENTS OF TYRTAEUS AND OTHERS.

DEAR SIRS,

May I have space for the correction of a strange statement which appears in a paper of mine in the *Classical Review*, 1919, Vol. XXXIII. p. 90, and which has just been brought to my notice? The words run: 'Amongst them occur new fragments of an elegiac poem by Tyrtaeus, shown by the writing to be of the third century B.C., dealing with a war against the Gauls.' They should run: 'of an elegiac poem by Tyrtaeus; <and of another elegiac poem> shown by the writing,' etc. The mistake was made when the article was in proof; but I am glad that it did not infect your Index, although it has puzzled one scholar at least.

Yours sincerely,
J. U. POWELL.

A CORRECTION.

In *Classical Review* Vol. XXXIV., 1920, p. 161, col. 2, line 14, the words 'but that the detachment sent by the Ninth was specially large' should read 'but evidently the detachment,' etc. The size of the detachment is an inference, not from the Baalbek inscription, but from *CIL*. XIV. 3612 (previously quoted) and the statement of Tacitus.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

HYTE MAINAE.

To the Editors of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DEAR SIRS,

In the last issue of the *C. R.*, Mr. A. J. Hughes complains that in saying *ἥντε μαινάς* (*Hymn. Dem.* 386) means 'like a Maenad' I am hardly fair to Messrs. Allen and Sikes,

and not 'ideally judicial,' because I do not mention the contrary opinion of Mr. Leaf on *II. XXI. 460*.

Now it so happens that neither in 1900 (ed. i.) nor in 1904 (ed. ii.) did Mr. Leaf make any reference whatever to this passage in the Homeric Hymn, and yet I think he is fully justified in his decision that *μαῖνάδι ὄση*, as well as *μαῖνομένη ἐκνία* (*Z 389*), means 'like a mad woman.' For my part I am, and always have been, of the same opinion, for there, as Mr. Leaf observes, the word has evidently none of the associations of the Maenad. What Mr. Leaf's view of *ἥτε μαινάς* may be cannot be gathered from this note; neither can Mr. Hughes infer from my remarks on *ἥτε μαινάς* which are intended to show that the context in the Hymn points evidently to the Maenad rather than to the mad woman, that I deny or overlook the possibility of the alternative mean-

ing elsewhere, and disregard the authority of Mr. Leaf.

In what was after all but a passing remark on a line which does not actually occur in the passage I was discussing, *Hymn. Dem. 387-404*, I had no occasion to refer to the *Iliad* passages any more than Mr. Leaf had to the Hymn-instance.

Apart, however, from these mistaken assumptions, I must thank Mr. Hughes for his letter, and the gratifying admission that 'for all that he feels I am right' which makes me hope that I have not been unfair, and must have been reasonably, if not 'ideally judicial.'

Let me add to my argument that a rush down a mountain, though it might be safely performed by a god-protected Maenad, would be a dangerous, if not fatal, experiment for a maniac.

Yours obediently,

T. L. AGAR.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

BERLINER PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(1920.)

ARCHAEOLOGY.—July 31. S. Löschcke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (Pagenstecher). Valuable for the study of lamps and of Roman colonies.

ART.—December 4. G. M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Classical Collection* (Curtius). Well executed. C. controverts several ascriptions; Fig. 133 is a clever modern forgery, copying a Barocco relief (LII) with the aid of Annali's plate of a lost Madrid copy.

HISTORY.—July 17. E. Ciccotti, *Griechische Geschichte* (Steinert). Vol. II. of Hartmann's world-history. Sound and attractive; notably good in geography.—July 31. E. Stein, *Studien zur Gesch. des byzantinischen Reiches* (Gerland). Deals specially with Justin II. and Tib. Constantinus. Clean, well-informed work, and independent judgment.—August 28. M. Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Septimius Severus* (Lenschau). P. holds that S.'s policy did not cause the corruption of the third century. He fails, as against Domaszewski, on home and military administration.—October 30. K. Roth, (i.) *Gesch. des byzantinischen Reiches*; (ii.) *Sozial- u. Kulturgesch. des byz. Reiches* (Gerland). Form together an enlarged second edition. Vol. II. has special values, as other works on these themes are few.

LINGUISTIC AND METRIC.—August 14. (i.) K. Brugmann, *Verschiedenheiten der Satzgestaltung nach Massgabe der seelischen Grundfunktionen in den indogermanischen Sprachen*; (ii.) M. Niedermann, *Essais d'etymologie et de Critique verbale latines* (Meltzer). B.'s book (93 pp.) is illuminating and suggestive. N.'s shows learning and acumen; *inter alia*,

he offers emendations on Carmina Latina Epigraphica.—October 16. E. Otto, *Zur Grundlegung der Sprachwissenschaft* (Hermann). Well deserves attention.

PALAEOGRAPHY AND PAPYRI.—July 31. *Papiri Greci e Latini*, Vol. V. (Kiessling). Nos. 446-481 are Romano-Byzantine documents from Oxyrhynchus; 482-548, of third century B.C., from the archives of Zeno at Philadelphia. Civil and state law, Ptolemaic administration, etc., are illustrated. 550 has two fragments from Greg. Nazianz., *De moderatione in disputatione*, already in Migne (*P. Gr.*, 36, 208B, ch. 29; 212BC, ch. 33).—October 30. L. Traube, *Kleine Schriften*, ed. S. Brandt (Weinberger). Sixty-two essays on ancient and mediaeval philology, palaeography, etc.—November 13. S. Gaselee, *A collotype reproduction of that Portion of Cod. Paris. 7989 commonly called the Codex Tragaricensis which contains the Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius* (Klotz). Well executed, with some good emendations, and a valuable list of ecclesiastical corruptions.

GREEK LITERATURE.—July 10. J. van Leeuwen, *Menandri fabularum reliquiae* (Körte). A good third edition, giving all the remains from papyri and parchments. The textual matter is 'readable' rather than critical.—August 28. G. Pasquali, (i.) *Sui 'Caratteri' di Teofrasto*; (ii.) *Teofrasto, I Caratteri, a cura di G. P. (Sitzler)*. Two short works (pp. 35 and 73) reviewed at length. P. wrongly suggests that T. aimed to amuse outsiders at his lectures. Probably the sketches were preliminary to his *Περὶ κωμῶδίας* and *Περὶ γελοίου*. S. opposes several readings and offers alternatives.—November 13. K. Münscher, *Xenophon in der griechisch-römischen Literatur* (Gemoll). Brilliant.

LATIN LITERATURE.—October 30. R. Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählung* (Magnus). Very rich in positive results. H. marks off elegiac from epic traits in O., treats of his elegiac models, and stresses well his independent contributions. M. notes some anomalies.—December 25. P. Rasi, *La bibliografia Virgiliana, 1912-1913* (Helm). Reports mainly non-Italian works.

PHILOSOPHY.—August 14. E. Bignone, *Epicuro, Opere, frammenti, testimonianze sulla sua vita, tradotti con introduzione e commenti* (Philippson). The most significant work in this field since Usener's. The ascriptions of *Κύρια δόγματα* to E. himself, and of the Vatican Maxims to a Stoic, are doubtful.—October 9. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Platon, I. Leben u. Werke*; II. *Beilagen u. Textkritik* (Nestle). A biography, not a systematic account of doctrine. The *Menexenus* is wrongly taken seriously, nor was P. devoid of mysticism and asceticism.

TEXTUAL.—July 24. C. F. Walters and R. S. Conway, *Titi Livi ab urbe condita*, rec. C. F. W. et R. S. C., tom. II., lib. VI.-X. (Rossbach). Valuable for its enlarged critical basis. Interpolation and embodied glosses are assumed too readily; loss of lines, and L.'s use of rare words, are not always duly recognised.—September 11. E. C. Marchant, *Xenophontis opera omnia*, rec. E. C. M., tom. V. *Opuscula* (Gemoll). Solid, conscientious work. G. does not always agree with M.'s use of the indirect tradition.—September 18. G. Rauschen, *Florilegium Patristicum*: XII. *Emendationes et adnotationes ad Tertulliani Apologeticum* (Bitschowsky). Cites fully the vastly superior *cod. Fuldensis*.—November 20. J. P. Postgate, *Phaedri fabulae Aesopiae*, rec. J. P. P. (Klotz). P. performs a difficult task without excessive conservatism. Many of his emendations are good.—E. H. Fobes, *Aristotelis Meteorologicorum libri quattuor*, rec. E. H. F. (Stadler). Good; it makes full use of MSS., and gives scholia, commentaries, and H. Aristippus' translation.

BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE DU MUSÉE BELGE.

(OCTOBER 15, 1920.)

CLASSICAL AUTHORS.—M. Defourny, *Aristote et l'éducation*, Louvain, 1919 (F. Collard). Favourable.—V. Bérard, *Un Mensonge de la Science allemande*, Paris, 1917 (André). Argues that the celebrated *Prolegomena* of F. A. Wolf contains no original ideas, but are derived from the *Conjectures Académiques* of François Hédelin, abbé d'Aubignac; partly also to a work of a certain Swiss, J. B. Merian, *Examen de la Question si Homère a écrit ses Poèmes*, and to the *Prolegomena* of J. B. d'Ansse de Villosion.—A. Willem, *Iphigénie à Aulis*, édition classique, Liège: Dessain, 1920 (P. Faider). Favourable; the text is conservative.—A. Bellessort, *Virgile: Son Oeuvre et son Temps*, Paris: Perrin, 1920

(P. Faider). Favourable.—*Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores Graeci et Latini adnotationibus instructi, curantibus* P. J. Enk et D. Plooi; iii. SENECA, Brieven aan Lucilius; H. Wagenvoort, Jr., Utrecht: Ruys, 1917 (P. Faider). Favourable. An edition of thirty of the letters, and an essay (among others) on the history of Stoicism.—R. Pichon, *Virgile: Oeuvres complètes*, Paris: Hatier, 1916 (A. Willem). Favourable. R. Beauchot, *Cicéron*, Paris: Hatier (A. Willem). On Cicero's life and works; very favourable.

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.—H. Güntert, *Ueber Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* (Indogermanische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von H. Hirt und W. Streitberg, 3^e Abteil., Heidelberg), C. Winter, 1914 (J. Mansion). Not altogether satisfactory in theories or conclusions.

DEUTSCHE LITTERATURZEITUNG.

HISTORY.—F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* (R. Ganschenietz). A careful collection of the material, with separate treatment of each rite. In the child-sacrifice to Zeus Lukaïos the priest represented a wolf. (D. 2. May 15, 1920. Gießen: Pöpelmann, 1915. M. 7.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—M. Grabmann, *Forschungen über die lateinischen Aristotelesübersetzungen des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (H. Stadler). A study of the numerous scattered manuscripts. It is shown that a Latin translation of the *Metaphysic* was known in the first half of the thirteenth century. (D. 2. June 5, 1920. Münster: Aschendorff, 1916. M. 9.40.)—J. Geffcken, *Griechische Menschen* (A. Körte). Discusses in a series of instances how the Greeks described and judged men. The reviewer notes much delicate criticism, but a want of system. (D. 2. September 25, 1920. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1919. M. 10.)—K. Kunst, *Studien zur griechisch-römischen Komödie* (A. Körte). This includes an inquiry into the *ἐξοδοί* of the Old Comedy, to which K. attributes a set form. (D. 2. November 13, 1920. Wien und Leipzig: Carl Gerolds Sohn, 1919. M. 12.)

ARCHAEOLOGY.—E. Krüger and D. Kreucher, *Vorbericht über die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung des sogenannten Römischen Kaiserpalastes in Trier* (E. Wurz). The excavation shows that the building was designed as *Thermae*, but converted in the course of the fourth century. (D. 2. July 30, 1920. Berlin: Reimer, 1915. M. 6.50.)—†O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd Edition, 1 Lieferung (R. Much). A detailed criticism. The further publication of this revised edition, based on the author's legacy in manuscript. (D. 2. August 28 and September 4, 1920. Strassburg: Trübner, 1917. M. 19.)

PHILOSOPHY.—Eva Sachs, *Die fünf platonischen Körper* (E. Hoffmann). The writer rejects the theory that Plato learnt his theory of the

elements from Pythagoras, and considers that he was the first to treat them as aggregates of a material without quality, and stood under the influence of Theaetetus. The reviewer agrees that the mathematical basis of the sciences is deducible only from the Platonic theory of Ideas. (D. 2. October 2, 1920. Berlin: Weidmann, 1917. M. 8.)—E. Bignone, (i.) *Empedocle*, (ii.) *Epicuro* (H. Diels). (i.) A commentary based on Diels' text of the fragments. B. finds in Empedocles a combination of two opposite developments, the exact empiricist and the ascetic prophet. The fragments are carefully studied, and an attempt is made to rearrange them. (ii.) Based on Usener's *Epicurea*, the fragments of the *περὶ φύσεως* being rightly put on one slide. A special attempt is made to show the connexion of the *κύρια δόξα*. (D. 2. October 23, 1920. i. Turin: Bocca, 1916. L. 15. ii. Bari: Laterza, 1920. L. 15.)

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.—O. Kern, *Orpheus* (J. Geffcken). The fruit of thirty years' study of the *Orphika*. Orpheus is recognised as a comparatively late figure in the Saga, the product of a community of mystics. (D. 2. December 25, 1920. Berlin: Weidmann, 1920. M. 5.)

LATIN LITERATURE.—K. Müllendorff, *Die Germania des Tacitus* (G. Wissowa). A new edition by †Max Roediger, enlarged from material bequeathed by Müllendorff. The text is not up to date. (D. 2. December 4, 1920. Berlin: Weidmann, 1920. M. 36.)

LINGUISTIC AND METRE.—F. Horn, *Zur Geschichte der absoluten Partizipialkonstruktionen in Lateinischen* (E. Hermann). A full treatment of the ablative, nominative, and accusative constructions, especially in late Latin. (D. 2. October 23, 1920. Leipzig: Hassarowitz, 1919.)

WOCHENSCHRIFT FÜR KLASSISCHE PHILOLOGIE.

(AUGUST—DECEMBER, 1920.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—E. Howald, *Griechische Philologie* (W. Kroll). Review of publications from 1914 to 1918; fulfils its object admirably, and is written in brisk style.—E. Scharr, *Xenophon's Staats- und Gesellschaftsideal* (Jensch). A very thorough and fruitful investigation of the sources, followed by a constructive exposition of Xenophon's attitude towards different forms of constitution, and a welcome contribution to the study of Greek political science.

LATIN LITERATURE.—W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (Nohl). Reveals a wealth of knowledge and great circumspection.—J. P. Postgate, *Phaedri Fabulae Aesopiae* (Draheim). Handy and useful edition; reviewer misses an index of Fables and of First Lines.—K. Müllenhoff, *Die Germania des Tacitus* (Nohl). Revised and

enlarged edition of *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. 4 (1900); very valuable appendices (170 pages), containing all Müllenhoff's published articles on the *Germania*.—E. Stroebel, *M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta* . . . Fasc. 2 (*De Inventione*) (Stangl). An advance on every previous edition and very warmly welcomed by experts; reviewer discusses the MSS., the text, and S.'s conjectures at considerable length.—P. H. Damsté, *Ad Octaviam praetextam, Mnemosyne*, Vol. 47 (Gemoll). Rehabilitates *Lectio Vulgata* in many instances; D.'s own conjectures are often happy.—Th. Birt, *Charakterbilder Spätroms* (Lamer). Instructive and stimulating; the portraits are painted in living words, and startling parallels between ancient and modern civilisation are established; tastefully got up.—F. Schultess, *Horazische Lieder und Briefe* (Nohl). A new translation of Horace into German; S. is at his best in the Satires and Epistles.—J. Schnetz, *Untersuchungen zum Geographen von Ravenna* (Stangl). S.'s survey of the MS. tradition is highly praised by reviewer, who recapitulates the main points fully and examines at some length several features of Ravenna's Latin style.

HISTORY.—L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, Vol. I., 9th Ed., by G. Wissowa (Lamer). F.'s great work carefully revised and brought up to date, with frequent references to literature as recent as the year of publication.—W. Snellman, *De interpretibus Romanorum* (Nohl). The collection of building material is more valuable than the edifice itself.—O. Schissel-Fleschenberg, *Claudius Rutilius Namatianus gegen Stilicho* (Manitius). Obtains valuable new historical results.

PHILOSOPHY.—P. Klimek, *Die Gespräche über die Gottheit in Xenophon's Memorabilien* (Nestle). K. attempts to disprove the genuineness of certain chapters; controversial in the highest degree.

ART.—A. von Salis, *Die Kunst der Griechen* (Urlichs). S. tries to trace the growth of Greek art, not on historical lines, but as the natural development of a living organism; versatile and ingenious, but often far-fetched and unconvincing.

LINGUISTIC AND METRIC.—M. Niedermann, *Essais d'Étymologie et de Critique Verbale Latines* (Walde). New etymologies of 'aequipere, nuper, falx,' etc.; Part II. contains notes on metrical inscriptions, 'Hisperica famina,' and medical glosses of the C.G.L. Valuable link between Classical and Late Latin.—W. R. Hardie, *Res metrica* (W. Kroll). Practical introduction for beginners.

PALAEOGRAPHY.—A. C. Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts* (Stangl). A splendid book which no editor of Cicero and of other classical authors can afford to neglect; the author's perseverance and resourcefulness are beyond compare.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

*** Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

- Billings* (Grace H.) *The Art of Transition in Plato.* $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 104. University of Chicago Libraries, 1920. Pp. xv+254. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 20 fr.
- Burnet* (J.) *Early Greek Philosophy.* Third Edition. $9'' \times 6''$. Pp. ix+375. London: A. and C. Black, 1920. Cloth, 25s. net.
- Conway* (R. S.) *New Studies of a Great Inheritance.* $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. viii+241. London: John Murray, 1921. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Gagner* (Dr.) *De Hercle Mehercle ceterisque id genus particulis priscae poesis Latinae Scaenicae.* Greifswald: J. Abel.
- Hammerström* (M.) *Beiträge zur geschichte des Etruskischen, Lateinischen, und Griechischen Alphabets.* $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$. Pp. viii+58. Helsingfors: Finnischen Literatur-Gesellschaft, 1920.
- Hubbell* (H. M.) *The Rhetorica of Philodemus.* $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 139. New Haven, U.S.A.: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1920. \$1.20.
- Jastrow* (M.) *The Book of Job.* $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 369. London: Lippincott, 1920. Cloth, 18s. net.
- Latin Teaching.* December, 1920. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Durham: N. O. Parry, 4, Church Road.
- Latin Unseens.* Public Schools Scholarship Questions (1916-1919). $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 48. London: Allen and Unwin, 1920. Cloth, 2s. net.
- Laurand* (L.) *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines.* Fascicule, III. *Grammaire Historique Grecque.* $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 261-383+24. Paris: Picard, 1920. 3 fr. 50.
- Lothian* (A.) *The Golden Treasury of the Greeks.* $6'' \times 4\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 114. Oxford: Blackwell, 1920. Paper boards, 5s. net.
- Lumb* (T. W.) *Notes on the Greek Anthology.* $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 168. London: Rivington, 1920. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Meillet* (A.) *Aperçu d'une Histoire de la Langue Grecque.* Second Edition. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xv+254. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 20 fr.
- Nilsson* (Martin P.) *Primitive Time-Reckoning: A study on the origin and first development of the art of counting time among the primitive and early cultured people.* *Acta Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis*, I. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xiv+384. Lund: Gleerup, 1920. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.
- Q. Horati Flacci Carminum.* Liber Quintus a Rudyardo Kipling et Carolo Graves anglice redditus. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Oxford: Blackwell, 1920. Boards, 3s. 6d. net.
- Restrepo* (P. F.) *Diseño de Semántica General.* $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 234. Barcelona: Cortes, 596; Editorial Press. 4 ps.
- Salonius* (Dr. A. H.) *Vitae Patrum.* $10'' \times 7''$. Pp. xi+456. Oxford: University Press, 1920. 28s. net.
- Schoff* (W. H.) *The Ship Tyre.* $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 157. London: Longmans, 1920. Cloth, 9s. net.
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The Classical Review

MAY—JUNE, 1921

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

WE are delighted to hear from a correspondent of a revival of the humanities in Norway. Dr. Gunnar Rudberg, writing in the *Pedagogisk Tidskrift*, 1920, tells us that Latin had, so long ago as 1896, practically disappeared from Norwegian education, and Greek had been completely abandoned. A recent agitation for their revival, supported by Universities, clergymen, teachers, and pupils, found a leader in Professor Raeder, Rector of the Christiania Cathedral School. He proposed at first simply a course of Latin, to be combined with French, for gymnasia. Subsequently the proposal developed into a demand for a three year Latin course of 22 hours a week, with Greek added for 6 to 7 hours a week in the last two years. The influential Teachers' Council, which at first ignored the demand, was convinced by the reformers, and took up the cause. The Education Department, which appears to be not unlike such bodies elsewhere, at first resisted the demand for Greek, on the specious ground that it is best to concentrate on one ancient language. But the enthusiasts triumphed in the end, and the Storting carried the scheme without debate. The first arts examination under the new conditions will be held in 1923. Greek is optional, but is actually beginning in four cathedral schools and one gymnasium. We congratulate Rector Raeder and wish the new movement success.

* * *

Professor Harrower sends us from Aberdeen an address, delivered last spring, on 'A New Greek Graduation Course,' which contains many witty

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contributions to the general problem of the fight for Classics. The fight is necessary in Scotland. In the Ordinary Graduation Classes of all four Universities only 118 students were taking Greek last year. Professor Harrower thinks that the dwindling number of candidates is partly due to the 'repulsive character' of the entrance test for admission to the classes. But he rightly holds that to lower the standard for linguistic students would be fatal. Grammar, so long as it is taught and used as 'a labour-saving device,' not as an end in itself, is necessary. The ungrammatical scholar is, in fact, a charlatan. Nevertheless, there is a place in every University for a course on Greek life and thought, studied by means of translations. Professor Harrower's scheme includes Greek history, and above all Thucydides, Greek sculpture, and a course of literature in English versions. That such a course should be one of the recognised subjects qualifying for the degree of M.A. in the Department of Law and History is a notable achievement.

* * *

The Memorial to the late Dr. R. M. Burrows at King's College, London, is to take the form of a prize or scholarship for Greek. Subscriptions may be sent to Prof. H. G. Atkins at the College.

* * *

Mr. Norman H. Baynes sends us the following account of the work done in his Ancient History Circle in London:

When in 1913 I was appointed Lecturer in Ancient History in the Evening School of

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History at University College, London, my work was to give weekly lectures on the history of Greece and Rome down to the reign of Constantine; the lectures were delivered at 6.0 p.m. and were followed by a class. The year's course could be taken independently, or could form the first year of a four years' course for a Diploma in History. Most of the students were L.C.C. teachers in Elementary Schools. In these conditions with a large audience (sixty or more) it was difficult for student and lecturer to come into personal contact, or for the students to get to know each other. The solution seemed to be that we should meet informally outside the lecture-room. In a University Extension Course, where the lecturer only visits the town to deliver his lecture, this might be impossible: where the lectures are delivered in a University, it is simple. We first met for tea in University College, and the meeting was a success; then, in March, 1914, we arranged a Saturday afternoon visit to the British Museum, when Prof. Ernest Gardner acted as our guide, and on leaving the Museum we took possession of a dairy in Bloomsbury, and then and there decided to form ourselves into an organisation which might help us to know each other and might widen our interest in Ancient History. Thus the Ancient History Circle came into being, its membership open to all students (including Extension students) and members of the teaching staff of the University. A Student Committee was elected, and from the students Mr. J. E. Bishop was chosen as General Secretary and Treasurer. To his energy and ability our success is primarily due. I have acted as Organising Secretary. The activities of the Circle were continued throughout the war. Many scholars helped us by

lecturing to the Circle: Prof. Haverfield on Roman Towns under the Empire, Principal Burrows on Minoan Crete, Dr. Leaf on the Troad, Prof. Bury on Greek Thought after Alexander, Prof. Butler on Roman Education and on Apuleius, Mr. G. F. Hill on An Ancient Sea-Port (Gaza), Mr. Matheson on Epictetus, Mr. Cary on The Conspiracy of Catiline, Mr. H. I. Bell on Papyri, and Mr. Sheppard on Greek Religion, on the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and on the *Agamemnon*. The activities of the Circle have taken many forms: debates on ancient history subjects, 'Symposia' (short papers written by students), the reading of Greek plays in an English translation, social meetings at the beginning of the session, informal dinners (at one of which, in conjunction with the Historical Society, we entertained Professor Stanojević of Belgrade), while every year's programme has included whole-day walks (on Saturdays) in the country: these have proved invaluable. This spring the energy of Miss R. M. Hill, of Holloway College, resulted in the production by the Circle of the *Hippolytus* (in Gilbert Murray's translation).

The advantages of this experiment have been: (i.) The lecturer has been enabled to become intimately acquainted with his students, (ii.) students have formed friendships and have in consequence co-operated in their work, (iii.) the interest of past students has been maintained when the course of lectures has come to an end and, further, (iv.) students are not restricted to that view of history which happens to be presented by their lecturer, while they have an opportunity of hearing and seeing in the flesh the scholars whose books they read, so that those books acquire for them a new and living significance.

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION will meet at Cambridge, August 2 to 6. Invitations have been sent to Transatlantic scholars through the American Philological Association. Accommodation at fixed charges can be obtained for men in men's Colleges, and for women in women's, by application to Mr. G. Grant Morris, of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

CHARLES BAUDELAIRE.

ἀγκυραν, ναύκληρε Σάρων, χάλα· αἰρόμεθ' ἤδη
γῆθεν ἀσθενέες λαίφρσιν ἀκροτάτοις.
κῦμα μὲν ἤδ' ἐνέφος μέλαν ἦντε πῖσσα φερέσθω,
πλήρεα δ' ἡμετέρην γ' ἴσθι φάει κραδίην.
ἔχχει δαψιλῶς Ἵγλιος φάρμακα λυγρά·
ιμείρω—φλεγέθει πῦρ τόσον ἀμφὶ φρεσί—
Τάρταρος εἴτε μένει μακάρων μέ τις ὄρμος, ἀδελον
πρηνὴς ἱέμενος ῥοῦν κάτω βαβυδον.

HUGO JOHNSON.

TIME'S up, old shipmate Death! The anchor
lift—

The country bores us. Up! Full canvas
dight.

Tho' seas and clouds as black as ink may drift,
Our hearts, thou knowest well, are full of
light.

Fill high thy poison'd cup; 'twill brace us well.
We would—such fire burns fierce within our
brain—

Plunge down a gulf—be Heaven our port or
Hell—

Plunge down the unknown gulf, to live again.

LEONARD COURTNEY.

ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS

SOME TRANSLATIONS.

ON the hypothesis that we all aim at some apparent good, it is natural, though quite unprofitable, to ask why so many enterprising scholars continue to translate Virgil and Horace into English verse. Conventionally, a translator's object is defined as the production of something which shall affect us in the same way as the *Aeneid* and the *Odes* affected the Augustan public. But most translators are quite as intelligent as the majority of educated persons; and they must therefore be aware, first, that we do not know what the effect of the *Aeneid* or the *Odes* on the contemporary public really was; and next, that whatever it was it must have been conditioned by metrical form. The appeal of Virgil and Horace must have been to the ear, through rhythm and metre; and their rhythm and metre had qualities which English cannot possess. The effect here cannot really be reproduced. 'The Virgilian harmony,' Charles Lamb says, 'is not translatable, but by substituting harmonious sounds in another language for it.' And where shall these harmonious sounds be found?

A very useful little volume—*Early Theories of Translation*, by Professor Flora Ross Amos—gives an account of what English translators have said about their dangerous trade since its first beginning. 'Dryden,' we are told (p. 160), 'frequently complains of the difficulty of translation into English metre, especially when the poet to be translated is Virgil. The use of rhyme causes trouble. "It is certainly a constraint even to the best poets, and those who make it with most ease."' Nevertheless Dryden used it, and moderns do likewise. Here, for instance, is a translation by Dr. Way of the first three books of the *Aeneid* (Latin and English facing each other—a very handy volume). Dr. Way is an excellent scholar and a practised translator of the classics into verse. Where he fails few can hope to succeed. But how different is his nar-

rative from Virgil's! This (for instance is how he renders *Aen.* II. 438 and following lines:

But here behold so mighty a conflict as though
beside
There were none other war, nor any in all the
city that died;
So quenchless the battle-fire burns, so rusheth
the Argive array
On the halls. To the leaguered gate the shield
wedge forces its way;
To the walls cling scaling ladders, and step by
step thereby
Foes mount to assault the gate; their left hands
lift on high
Their shields for a screen from the darts, their
right hands clutch the while
At the battlements . . .

Dr. Way knows very well that it is a hopeless task. 'The marvellous metrical effects of a poet like Virgil,' he says, 'can be reproduced in no measure of our more rugged speech.' Rhyme is responsible; the recurrent assonance inevitably makes pauses, breaks of continuity, which are not found in the fluent sequence of a series of Virgilian hexameters. Further, in order I suppose to have a long line corresponding to the Latin hexameter, Dr. Way has saddled himself with a jingling metre which may become tiresome. Perhaps the ordinary heroic couplet (handled in the manner not of Pope but of Morris) is more adaptable; certainly Mr. E. E. Sikes has produced thus an elegant and readable translation of Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*. However, on the whole it is probable that the continuity of hexameters, Greek or Latin, would be best reproduced by blank verse—good blank verse; it is true that this is beyond the reach of most of us, and 'it needs heaven-sent moments for such skill.' Nothing short of a Miltonic elevation is good enough for the best hexameter speech or narrative; yet when Homer nods or Virgil plods (as happens every now and then) the ordinary arrangement of English words in a line of ten syllables or so will do well enough. So Mr. Mooney—no Milton, but a respectable versifier—has published a

very useful version, mostly in blank verse, of the *Minor Poems of Virgil*, which never rise to the 'grand style.'

There can be but few scholars who—even in these days when 'elegant' scholarship is at a discount—have not translated, or are not translating, or will not in the near future translate Horace. It becomes a habit. They do it again and again. As, driven by some irrational but irresistible instinct, the murderer returns to the scene of his crime, so too—well, anyhow, here are three more translators to add to the list. Mr. Warren H. Cudworth aims at making his English as externally like Horace's Latin as possible. To this end 'the original meters have been approximated in order to impress the eye and ear as do the Latin strophes; Horace's sententious brevity and his order of words in working out his thought have been imitated; the verse has been given all possible smoothness of flow and accuracy of rime'—and in fact it is an entirely inoffensive and rather laudable enterprise. Mr. Cudworth has a standard 'meter' for alcaics—the four-lined stanza, eight syllables to the line—a stanza with a short fourth line for sapphics, and so forth:

Evœe! new fears my bosom tear;
My pulses, filled with Bacchus, quake;
Evœe! O spare me, Liber, spare;
No more thy potent thyrsus shake.

There is no harm at all in Mr. Cudworth; nor in Mr. Hubert Dynes Ellis, who has some spirited versions: notably a translation of *Faune Nympharum fugientum amator* into the *Love in the Valley* metre.

Very different is the method of the veteran Mr. Stebbing (*Some Masterpieces of Latin Poetry Thought into English Verse*). Mr. Stebbing expands and para-

phrases; he would hardly call himself a translator. Horace and Catullus are made to say at some length something resembling what they have as a matter of fact chosen to say briefly; 'O Fons Bandusiae'—sixteen Latin lines—is expanded into no less than forty English, and not too lucid lines at that. However, it has no doubt been a labour of love for Mr. Stebbing, and the world is none the worse for it. It is interesting to note that a scholar who took his degree sixty-five years ago can be quite as unconventional a metrist, in matters of accent and quantity, as any 'Georgian' of our day.

Translators of Latin lyric poetry there will be as long as we are still allowed to learn Latin. But it will always be a difficult business. English 'vers libre' is a dull ineffectual medium; we cannot dispense with rhyme, as a general rule; and rhyme does somehow cramp the free fluency of Horace's alcaics, though not of course as much as it hampers the translator of Virgilian hexameters. Those are wise who use rhyme for the rendering of elegiacs (especially the Ovidian elegiac), or to translate quite short and pointed pieces where rhyme helps to point the sting (as in Mr. Lothian's often excellent versions of epigrams from the Greek Anthology), or who employ blank verse where it is obviously a quite adequate medium, in the translation of the dialogue of Greek tragedy, or even Lucretian hexameters. Mr. R. C. Trevelyan uses it with distinguished success, no less for Lucretius than for the *Ajax* and the selections from the *Oresteia* which he has prepared as an acting version for the Cambridge players.

A. D. GODLEY.

Oxford.

THE RHESUS.

PROF. MURRAY's translation of the *Rhesus* and the support which he has given to the advocates of its authenticity, have revived interest in a problem which has been little discussed in recent years. In the view taken he runs counter to the general opinion, which

has tended to acquiesce in the conclusion that the play is spurious. Since the publication of Prof. Murray's book several scholars have written on the subject. In *Class Quart.* VIII. 206, Mr. E. Harrison published some statistics bearing on the comparative

frequency of spondees and iambs in the first and third feet of the trimeter, which tend to show that the number of spondees occupying these positions in the *Rhesus* is considerably larger than in other appropriately selected plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. In other words, the first half of the verse in the *Rhesus* is abnormally heavy. This fact is a piece of evidence making against the genuineness of the play, but its discoverer did not pretend that it could be regarded as decisive. Other critics have supported the claims of Euripides. Dr. Leaf, in the course of an elaborate examination of the legend of Rhesus (*J.H.S.* XXXV. 1) comes to the conclusion—anticipated by Vater—that our *Rhesus* was composed for the occasion of the founding of Amphipolis in 437 B.C., when, according to the authority of Polyænus (*Strat.* VI. 53), Hagnon conveyed home the bones of Rhesus. He proves at most that the occasion was suitable for the composition of a play on the subject; but does not touch the question whether the play which has been handed down to us was that which, as we shall see, Euripides undoubtedly wrote. While accepting Leaf's conclusion unreservedly, Mr. G. C. Richards (*Class. Quart.* X. 192-197) determines in the negative the question whether or not there is anything in the text to prevent us from believing that it was composed about 440 B.C. Put in that form, the thesis is not necessarily in conflict with that which finds a difficulty in acknowledging the authorship of Euripides. The points chiefly urged will be considered later on. We now come to Mr. W. H. Porter's interesting edition of the play (Cambridge, 1916). He examines the evidence for and against with careful impartiality, and, holding that the onus of proof rests upon those who impugn the genuineness of the play, concludes that, while there are many grounds of suspicion, the facts adduced are insufficient to overthrow the external evidence in its favour. Lastly, Prof. William N. Bates, of Philadelphia, in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (XLVII. 5) makes light of the peculiarities of diction, and finds the Euri-

pidean character of the style unmistakable. He suggests that the scene in which Diomed and Odysseus elude the pursuit of the Chorus is parodied in the *Acharnians*, 280 ff., where the Chorus attack Dicaeopolis. But there is no obvious sign of parody, and the resemblances are not sufficiently close to produce conviction.

No one believes nowadays that Aeschylus or Sophocles was the author, although the style with its occasional stateliness of diction, shown especially in a fondness for compound adjectives, has a superficial affinity to the former.¹ But a closer scrutiny of the language demonstrates that it belongs to a much later era, and that the play, if not written by Euripides, was at any rate subject to his influence. What, then, are the causes which have impelled successive critics to throw doubt upon the traditional ascription? Putting aside for the moment the external evidence, and confining ourselves to the text of the play, we find that the broad grounds of objection are: (1) The absence of two of Euripides' most prominent characteristics—his pathos and his sententiousness;² and (2) a marked difference from his ordinary style of writing. The first point is obvious and needs no further emphasis. The second will require some elucidation, but the general impression cannot be better put than in Prof. Murray's words: 'The ordinary style of Euripides,' he says, 'is full, flexible, lucid, anti-thetic, studiously simple in vocabulary' . . . whereas 'that of the *Rhesus* is comparatively terse, rich, romantic, not shrinking from rare words or strong

¹ Cf. e.g. Paley's edition, p. 8. Rolfe's paper will be discussed presently.

² Paley points out that 980 ff. are an exception: ὦ παιδοποιοὶ συμφοραὶ, πόνοι βροτῶν· | ὥς ὅστις ὑμᾶς μὴ κακῶς λογίζεται | ἅπαις διόλσει κού τεκὼν θάψει τέκνα. It is instructive to compare the dialectical development of the same thesis in *Med.* 1081 ff. He might have added 758-760, where the speaker makes the extraordinary admission that a glorious death may be painful to the dead man, though a source of renown to the survivors! This seems to be intended as a counterblast to Eur. *Tro.* 633, Soph. *El.* 1170, in which the freedom from pain enjoyed by the dead is advanced as a reason for preferring death to a wretched life.

colour.¹ The problem of the *Rhesus* is to discover why, if it is genuine, Euripides appears on this occasion only² without his most characteristic attributes. There are explanations conceivable which are excluded by the facts. Thus it might be thought that the *Rhesus* was the work of a young man influenced by Aeschylean traditions, who had not yet developed his own peculiar mannerisms.³ Prof. Murray pertinently supplies the answer by remarking that the fragments of the *Peliades*, Euripides' earliest play, are in his ordinary style, and quite unlike the *Rhesus*.⁴ He himself prefers to suppose that the peculiarities of the *Rhesus* are attributable to the nature of the play, which must be criticised, not as an ordinary tragedy, but as having been, like the *Alcestis*, the substitute for a satyr-play.⁵ We must beware of being led into deep waters, for the fathoming of which we possess no sounding-line. If, however, we treat the *Alcestis* as providing a standard for the measurement of the so-called 'prosatyric' plays, it is surely a weak point in Prof. Murray's case that no one ever feels any doubt about the Euripidean authorship of that play. Where indeed is his pathetic power so movingly exhibited? Let the reader peruse the latter part of the *Rhesus*, and pass immediately to the first half of the *Alcestis*, and he cannot fail to be conscious of a change of atmosphere.

In favour of the comparison it is alleged that the *Rhesus*, if tested by the number of words contained in it which are not found elsewhere in Euripides, occupies a place between the *Cyclops* and the *Alcestis*, and that all three show

an excess of variation from the normal. I do not believe that these figures are of much value.⁶ They might, of course, be used in favour of those who deny the authorship of Euripides altogether; but, if restricted to the purpose of establishing an affinity with a particular class of play—that is, the satyric or prosatyric—it would be necessary to show a similarity not in the number but in the quality of the eccentricities. But they do not reveal anything of the kind. The non-Euripidean peculiarities of the *Rhesus* comprise a large number of compounds, and a substantial proportion of ἀπαξ εἰρημένα; they exhibit in certain particulars a distinct flavour of Homer; but they do not approach in the slightest degree to the language of comedy or to colloquial speech.

Thinking that it might be possible by a fresh examination of the language to reach some more definite conclusion, I went through the play carefully in order to discover whether in vocabulary and phraseology—especially the latter, because vocabulary is the less significant of the two—it approaches more nearly to the usage of Euripides, Sophocles, or Aeschylus. I might have saved a good deal of trouble, if I had made myself acquainted before starting with the results obtained by Hermann, Hagenbach, Eysert, and Rolfe;⁷ but I preferred to work independently. Hermann and Hagenbach, whose results have been incorporated by the later critics, both pronounced against the traditional view. Eysert, on the other hand, claims to have shown that no argument can be drawn from the language against the authorship of Euripides. A specimen of his figures may be given, which is among the less favourable to his thesis. He finds 28 ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in the *Rhesus* as compared with 40 in the *Phoenissae*, 36 in the *Ion*,

¹ p. viii.

² The *Cyclops* must be left out of account for various reasons: the peculiarities of metre and diction which distinguish it have no parallel in the *Rhesus*.

³ Crates of Mallus (schol. *Rhes.* 524) excused an astronomical error on the ground that Euripides was a young man when he composed the play. The same assumption is the last stronghold of modern critics who defend its authenticity.

⁴ The same point is made by F. Hagenbach (*de Rheso tragedia*, Basiliae, 1863, p. 30).

⁵ Dindorf made the same suggestion (ed. Oxon. p. 560 f.), but seems subsequently to have abandoned it (*Poet. Scen.* 6, p. 21).

⁶ Using Beck's index, which is notoriously untrustworthy, I counted 165 instances (as against Murray's 177). By a rough comparison with the *Bacchae* and the *Hippolytus* for the letter *a* alone, I found the proportion for the *Bacchae* to be much larger, and for the *Hippolytus* slightly smaller.

⁷ G. Hermann, *Opuscula*, III. 262 ff.; L. Eysert, *progr.* Lips. 1891; J. C. Rolfe, *Harvard Studies*, IV. (1893), 61 ff.

35 in the *I.T.*, 32 in the *I.A.*, and 31 in the *Bacchae*. These totals yield percentages of 2·81 for the *Rhesus*, 2·33 for the *I.T.*, 2·27 for the *Phoenissae*, 2·23 for the *Bacchae*, and 2·22 for the *Ion*. Rolfe, whose treatise is a valuable account of the whole controversy, concludes (p. 82) that, if it is borne in mind that we possess many more plays of Euripides than of Aeschylus or Sophocles, the language of the *Rhesus* is more akin to Aeschylus than to Euripides, and that the resemblance to Sophocles is slight. He is well aware of the pitfalls which lie in the way of an accurate estimate, but does not always avoid them. Who can say, for example, whether the employment of ἀγός, βρίζειν, ἱππηλάτης, and κότος, is in each case to be considered as a reminiscence of Aeschylus, when the author may just as well, if not more probably, have derived the words from his acquaintance with Homer? Among the points of syntax enumerated by Rolfe is a statement that in ναὺς ἐπ' Ἀργείων (155, etc.), εὐνὰς πρὸς Ἑκτορος (660), the position of the preposition is at variance with Euripidean usage, although exactly the same thing is found in *Tro.* 954, *Or.* 94. This particular arrangement is common to all three tragedians: Aesch. *Theb.* 168, *Prom.* 653, Jebb on *O.C.* 84. Not much can be made of the fact that there are only three cases of ordinary anastrophe in the *Rhesus* (72, 397, and 930) as against eight in the *Alcestis* and 13 in the *Cyclops*. In another point of syntax, the employment of πρίν with the indicative mood, the *Rhesus* with two examples comes nearer to Euripides, who has five, than to Aeschylus or Sophocles who have one each. (Goodwin, § 633). Rolfe's main contention, that the language of the *Rhesus* is Aeschylean rather than Euripidean, is founded on a curious oversight. He professes to formulate the results of a series of statistical tables which he derived in part from Hagenbach and Eysert, and in part compiled himself, relating to the language of the *Rhesus*, as compared with Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Of these tables, Table IV. contains 21 peculiarities common to Aeschylus and the *Rhesus*; V., 14 common to Aeschylus, Sophocles, and the *Rhesus*;

VI., 67 common to Aeschylus, Euripides, and the *Rhesus*; VII., 18 common to Sophocles and the *Rhesus*; and VIII., 67 common to Euripides and the *Rhesus*. These figures, added together, so as to show the reciprocal similarities and dissimilarities, appear to indicate that Sophocles is much more remote from the *Rhesus* than the other two, and that Aeschylus is relatively nearer to it than Euripides. But the whole structure falls to the ground when we observe that there is no table containing the peculiarities common to Sophocles, Euripides, and the *Rhesus*; for it is certain that if such a one had been included¹ the suggested affinity with Aeschylus would have entirely disappeared. The results exhibited in Rolfe's Tables IV., VII., and VIII. are similar to those which I obtained by a less exact method, *i.e.* by a special perusal of the *Rhesus* made in order to test all the more noteworthy words and phrases for the purpose in hand.² Although they do not lead to a positive conclusion, they contain certain features of interest which deserve a brief summary.

If the general complexion of the style is unlike Euripides, nevertheless in points of detail it approximates more closely to him than to Sophocles or Aeschylus. While the choice of vocabulary is largely determined by subject-matter, the use by Euripides and the author of the *Rhesus* of such words as ἄγαμαι, φαῦλος, τρίβων, κομφός, σαθρός, παραιτέσθαι, πλημμελής, ἀκριβώς, all of which are avoided by Aeschylus and Sophocles,³ is significant of the progress

¹ I found 18 instances belonging to this category under the letter α alone. Professor Rolfe has most courteously informed me that he is now aware of this omission.

² After the elimination of a fair proportion of the doubtful cases, my figures showed 90 approximations to Euripides, as compared with 30 to Sophocles and 25 to Aeschylus. I have incorporated a few additional examples from Rolfe.

³ φαῦλος, though Euripidean by preponderance, just occurs in Aeschylus and Sophocles. It may here be observed that the non-Euripidean quality of the style is largely due to the absence from the *Rhesus* of much of the characteristic vocabulary. This would, I believe, be a fruitful field for investigation. From a casual inspection of the letter α I note the following, taken almost

of the tragic speech towards Atticism. But the influence of Euripides is more conspicuous in the coincidences of phraseology which are so numerous that only some of the most striking instances can be mentioned. The metaphorical use of *φέρεσθαι* to convey the agitation of emotion (15) occurs in Eur. *Ion* 1065, *Hel.* 1642. *κάλλιστον οἴκοις κτήμα* (190: cf. 620) is precisely parallel to Eur. *Phoen.* 88 *ὦ κλεινὸν οἴκοις . . . θάλος*. Compare also *πάντ' ἂν φοβηθεῖς ἴσθι, δειμαίνων τόδε* (80) with *Hipp.* 519 *πάντ' ἂν φοβηθεῖς ἴσθι· δειμαίνεις δέ τί;* *Rhes.* 122 *πεπύργωται θράσει* with *Or.* 1568; *οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω* (271) with *Hec.* 302, etc. *Rhes.* 274 *πρὸ χειρῶν βαστάζειν* with *I.A.* 35. *Rhes.* 278 *ποίας πατρώας γῆς ἐρμώσας πέδον;* with *Andr.* 314 *τοδ' ἐκλιποῦς ἔρημώσεις πέδον*. *Rhes.* 315 *ὅς οὔτε φεύγων . . . ἐκφυγεῖν δυνήσεται* with *Phoen.* 1216. *Rhes.* 370 with *Alc.* 498 *ζάχρυσος πέλτη* (*Θρηκία*). *Rhes.* 467 with *I.A.* 1172 *διὰ μακρᾶς ἀπουσίας*. *Rhes.* 770 *ἀφθόνῳ χειρὶ* with *Med.* 612. *Rhes.* 870 with *Hec.* 278 *τῶν τεθνηκότων ἄλις*. I call particular attention to *Rhes.* 656 *ἦκω δ' ἀκούσας οὐ τορῶς, φήμη δέ τις | φύλαξιν ἐμπέμπτωκεν*, where rhythm and arrangement combine to recall the phraseology of *Hclid.* 494 *κάμοι λέγει μὲν οὐ σαφῶς, λέγει δέ πως*, and *Phoen.* 161 *ὁρῶ δῆτ' οὐ σαφῶς, ὁρῶ δέ πως*. The iteration may be unconscious, but is surely not accidental. If Euripides did not write the *Rhesus*, then either he copied it or its author copied him. It is unnecessary to discuss which is the more probable of these alternatives. We find similar but much less frequent association with Sophocles both in vocabulary (*ἀγχιτέρμων, δεινάζειν, εἰσπαίνειν, κακαιοδρία, κρότημα, κωδωνόκροτος, ὀλοφύρεσθαι, ὑπασπίδιος*) and in phraseology (*σαλεύει πόλις*, 249, *O.T.* 23; *βίον ἐπαίτεῖν*, 715, *O.C.* 1364; *ὀφειλέτις* with following infinitive, 965: cf. *Al.* 590). The most significant coincidences are the metaphorical use of *φυτεύειν* (884), a verb frequently employed by Euripides, but always in the literal sense; the echoes in 201 (*ἐλθὼν ἐς δόμους ἐφέστιος*: cf. *Trach.* 262) and 866 (*οὐκ οἶδα τοὺς*

σοὺς . . .: cf. *El.* 1110, *Al.* 792, fr. 165); and the appearance of *πρὸς* adverb at the end of a line but before the adjective which it qualifies (756). The chief resemblance to Aeschylus is to be found in the employment of elaborate compounds or rare words whether such are actually common to both texts (*ἀδείμαντος, δυσήλιος, δυσοίζειν, ἐκτυφλοῦν, ἰά, νυκτηγορεῖν, σύρδην*) or not (*κρυσταλλόπηκτος*: *κρυσταλλοπήξ; καρανιστής; καρανιστήρ; πολίοχος; πολιοῦχος*).¹ Here and there are clear echoes of phraseology: 290 *ρέων* as compared with *Theb.* 80, 54 *αἶρεσθαι φυγῇν* with *Pers.* 484. The imagery of 183, 446 may be traced to *Theb.* 401.

The influence of Homer is unmistakable, even on a casual inspection. Particular passages copied from K are 301 ff. from K 437 ff., 622 f. from K 479 ff., and 780 ff. developed from the hint given by K 496. *διόπτῃς* (234) was probably suggested by K 562 *τόν ῥα διοπτῆρα στρατοῦ ἔμμεναι ἡμετέροιο*, and 532 by K 159 *ἔγρεο Τυδέος νιέ· τί πάννυχον ὕπνον ἄωτεῖς*; The most striking Homericisms are the words *θυοσκόου, εὐσελμος, ὑπομένειν* (= 'to withstand'), *μηνίειν, μέρμερος, δέχθαι, μεμβλωκότων, κοῖτος, τολυπεύσας, νεῖρα, πρηνής*, and the phrases *ἐπιθρῶσκειν νεῶν, σχέσθαι χέρα, ἄδην ἐλαύνειν, κορύσσειν ἄλκας*. Add that the periphrastic use of *κεφαλῇ* (226, 903) occurs nowhere else in tragedy. There is more interest in certain syntactical peculiarities which should, I believe, be referred to here. In 865 *χρόνον* used adverbially (= *aliquamdiu*) finds its best parallel in ζ 295 *ἐνθα καθεζόμενος μέναι χρόνον*. A similar remark applies to the temporal use of *ἀνά* in 42, and perhaps to the jussive optative in 4 (Goodw. § 725). In 469 *ἐπεὶ ἂν* is Homeric (*Z* 412). I cannot understand the acceptance of *ἐπειδάν*. Not only is a full-stop required after *λέγω* to complete the reply to the chorus (455 ff.), but the presence of *δέ* is essential to balance the preceding *μέν* and to mark the transition to a new point. I can find

¹ The remark is applicable to many of the *ἄπαξ εἰρημένα*, which do not directly suggest Aeschylus: *ἀριστότοκος, κακόγαμβρος, καλλιγέφυρος, καρποποιός, ῥακόδυτος, φυλλόστρωτος, χρυσόβωλος, ψαφαρόχρονος*, etc.

at random: *ἀδικία, ἀδόκητος, ἀμαθής, ἀναφέρειν, ἀνέχειν, ἀνομία, ἀποδιδόναι, ἀπορία, ἀρετή, ἀσύνετος*.

no evidence to determine the quantity of the last syllable of *ἐπειδάν*, although a similar question arises in Aesch. *Theb.* 721. I should refer to the same source the use of *ὥστε* (*as*) with a finite verb (cf. *Monro, H.G.*², § 285, 3a), although it is not so unexampled as Tyrrell on *Bacch.* 1066 supposed: Soph. fr. 474, 3 n. In 720 Paley stands alone in refusing to admit that *ἔλοιτο* = *εἴθ'* *ᾔλετο*; but it is incredible that *ἔχνος βαλεῖν* refers to a permanent settlement in Phrygia. On the other hand it is impossible to treat this passage like *Hipp.* 406, *Hel.* 1215, where *ἔλοιτο* (= 'a curse on . . .') is illogically employed without a time-reference. Here the presence of *πρίν* establishes the connexion with the past, and the optative is used as occasionally in Homer (*N* 826, σ 79). Lastly, in 864 the appearance of the subjunctive after a verb of fearing in relation to a past event (*δέδοικα . . . μὴ καὶ Δόλωνα συντυχῶν κατακτάνῃ*) is unexampled in Attic, and has caused Wecklein rashly to accept Matthiae's *κατέκτανεν*. But not only are similar examples of the subjunctive found in Homer (*Monro, H.G.*², § 358), but in a passage nearly corresponding to this, which may well have been in the writer's mind, Nestor thus expresses his fear for the fate of Odysseus and Diomedes: *ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δέδοικα κατὰ φρένα, μή τι πάθωσιν* | *Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι ὑπὸ Τρώων ὀρυμαγδοῦ*.

The diction thus appears to be a conglomerate of divers constituents, some of which (e.g. *προταινί*, *Ἐκτόρειά χεῖρ*, *μυχθισμὸς νεκρῶν*, *ἐντάσσειν*, *εὐσπλαγχνία*, *μηνάς*, *ἤησις*, *κατάστασις νυκτός*, *κλάζειν σιδήρου*) we are unable to trace to their source. It may, of course, be argued that stylistic tests are a slippery handhold, and that a similar case might be manufactured for other plays that are unquestionably genuine. It cannot be denied that Eysert had some justification for saying that the authorship of Euripides could not be disproved by arguments based on language. But I am not so sure that this would be true if we possessed a Lexicon of Euripides as complete as those of Aeschylus and Sophocles which were compiled by Dindorf and Ellendt. I have made an attempt on a small

scale to provide a standard of Euripidean diction which could be made applicable to the *Rhesus* by selecting an equivalent number of lines from the *Alcestis*, the total to comprise the same number of iambic, anapaestic, and lyric verses as are contained in the disputed play. The *Alcestis* was chosen (1) because of its date, and (2) to meet the pro-satyrical argument; and it will be admitted that it affords a fair field of comparison. With some help from my pupils, I made a verbal index of the *Rhesus* and the parallel extracts of the *Alcestis* in order to compare their vocabularies. The statistics may perhaps be regarded on general grounds as inconclusive, because, in order to fix securely the Euripidean norm, it would be desirable to ascertain whether the *Alcestis* is actually characteristic throughout, however small the doubt in particular cases. There are however certain facts which emerge and deserve attention. It very soon becomes evident that a large part of the vocabulary is irrelevant to the investigation, being determined by the choice of subject-matter; so that while in the *Alcestis* words like 'husband,' 'wife,' 'house,' 'marriage,' 'children,' are prominent, in the *Rhesus* they yield to 'army,' 'camp,' 'enemy,' 'ships,' 'horses.' Even so it may surprise us that *γυνή* (43 times in *Alcestis*) does not occur in the *Rhesus* alone among the extant plays attributed to Euripides. What we desire chiefly to know is how the two plays compare in regard to neutral words which occur anywhere, and especially, owing to their wider field, in regard to conjunctions, particles, and pronouns. Starting with the impression that the style of the *Rhesus* was less flexible and pointed than the normal Euripidean, I expected to find in it a less frequent occurrence of these words. On the whole the anticipation was realised, though not altogether as I expected. Thus a comparison of the use of the prepositions which I thought might be instructive proved absolutely futile. But the examination of 33 small words, the article, the pronouns *ὅς*, *ἐγώ*, *σύ*, *ἐμός*, *σός*, *αὐτός*, *ὅδε*, *οὗτος*, *ἐκεῖνος* (*κεῖνος*), the negative *μή*, the adverbs, conjunctions, and particles *ἄν*,

τοι, τε, καί, δέ, γε, μέν, ἔτι, εἰ, οὖν, ἄρα (ἄρα), δή, δῆτα, ἀλλά, ὥς, πῶς, ἦ, ἦ, γάρ, ὦ, ἥδη—purposely omitting words with few occurrences—yielded in the *Rhesus* 1,263 examples as against 1,620 in the *Alcestis*, or a proportion of very nearly 3 : 4. Moreover, with two exceptions, δέ (179 : 159) and ὥς (31 : 25), in every single case the numbers in the *Alcestis* were larger. Those which impressed me most were ἄν (28 : 57), ὅς (31 : 60), ἐγώ (74 : 145), γε (17 : 40), ἔτι (1 : 23), ἐκεῖνος (2 : 11), δή and δῆτα (15 : 30). Now I do not claim that all this dissection of phraseology is decisive, but I do say that there is a strong case against Euripides to go to the jury, and if they should decide in his favour, I should be ready to argue that their verdict was against the weight of evidence. But that is not all, for I hope to show that the case rests upon broader grounds.

Since those who defend the genuineness of the *Rhesus* all claim it as an early play, it may be added that an early date is rendered improbable by the introduction of the *deus ex machina*,¹ and the division of single verses between different speakers (ἀντιλαβή) in anapaestic and trochaic systems, though not in iambic trimeters. There is, moreover, one stylistic peculiarity, which, though it has not, so far as I am aware, been noticed, is of some importance as bearing on the capacity of the author—I mean his marked tendency to repeat his own phrases. I do not refer to the careless repetition of an unstressed word within a few lines of its first occurrence,² but to the deliberate use on a later occasion of a word or combination of words previously approved. Such are the repetitions of ἔδρα βλεφάρων (ὄμματος), ἐκ νυκτῶν, πολύφονος χεῖρ, ὕστερον βοηδρομεῖν, δις τόσος, φθόνον εἰργεῖν, ὄχημα πωλικόν, πωλοδαμνεῖν, ὀδύνη τείρει, διοίσει, πυρὰ αἶθειν, αἰρεσθαι φηγήν, ἵεναι πόδα, δυσοί-ζειν, ὑπερβαλὼν, στρατόν (λόχους), δεινὰ-

ζειν, εὔδειν κόπῳ (ἐκ κόπων), εἰς αὔριον, κοιμᾶν, and others (190 κάλλιπτον οἴκοις κτήμα : cf. 620. 18 φυλακὰς προλιπὼν κινεῖς στρατιάν : cf. 37). The words κατόπτῃς, κατὰσκοπος, κλώπες, ναύ-σταθμα, κέλσαι, στείχειν (13 : 5 *Alc.*), and the phrases ὕστερον μολεῖν (μολεῖν alone 28 : 9 *Alc.*), κατὰ στόμα, Ἀργείων στρατόν, and ναὺς ἐπ' Ἀργείων, are all repeated several times.³ ναὺς ἐπ' Ἀργείων occurs six times in the same place in the verse, in which also γῆν ἐπ' Ἀργείων and ναύσταθμ' Ἀργείων appear. It is worth notice that ναὺς ἐπ' Ἀργείων is used by Euripides in *Tr.* 954. The word ὄρβρη, not used by Aeschylus and Sophocles, occurs at last six times in eighteen plays of Euripides, and seven times in the *Rhesus* alone. These repetitions, the most important of which has still to be mentioned, are not the laxities permitted to itself by conscious power, but betray the narrow resources of a sterile talent. In 447 ff. *Rhesus* vaingloriously boasts that a single day will suffice for him to sack the towers, to fall upon the shipyards and to destroy the Greeks; and the chorus, after a somewhat futile prayer—itsself repeated from 342 f.—that divine jealousy may not attend his speech, flatter him by saying that neither Achilles nor Ajax, though reputed the mightiest of the Greeks (496 f.), can withstand his blade. At 600 ff. we read with amazement the declaration of the Greek patroness Athena, accepting the boasts of *Rhesus* at their face value, by the admission that if *Rhesus* lives through the night neither Achilles nor Ajax will prevent him from sacking the shipyards, leveling the walls, and making a broad path through the entrance with his blade (ναύσταθμα, πέρσαι, and λόγχη repeated). After this glaring ineptitude we are not

³ Of course some allowance must be made for the fact that words appropriate to the subject-matter are apt to be repeated (cf. the recurrence in the *Ion* of the rare word ἀντίπηξ); but that principle is insufficient to account for the repetitions of the *Rhesus*. A comparison of the occurrences of certain common military words in the *Rhesus* and in Aesch. *Theb.*, δρᾶμα Ἀρεως μεστόν, as Aristophanes calls it, yields the following results: στρατός and its derivatives, 65 *Rhes.*, 14 *Theb.*; δορυ, 22 *Rhes.*, 13 *Theb.*; πολέμιος, 24 *Rhes.*, 8 *Theb.*

¹ See Decharme, *Euripides*, tr. Loeb, pp. 270, 273. I do not mention the employment of four actors or the anapaestic opening, since the fact in the first case and the significance of the second are disputed.

² This tendency was illustrated by Jebb on *O.C.* 554. See also my n. on Eur. *Hel.* 674.

much disturbed by the inconsistency of the Muse, who first of all curses Diomedes and Odysseus for taking the life of her son (906 ff.), but subsequently declares that Odysseus and Diomedes had nothing to do with the murder, whereupon she is immediately contradicted by Hector's assertion that it was palpably due to the wiles of Odysseus.

Apart from verbal incongruities, the structure of the play shows signs of the same clumsiness. Hector, at first rash and impulsive, yields tamely to the remonstrance of Aeneas directly it is pressed home. Similarly, his refusal to welcome Rhesus disappears no less suddenly before the advice of the chorus. 'Very well,' says Hector, 'we will treat him as a guest, but he must not be our ally.' The chorus and the messenger each speak a single line of protest. Hector commends them, and adds: 'Rhesus our ally will soon be here! Can anything be more fatuous? But it is equally important to observe that neither Hector's impulsiveness nor his readiness to recant has any dramatic value, either as bearing on the development of the plot or as exhibiting his character in relation to the action. Again, the episode of Dolon's appearance and his request to be rewarded with Achilles' horses in the event of success are entirely without significance in the sequel. Even the preposterous vauntings of Rhesus do not seem to have any obvious connexion with his untimely death. Not only do the circumstances of the raid upon the Thracian camp fail to arouse the emotions appropriate to tragedy; but Athena's interference is that of a mischievous stage puppet, whose proceedings merely provoke our incredulity.

The curious thing about the *Rhesus* is that, when all this has been said, the play is not nearly so bad as it ought to be. For that result we have chiefly to thank the story, which is full of movement and comprises stirring events.¹ Nevertheless its adaptation to the stage is skilfully arranged, and the literary workmanship by no means contemptible.

The lyrics have been deservedly praised by Prof. Murray, and some of the *ῥήσεις* are extremely effective, especially the speeches of Hector and Rhesus at 392, 422, and of the charioteer at 736. Lastly the scene between Hector and the charioteer, though severely criticised by Valckenaer, seems to me to be admirable; and here at any rate the tragic Hector is not altogether unworthy of his epic prototype.

The effect of the external evidence remains to be stated. The play was undoubtedly attributed to Euripides in the MSS. accessible to the Alexandrian scholars at the time when Aristophanes prepared his edition. Its authenticity was further supported by the registration of the *Rhesus* of Euripides in the didascaliae and the astronomical references in the text (528 ff.). Nevertheless, there were some who doubted its genuineness on the ground that it rather bore the impression of Sophoclean authorship. The balance of evidence appeared to Aristophanes—for the decision must ultimately be traced to his judgment—to incline in favour of Euripides. But he gives us the additional information that two 'prologues'—to use the word in its narrowest sense—were extant. For one of these he appeals to the authority of Dicaearchos,² who, in his *ὑποθέσεις τῶν Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους μύθων* quoted the opening line, and perhaps others. The second prologue, of which eleven lines are preserved, was actually found in some of the MSS., but was considered commonplace and unworthy of Euripides, and as possibly the composition of some of the actors.

It is certain that Euripides wrote a *Rhesus*, but not so certain that our play was recognised as his work by the Peripatetic school. The didascaliae could scarcely prove so much as this, and the reference to Dicaearchus only establishes that he quoted from Euripides a line which is not in our text. On the other hand, Aristophanes suppressed a prologue which he believed to

¹ E.g. the opening scene and that in which Odysseus and Diomedes escape from the guards are well-contrived and impressive.

² Δικαίαρχος is Nauck's certain emendation of δικάϊαν, being clearly indicated by the words ἐκτιθεὶς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. It should be remembered that the aim of Dicaearchus was not critical.

be spurious, and expressed an opinion that the original text might have been corrupted by the actors. On the basis of these facts it might be suggested that the *Rhesus* of Euripides was revived for performance in the fourth century, for which purpose it was extensively recast, and that by compression, substitution, and omission, including the omission of a genuine prologue and the tentative substitution of a new one, it was adapted for the stage in a form considered more suitable by the actors.¹ Can such a view be recommended? I think not, partly because there is no evidence elsewhere that the ancient texts suffered such drastic mutilations, but chiefly because the complete removal of the chief Euripidean characteristics is almost inconceivable.

The judgment of the ancient critics who detected a similarity to the works of Sophocles is interesting. No one has ventured to attribute the play to him, but the remark should not be scouted as merely perverse. Wilamowitz² found in the characterisation, diction and metre evidence of a deliberate reversion to Sophoclean methods, in reaction from the prevalent imitation of Euripides.³ I suggest that it is possible to fix the *Σοφόκλειος χαρακτήρ* somewhat more precisely. It is not necessary to restrict *χαρακτήρ* to its rhetorical sense; for, as applied to Sophocles, it includes all the qualities appertaining to a dramatic poet. Now, the *Rhesus* is remarkable as being the only extant tragedy directly dependent upon Homer, which we are able to compare in detail with its source. Subject to the consideration that the

drama describes from the Trojan point of view what the epic narrates from the Greek, the stories of Dolon and Rhesus are reproduced substantially in their original form. There are also a number of verbal echoes and imitations of Homer, some of which have already been enumerated. Now is not all this exactly what we should expect from Sophocles? 'Sophocles,' says the speaker in Athenaeus,⁴ 'delighted in the epic Cycle to such an extent that throughout the whole of a play he would follow closely the epic narrative.' So the author of the *Life*:⁵ 'His plots follow in the tracks of Homer, and in several of his plays he produces an exact copy of the *Odyssey*.' But Sophocles also recalled Homer by his delineation of character, and by the artistic expression of his thought.⁶ Aristotle compared the art of Sophocles with that of Homer; and Polemo the Academic declared that Homer was an epic Sophocles, Sophocles a tragic Homer.⁷ The Homeric proclivities of Sophocles would be clearer to us, if we possessed more of the plays belonging to the Trojan cycle—e.g., the *Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις*, the *Polyxena*, the *Nausicaa*, and the *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλήξ*; clearer still, if with them had been preserved the *Cyclic Cypria* and *Nosti*. It has been well said of Sophocles by Mr. J. T. Sheppard:⁸ 'To Sophocles the story is the thing. . . . In that respect he is like Homer: not simply his vocabulary and syntax, makes him "the most Homeric" of the Attic poets. . . . His business was to make the epic stories live in a new form, dramatic instead of narrative: he had to tell the tale no longer as a story-teller, who narrates, but, as a dramatist, through the speeches and the actions of the characters themselves.' It was owing to considerations such as these, I believe, that the ancient critics were reminded of Sophocles by the *Rhesus*.

The conclusion I have reached in the case of the *Rhesus* is that, whereas

¹ Some such conclusion is adopted by Dieterich in Pauly-Wissowa, VI. 1265.

² *Einleitung in die gr. Tragödie*, p. 41. Dieterich also says that in style and metre the imitation of Sophocles is self-evident. It is a pity that these critics were not more explicit.

³ Wilamowitz had forestalled Murray's criticism that there is no evidence of such a tendency in the scanty fragments which survive from the fourth-century drama. But it is curious that he should have selected as its representative the very man—Theodectes—whom Murray rejects as unsuitable. I note in passing that two of the words common to Sophocles and the *Rhesus* occur together in Theodect. fr. 17.

⁴ 277e.

⁵ *Vit. Soph.* 12.

⁶ *Ib.* 13.

⁷ *Arist. poet.* 3. 1448a 26; *Diog. L.* 4. 20; *Suid. s.v. Πολέμων*.

⁸ *Greek Tragedy*, pp. 89 f.

the internal evidence makes against the authorship of Euripides, the external is inconclusive. It amounts to no more than this, that the best of the ancient critics acquiesced in the appropriation. If an enquiry is raised how our *Rhesus* came to be attributed to Euripides at so early a date, no answer can be given. We might think of the younger Euripides, were it not that the notice in Suidas, which is the sole evidence of his dramatic activity, is extremely suspicious. But it is unnecessary to seek for a particular connexion. The case of the *Rhesus* does not stand alone: there were several other plays, current under the names of one or other of the great tragedians, about the acceptance or rejection of which Aristophanes was required to decide. If he was wrong

in accepting the *Rhesus*,¹ he was probably right in rejecting the tetralogy *Tennes*, *Rhadamanthys*, *Pirithous*, and satyric *Sisyphus*, which modern criticism agrees in assigning to Critias. This is a particularly interesting parallel, because, besides the spurious *Sisyphus*, there had undoubtedly existed a play of this name, written by Euripides, which was unknown to the Alexandrians.² The same thing happened with Aeschylus and Sophocles. Seven plays were rejected from the Sophoclean canon, and the Medicean catalogue of the plays of Aeschylus retains in conjunction the *Αἰτναῖαι* and the *Αἰτναῖαι νόθοι*.

A. C. PEARSON.

¹ On the critical history of the *Rhesus*, see Wilamowitz, *de Rhesi scholiis*, Greifswald, 1877.

² Aelian *var. hist.* 2. 8.

THE TECHNIQUE OF VIRGIL'S VERSE.

In the *Class. Rev.*, February-March, 1920, some illustrations were given of a species of Alliteration employed by Virgil. Using this in conjunction with Assonance, he elaborates the tendency to repetition of letters and sounds, which appears spasmodically in all kinds of composition, into a nicely-adjusted method, which enhances the beauty of his varied rhythms.

Also, as in 'Lethaei f-l-uminis undam | securos latices, et longa ob-l-ivia potant'; or, 'intus ac(qu)ae d-ulces vivoque se-d-ilia sac-so (saxo), | Nympharum d-omus,' the letter is carried on by what may be termed *Echo*.

Alliterations ('sedilia saxo') are introduced within an interwoven scheme; as V. 613, 'at p-ro-cul in sola secretae T-ro-ades acta | amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque p-ro-fundum | p-ontum aspectabant.'¹ Cf. II. 31, 'pars st-up-et inn-up-tae donum ec-sitiale M-in-ervae, et molem mirantur ec-(qu)i.'

A successive alliteration ('acta amissum Anchisen') is occasionally employed when there is a certain stress,²

as IX. 30, 'ceu s-eptem s-urgens s-edatis amnibus altus | Ganges'; or where there is a real emphasis, as XII. 600, 'se causam clamat, crimenque, caputque malorum. Another example, 'sola mihi tales casus Cassandra cane-bat,' may serve to introduce some illustrations of a point not touched upon in the former article. Virgil arranges his alliterations within the rhythmical paragraph in accordance with the natural stress in recitation. Thus, 'et molem mirantur equi'; or, 'hic primum fortuna fidem mutata novavit'; or, 'horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum; | nam quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos | vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae, | et terram tabo maculant.' By the nature of the case, Proper Names are usually emphatic; and they are taken up³ either by alliteration, as 'pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici'; or by assonance, as 'an-te feras solitus terrere fugaces | Asc-an-ius, fortemque m-an-u fudisse Num-an-um.' So also, 'exin Gorgoneis Allecto infecta venenis; apparet Camarina procul campique Geloi; Erycis tibi terga remitto; nomen dixere priores

¹ Cf. *Aen.* I. 24, 'pr-ima quod ad T-ro-iam p-ro caris,' etc.; and II. 1, 2, 'T-ro-iae qui p-rimus ab oris Italiam, fato p-ro-fugus,' etc.

² Cf. V. 861, 'se sustulit ales ad auras'; II. 84; V. 417 'idque pio sedet Aeneae, probet auctor Acestes, | aequemus pugnas.'

³ Except when resumptive, and equivalent merely to a pronoun. Cf. 'misit. Sa-turn-ia Iuno | audacem ad Turn-um' at the beginning of Book X. with II. 4 and 6.

Ortygiā; casta licet patrui servet Proserpina limen; nec dubiis ea signa dedit Tritonia monstribus.' In the specially emphatic instance, 'sola mihi tales casus Cassandra canebat,' both methods are combined. Some further examples of Virgil's treatment of proper names may be found interesting:

- (a) h-ac-tenus, Ac-ca soror, potui; nunc volnus ac-erbum conficit.
 (b) saepius Andromache ferre incommitata solebat.
 (c) Al-banque patres atque al-tae moenia Romae (cf. *Aen.* VII. 83).
 (d) idque audire s-at est, iamdudum sum-it-e poenas; hoc It-thacus vel-it, et magno mercentur At-ridae.
 (e) tibi quem promitti saepius audis Augustus Caesar, divi genus; aurea condet saecula.
 (f) v-ic-torem Buten immani corpore qui se Bebr-yc-ia veniens Am-yc-cli de gente ferebat.
 (g) adveniet iustum pugnae, ne arcessite, tempus cum fera Carthago Romanis arcibus olim exitum magnum atque Alpes immittit apertas.
 (h) praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto, nunc dextra i-ngeminans i-ctus, nunc i-lle sinistra.¹
 (i) hic Dard-an io An-chisae armiger an-te fuit, fidusque ad limina custos.²
 (j) bellumne inferre paratis, et patrio Harpyias insontes pellere regno?

The echo of the letter in 'paratis, patrio, Harpyias, pellere,' will be noted as similar to that in 'Buten, Bebrycia ferebat,' above. Except for thus carrying on a Proper Name (or for certain effects exemplified in the previous article), Virgil seldom uses the *b*-sound in alliterations. Cf. VI. 1 ff. 'classique immittit habenas | et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris; | obvertunt pelago proras. *Ib.* 86, 7; V. 306 (bina dabo . . . bipennem).'

¹ A successive alliteration, 'ardens agit aequore toto,' aids the emphasis. The assonances, 'ingeminans . . . sinistra,' are as in VI. 10 ff., quoted in the next note.

² The pause in the grammatical structure is bridged by alliteration ('fuit, fidusque'), cf. in example (n), below, 'Ilionei monitu, et multum,' etc. Otherwise this is effected by assonance, as *Aen.* I. 13, 'Car-tha-go, Italian contra,' etc., VI. 10, 'secreta Sibyllae, | an-trum imm-an-e petit; magnam cui mentem an-imumque | Delius inspirat.' Cf. the arrangement of V. 831, 2; and II. 200, 1 ('vos . . . vos, sc-op-ulos . . . Cycl-op-ia').

- (k) virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma
Spartanae vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat Harpalyce.
 (l) cedet Iulus agris, nec post arma ulla rebelles.³
 (m) subnectit fibula vestem,
 nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus.
 (n) il-lam i-ncendentem luctus I-daeus et Actor Il-ionei monitu, et m-ul-tum lacrimantis I-ul-i.
 (o) quam Iuno fertur terram magis omnibus unam.
 (p) Iupiter, inque omen Inturnae occurrere possit.
 (q) huc, pater, o Leneae; tuis hic omnia plena.
 (r) nos abissae rati, et ventō petiisse Mycenae,
 (s) et nunc quod patrias vento petiere Mycenae, ar-ma deosque p-ar-ant comites, pelagoque remenso improvisi aderunt.⁴
 (t) custodes lecti Phoen-ix et dirus Ul-ix-es.
 (u) ger-man-us habebat Pygmaëon, scelere an-te alios im-man-ior omnes.
 (v) templum Si-do-nia Di-do condebat do-nis opulentum et numine di-vae.
 (w) talibus in-sidiis, periurique arte S-in-onis, credita res, captique, etc.
 (x) De-iphobum vidit, lacerum cru-de-liter ora.
 (y) tum facta sil-en-tia linguis,
 et V-en-ulus dicto par-en-s ita farier in-fit.⁵
 (z) an-te diem clauso componat Ves-per Olympo,
 nos Troia an-tiqua, si ves-tras forte per aures, etc.

Besides its aesthetic interest, the study of the method employed in the structure of his verse throws light on a great variety of points connected with Virgil's art. One of these occurs in the animated description of the boxing-match in the Fifth Book. The retired Sicilian champion, Entellus, comes out to meet the Trojan boxer Dares. When the preliminaries, including a dispute concerning the gloves to be used, are settled, the contest begins. In the lines describing the first bout, when the men

³ Cf. II. 44, 'aut ul-la putatis | dona carere dolis Danaum? sic notus Ul-ixes?' X. 333, 'non ul-lum dextera frustra | torserit in Rut-ul-os.'

⁴ 'Re-menso' takes up 're-petant, re-ducant,' which precede. The passage continues (II. 182): 'im-p(ro)visi aderunt, ita digerit omina Calchas. | hanc p(ro) P-alladio moniti, p(ro) numine laeso, | ef-figiem statuere, n-ef-as quae triste piaret.'

⁵ Cf. II. 105, 'tum vero ar-demus scit-ar-iet c(qua)erere causas; | ign-ar-i scelerum tantorum, ar-tisque Pelasgae; | prosequitur pavitans, et ficto pectore fatur'; where 'tantorum . . . pavitans' balance in sound, as 'linguis . . . in-fit' do here.

face each other and spar for an opening (ll. 426-432), the unusual scansion *genua labant* occurs. No one accustomed to study Virgil's work at all carefully will suppose it done at random. The sparing and appropriate employment, for instance, of archaistic forms and expressions is very noticeable. Thus, II. 54, 'insonuere *cavae* gemitumque dedere *cavernae*.' Again, in an oracular utterance (VII. 70), 'et summa *dominari* arce.'¹ So in VI. 747, 'aetherium sensum atque *aurai* simplicis ignem'; in lines reminiscent of the speculations of the old Ionian nature-philosophies. Again, in III. 549 a tetrasyllabic ending with a word other than a proper name occurs. Here the line, 'cornua velatarum obvertimus antennarum,' suggests the effort of the crew, and the groaning of the tackle, as the yards are braced round when the ship goes about on a new tack. If now we compare with the lines from the Fifth Book those in the *Georgics* which follow after the signs of rough weather described in I. 388 ff., 'tum cornix plena plu(v)iam (v)ocat improba (v)oce, | et sola in sicca secum spatiat harena; | ne nocturna quidem car-pen-tes pen-sa p-uellae | ne-scivere hiemem,' it will be seen that there too an unusual scansion, *tenuia*, occurs:

*nam neque tum stellis acies ob-tusa videtur,
nec f-ra-tris ra-diis ob-noxia surgere (L)una;
ten-ua nec (l)anae per cae(l)um ve(l)era ferri;
non te(p)idum ad solem (p)ennas in littore
(p)andunt
dilectae Thetidi alcyones.*

Georg. I. 395.

Here 'tenuia' is so placed as to link the clauses by assonance. Thus 'tenuia . . . pennas,' balance 'obtusa . . . obnoxia,' with an effect similar to that in the lines quoted in the last footnote, 'adstat . . . adolet.' In the same way, 'tepidum' leads on by sound to the proper name 'Thetidi.' Cf. I. 30, 'tibi serviat ultima Thule, | te-que sibi generum Te-thys emat omnibus undis.'

¹ The lines which follow exhibit the linking of the clauses by assonance, and the taking up of the proper name: 'summa domin-ar-ier ar-ce; | praeterea, castis adolet dum alt-ar-ia taedis, ut iuxta genitorem adstat La-vi-nia vi-rgo | vi-sa, nefas! longis comprehendere crinibus ignem.'

Aen. V. 420, 'solve me-tu-s, et tu Troianos exue ces-tu-s.'

Turning now to the passage under discussion, and examining it in the light of the effects which to Virgil's ear were essential to the harmony of his verse, it will be seen that *genua* subserves these as indicated below:

tum satus Anchisa cestus pater ec-stulit aequos,
et paribus palmas amborum inn-ec-suit armis.
constitit in digitos ec-stemplo arr-ec-tus uterque,
brachiaque ad superas interitus ec-stulit auras.
ab-duxere retro longe capita ardua ab i-ctu,
i-mmiscentque manus manibus pugnamque
laccunt,
i-lle pedum melior motu fretusque i-uenta,
hic membris et mole va-lens, sed tarda frementii
gen-va labant; va-stos quatit aeger anhelitus
artus
multa viri nequidquam in-ter se volnera iactant,
multa cavo la-ter-i in-geminant et pectore vastos
dant sonitus, erratque aures et tempora c-irum
cre-bra ma-nus; cre-pitant duro sub volnere
ma-lae.
Aen. V. 424-436.²

Readers of the former article may have noticed a characteristic Virgilian arrangement of sound in the lines, 'et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis. constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque.' Compare II. 19, 'in-c-ludunt c-ae-c-o lateri penitusque c-avernas | ingentes' utrumque armato milite con-plent. est in con-spectu Tenedos.' With the effect in the concluding line of those quoted above may be compared V. 124, where the interwoven alliteration is arranged as shown: 'est p-rocul in p-elago s-axum s-puman-tia con-tra | litora quod t-umidis s-ub-mer-sum t-und-itur olim | fluctibus hi-berni con-dunt ubi s-idera Co-ri; | t-ranquillo s-ilet immotaque a-ttollitur und-a | c-ampus et a-pricis s-tatio gra-tissima mergis.' The successive alliteration 'aeger anhelitus artus' is obviously appropriate to the emphasis. Compare ll. 444 ff., where Dares avoids a chopping blow from a right-hand lead, thereby causing his opponent to overreach and fall heavily: 'i-lle i-ctum venientem a vertice velox | prae-v-ident,

² With 'membris et mole valens,' cf. 'et molem mirantur equi,' quoted above. An intensification of method, suggested by the subject-matter of the passage, is evident. Cf. XII. 700:

c(qu)antus At-thos au-t c(qu)antus Er-ic(yx)
au-t ipse corus-c-is | cum fremit il-ic-ibus
c(qu)antus, g-au-det que nivali | v-er-tic-e, se at-tollens p-at-er A-penninus a-d au-ras.

celerique clapsus corpore cessit. | Entellus vires in ventum effudit et ultro | ipse *gra-v-is gra-v-iterque* ad terram pondere vasto | *conc-id-it*; ut *con* (quon)-dam *ca-v-a conc-id-it* aut *Er-ymantho* | aut *Id-a* in magna radicibus *er-uta* pinus. *con-surgunt*¹ studiis,' etc.

The proper names here are seen to be taken up in the manner of which various examples have been given above. Compare:

constitit, et *l-ac-rimans*, 'quis iam *l-ocus*,' inquit, '*Ach-ate*, quae regio in terris nostri non *p-l-en-a-l-laboris*? *en, Pri-am-us*! s-unt hic *et-iam* s-ua *pr-aemia* *l-audi*; s-unt *l-ac-rimae* rerum *et mentem* *mortalia* tangunt; s-olve *m-et-us*.' *Aen.* I. 459.²

¹ Compare 'milite *con-plent*. est in *con-spectu* Tenedos,' quoted above.

² Cf. II. 145: ipse viro *pri-mus* manica, a-tque a-recta levavi vincla iubet *Pri-am-us*, dictisque ita fatur *am-icis*, quisquis es, *am-issos* hinc iam obliviscere Graios.

To an ear taught by Virgil to listen for the harmony of his verse some of the correspondences in sound which he elaborates will often suggest themselves as a rhythmical paragraph approaches its conclusion. In the case of various uncompleted lines which a poet of Virgil's fertility in invention could have found no difficulty in concluding suitably to the sense in many different ways, it is possible to form an idea of what the effect was that he desiderated. On a future occasion it may be possible to consider one or two of these cases in connexion with passages which here and there occur, where a word, obviously not the best (as *parent*, *Aen.* I. 124), is used as a temporary stop-gap from its suitability to the verse: '*v-olgi* quae *v-ox* ut *v-enit* ad aures | obstupere animi gelidusque per ima *cu-currit*, *os-sa* tremor *cu-i* fata *parent*, *qu-em* *p-os-cat* *A-p-ollo*.' So too IV. 130, 'iubare . . . iuventus.'

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AN ECHO OF EURIPIDES IN PROPERTIUS.

In his note on Propertius II. xxvi. 2 (*Select Elegics of Propertius* III. xxi. 2) Professor Postgate quotes Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 255 *ἐναλλα δρόσῳ* in commenting on *Ionio rore*. But there is more in this than a mere verbal parallel. As a matter of fact that elegy contains a whole series of echoes of the passage of Euripides which begins with the line referred to.

The most striking point of resemblance is that the same marine deities are mentioned by both poets. In *I.T.* 270 'one of pious mood' beholds Orestes and Pylades sitting on the shore and prays:

ὦ ποντίας παῖ Λευκοθέας, νεῶν φύλαξ,
δέσποτα Παλαίμων, ἰλέως ἡμῖν γενοῦ,
εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς θάσσετον Διοσκόρω,
ἢ Νηρέως ἀγάλμαθ', ὅς τὸν εὐγενή
ἐτίκτε πεντήκοντα Νηρήδων χρόνον.

Compare Propertius, ll. 9-10, 13-16:

quae tum ego Neptuno, quae tum cum Castore fratri,
quaeque tibi excepi, iam dea Leucothoe! . . .
quod si forte tuos uidisset Glaucus ocellos,
esses Ionii facta puella maris,
et tibi ob invidiam Nereides increpitant,
candida Nesaeae, caerula Cymothoe.

Propertius has added Neptune, as being *potens maris deus*, and has neatly rounded off his description by particularising two of the Nereids. But the Leucothoe, Palaemon, Dioscuri and Nereids of Euripides all appear in Propertius also, for Palaemon-Melicertes may be regarded as the equivalent of Glaucus (they were sometimes identified, as by Nicander, quoted in Athenaeus VII. p. 296).

Besides this coincidence of deities there are several coincidences of words and phrases, which I give in the order of the Greek text:

- 255 *ἐναλλα δρόσῳ*.
2 *Ionio rore*.
263 *πορφυρεντικά στεγάει*.
5 *purpureis* agitatam fluctibus Hellen.
264 *δισσοῦς εἰδὲ τις νεανίας*.
17 *delphinum currere uidi*.
266 *ἄκροισι δακτύλοισι πορθμείων ἔχνος*.
269 *ἀνέσχε χεῖρε*.
11 *uix primas extollens gurgite palmas*.
269 *καὶ προσηύξατ' εἰσιδών*.
10 *quaeque tibi excepi* (sc. uota).
276 *ναντίλους ἐφθαρμένους*.
1 *fracta carina*.
277 *θάσσειν φάραγγα*.
19 *summo me mittere saxo*.

In view of these parallels it is not altogether fanciful to suppose that *agitata fluctibus Hellen* is suggested by the Ἑλλην- of 259 Ἑλληνικαῖσιν ἐξέ-φοινίχθη ῥοαῖς, where the colour comes in again.

The dream which Propertius describes so vividly may, as Dr. Postgate thinks, have been a real occurrence; but even assuming that it was, I should be disposed to find the genuine details only in lines 1-4 and 19-20. When the poet came to work up the incident, he would embroider his theme with his usual mythological allusions. At the time of composition he had at the back of his mind the passage from the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. The link between the two may be found in the dream of Iphigenia, which is introduced and dismissed in words which seem to find an echo in the first and last lines of this elegy:

44 ἔδοξ' ἐν ὕπνῳ τῆσδ' ἀπαλλαχθεῖσα γῆς
οἰκεῖν ἐν Ἀργεῖ.

I uidi te in somnis.

569 ψευδεὶς ὄνειροι, χαλρετ' οὐδὲν ἦτ' ἄρα.

20 cum mihi discussit talia uisa metus.

We may expect to find in a studious poet like Propertius such reminiscences from his reading, but it is not easy to decide whether they are conscious or subconscious. Perhaps two passages from Kipling will serve as illustrations. The song at the end of *The Finest Story in the World* concludes with:

Greet me, O Sun,
Dominant master and absolute lord
Over the soul of one!

which recalls Richard Crashaw's *Hymn to the Admirable Saint Teresa*:

Love, thou art absolute, sole Lord
Of life and death.

Again in the following passage from *The Village that Voted* there is an unmistakable echo of Shelley's lines written among the Euganean hills:

A few days passed which were like nothing except, perhaps, a suspense of fever, in which the sick man perceives the searchlights of the world's assembled navies in act to converge on one minute fragment of wreckage—one only in all the black and agony-strewn sea.

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NOTES

CIL. I. 1538 (=VI. 335).

Ῥ. MAG. LVDOS
heriCOLEI. MAGNO
NEO. FECIT

—'litteris bonis et alte incisis,' Mommsen, writing in 1863. The stone was found on the Appian way between the sixth and seventh milestones from Rome. Mommsen pointed out that in v. 1 R is the last letter of the cognomen of the 'magister' who conducted the games in honour of Hercules 'magnus.' It is therefore clear that a large portion of the stone on the left has perished, though exactly how much it is impossible to say. Nevertheless the suggestion is perhaps worth considering that the inscription refers to the worship of Hercules Magnus Custos, which was centred at the temple of Hercules bearing that name in the Campus Martius and near the Circus Flaminius. For v. 2 Mommsen offered no suggestion,

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and it is hard to see that any could be offered which would be anything more than a guess. But when we come to v. 3 the proposal which he did make is certainly what he described it to be. He wrote: 'quid subsit nescio; nam lus est quod in mentem mihi uenit: in theatro ligneo FECIT.' I am not aware of any other conjectural restoration since advanced; Mommsen's was repeated by Bormann thirteen years later in volume vi of the *Corpus*.

Desirable though autopsy is in all such cases I make the following suggestion for what it is worth: (in circo Flami)NEO FECIT. Whether *custodi* or an abbreviated form of the same word was cut also in the same line, or whether it was entered on the stone at all or not, cannot be determined. The probabilities are that it was entered, because, except in literature (for example, Horace *Carm.* iv. 5. 36 'et magni memor Herculis,' where *magnus*

is simply 'mighty' and not a genuine 'epitheton' at all), we nowhere find a *Hercules Magnus*. In *CIL*. III. 3651 (Pannonia Inferior) *Herculi M D sac*, if rightly supplemented *Magno Deo*, is different from *Magnus* simply.

It is well known that -e- is frequently written instead of -i- in many of the older Latin inscriptions, both in the suffix -ius and in other places. There is nothing unusual in 'Flamineo'; on the contrary, it agrees well with the date of the inscription, so far as that may be judged from what is left of it, and both agree with the date of the Circus Flaminius (221 B.C.) and that of the temple of Hercules Magnus Custos (before 218 B.C.)

Now in the calendar of Philocalus (A.D. 354) the entry for June 4, the very day on which the festival of Hercules Magnus Custos took place in the temple 'in circo Flaminio,' reads *ludi in Minucia*,¹ that is in the Porticus Minucia (erected 110 B.C.) which was also 'in circo Flaminio'; and Mommsen in his note on that day (*CIL*. I. 2nd ed., in the 'Commentarii Diurni') remarks that these *ludi in Minucia* were evidently connected with the sacrifice to Hercules Magnus Custos at the same place and date. If, then, the proposed restoration of this inscription is correct, the *ludi* which it records would appear to have been a precedent in Republican times, to which the inscription manifestly belongs, for the Imperial *ludi*, with this difference, that instead of being an annual institution they were a single isolated occurrence.

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NOTE ON IGNAT. EP. AD EPH. XX.

Ἐνα ἄρτον κλώντες ὃ ἐστὶ φάρμακον ἀθανασίας.

LIGHTFOOT, in his note *ad loc.*, gives no example of *φάρμακον*; but, in addition to the instances quoted in L.S., cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 868 with J. B. Mayor's note. For a parallel (which I have not seen referred to in this con-

nexion) see an inscription discovered in 1884 at Oinoanda in Lycia. This inscription was put up by one Diogenes who says: 'I desired to employ this colonnade publicly τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας προσθεῖναι φάρμακα' (alluding to his epicurean object that life should become 'pleasant' to us—τῆς μετ' εὐθυμίας χαρᾶς).

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HORATIANA.

PROFESSOR TUCKER's suggestion that in Horace S. I. 3. 117, ff. 'nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire | uerba non uereor' should be a parenthesis is, I believe, the first reasonable attempt to reconcile the claims of grammar and sense with that of the manuscript tradition. Its weakness is this. His interpretation 'For as for your not going so far as to use the cane on one who deserves a more severe castigation, I have no fear of that' involves a formal inconsistency in the thought of the sentence. Horace says, 'I do not fear you will visit an offender who has deserved a severer castigation with a lighter,' and *maiora* can only mean *quam ferulae*. The 'lighter' castigation, then, should be that with the *ferula*, but with Professor Tucker's interpretation it must be something different, unspecified. It is no doubt true that Horace in his *Satires* is purposely easy-going as regards formal consistency, e.g. in S. II. 1. 55 compared with *ib.* 52. But this would be a much harsher example. If the new suggestion cannot be accepted, Professor Housman's transposition of *nam ut* and *ne* (in the preceding line) seems the only cure.

In *Epode*. 5. 88 I think Professor Tucker underrates the difficulty of *humanam* for *hominum*, a use to which Latin affords no adequate parallels (*suam, nostram uicem* etc. are dissimilar). For *uicem* is not an ordinary noun but one half fossilised into a preposition. I see no escape except by reading *humanum* (gen. plur.) as proposed in my note on Lygdamus (Tib. III.) 4. 26 in *Classical Quarterly* VI. (1912), p. 41, where examples of this genitive of *humanus*

¹ Minicia *cod.*

{=homo) are collected. The sense is 'like mere human beings.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

December, 1920.

VARRO'S *QUAESTIONUM PLAUTINARUM*, LIBRI V.

In the last book on Roman literature, the excellent new edition of Teuffel's *Römische Literatur*, it is assumed (p. 335) that Varro's *Quaestiones* dealt with vocabulary ('wohl zur Erklärung einzelner dunkler Ausdrücke'). But we have express testimony that they dealt with the incidents of Plautus' life.

The *Liber Glossarum*, which has preserved for us the true reading of Catullus 39, 11 (C.R. XXXIII. 105), has a gloss (printed on p. 234 of *Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, Vol. V.):

Plautinarum: Plauti auctoris re<s> gestas.

Mr. Thomson is showing us (in *Class. Quart.* XIV. 87 and elsewhere) that one source of the *Liber Glossarum* was the full, unreduced *Abstrusa Glossary*, and that the chief source of the *Abstrusa Glossary* was a 'variorum' commentary on Virgil which retained much of Donatus' scholia. That this gloss preserves for us the lore of Donatus is quite probable. Servius, who followed in Donatus' footsteps, discusses in the preface to the commentary on the *Aeneid* (p. 4, line 15 of Thilo's edition) the number of Plautus' plays: 'nam Plautum alii dicunt unam et viginti fabulas scripsisse, alii quadraginta, alii centum.'

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REVIEWS

ROSTAGNI'S *IBIS*.

Ibis. A. ROSTAGNI (Contributi alla Scienza dell' Antichità, Vol. III.). One vol. 4to. Pp. 123. Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1920. Lire 12.

It is said by Ovid in *Ib.* 55 and by Suidas s.u. *Καλλίμαχος* that Callimachus wrote a poem against an enemy of his, one *Ἰβίς*. Mr Rostagni contends that they were wrong. There existed a poem of that name and nature, but its author was not Callimachus. This he proves as follows.

He begins by assuming that Ovid's *Ibis* is substantially a translation of the Greek *Ἰβίς*. Now not only is there no support for this assumption in Ovid or anywhere else, but there is one couplet of the *Ibis*, 449 sq., which conflicts with it. That couplet therefore Mr Rostagni declares to be interpolated, alleging further that it contradicts Suidas. It does not necessarily contradict him at all, but what if it did? must nobody contradict Suidas except Mr Rostagni? And why not rather declare the sentence in Suidas to be interpolated, on the ground that it contradicts Ovid?

He then remarks that the *Ibis* contains in 299 sq. a reference to an event of the year 213 B.C., too late for Callimachus, and that it contains no reference to any event of later date: the author of the *Ἰβίς* therefore belonged to the first part of the second century. But the *Ibis* contains in 631 sq. a reference to the ninth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which is too late not only for Callimachus but for Mr Rostagni's pseudo-Callimachus. Ovid himself must have inserted it; and even if the *Ibis* is a copy of the *Ἰβίς*, why cannot Ovid have inserted also the reference to Achaeus in 299 sq.? Because it is Greek, says Mr Rostagni, who tacitly assumes that the *Ἰβίς* was the only Greek book which Ovid had ever read. For instance, many of the stories to which Ovid in his *Ibis* makes allusion are known to have been told by Callimachus in his *αἶτια*, a work which might be perused, one would think, by the author of the *fasti*; but Mr Rostagni will not allow the *αἶτια* to be Ovid's source for these stories: they must have been in the *Ἰβίς* too, and

that is how Ovid came to know of them.

It is thus demonstrated, by assumption piled on assumption, that Callimachus wrote no *Ἰβις*. But Mr Rostagni will also investigate the personality of Ovid's enemy. He says that Ovid did not know who he was. But Ovid knew his birthplace. Oh, he took that from the *Ἰβις*. But Ovid also knew his birthday, which he could not take from the *Ἰβις*, for it is a date in the Roman calendar. Oh, he made that up out of his own head. Cannot Mr Rostagni see that if Ovid specified the birthday and birthplace of an enemy whose very identity was unknown to him he was ensuring that his invective and execrations should miss their mark? Unless this real and unknown person was actually born in Libya on the dies Alliensis, which would be a miracle, the *Ibis* does not apply to him; and Ovid may curse till he is black in the face without doing him the slightest injury in this world or the next. And where did Mr Rostagni pick up his extraordinary notion? He says that *Ibis* is the person spoken of in *trist.* I 6 7-16 as defeated by Ovid's wife and friends in an attempt to lay hands on some of his property. Then Ovid must have known who he was: if his wife was such a Mrs Nickleby that she omitted the enemy's name in relating his actions, Ovid would have written to ask for it; he would not have sat down in easily remediable ignorance to pen 600 lines of verse and discharge them at the circle of the horizon. But in *trist.* I 6 13 he contemptuously calls this person *nescioquis*, an insignificant creature; and that has done the mischief: 'Mr Rostagni takes this word to mean that Ovid really did not know whom he was talking about. His Latin scholarship indeed is not of the best: in the verse 'siue idem simili pinus quem morte peremit' he construes *idem* with *pinus* and translates 'il medesimo albero'.

Mr Rostagni has also much to say upon the scholia of Ovid's *Ibis*. These often offer us explanations which we know to be figments, because we understand Ovid's allusions, which the

scholiasts did not. But wherever we do not understand his allusions Mr Rostagni is prepared to believe that the scholiasts did, and listens with eager credulity to convicted liars. More yet. These scholiasts, except the most respectable of them, the scholiast of the cod. Phillippicus, enrich their notes with Latin elegiacs and hexameters, redolent of the middle ages, which they ascribe to persons whose names they found in Ovid and Fulgentius; not merely to Roman poets like Tibullus and Propertius and Gallus but to Greek poets like Arion and Callimachus and to mere vocables like Lupercus and Menephron. Mr Rostagni will have it that these concoctions, many of them made out of Ovid's own words, are translations of Greek verses preserved in Greek scholia on the *Ἰβις*. Greek verses of Tibullus and Propertius and Gallus? Well, not exactly; but *Gallus* is a corruption of *Callimachus* (as also are *Darius* and *Clarus* and *Calixto* and *Calmetes* and even *Promptius*), and *Tibullus* and *Propertius* are corruptions of the names of other Greek poets whom Mr Rostagni has not yet decided to identify. There is a certain *Battus* (*Batus*, *Bacus*, *Bachus*, *Bacchus*) to whom Latin verses are imputed at 259 and 299; and for Mr Rostagni he is Callimachus again, *Battiades*. In truth he is nothing of the sort: he recurs in a similar imposture, *L. Caecilii Minutiani Apuleii de orthographia* § 43, as '*Battus iambicus poeta Ouidii contubernalis*', and his birthplace is Ovid. *trist.* IV 10 47, where the MSS present 'Ponticus heroo, *Battus* (*Batus*, *Bacus*, *Bachus*, *Bacchus*) quoque clarus iambis', and editors read *Bassus* with Scaliger.

Worse argument and vainer conclusions than make up the staple of this treatise are not often met with; but the pains which Mr Rostagni has wasted on it are considerable, and so is his knowledge of recent literature relevant to the subject. One would think however that at pp. 56-8 he must have quoted *Oxyrh. pap.* 1011, published in 1910, if he had ever read it.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ARISTOTLE'S FOUR BOOKS OF *METEOROLOGICA*.

Aristotle's Four Books of Meteorologica.

Revised, with Index of Words, by F. H. FOBES. Printed at the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., 1919. Price 15s. net.

THIS handsome and sumptuous volume shows what pains a scholar will lavish on a task which in the eyes of the 'average sensual man' there is no pleasure in doing and for which there is no reward when done. This is not the first time that the *Meteorologica* has occupied the attention of this scholar, as may be seen from the bibliography in this volume itself. But these tentative efforts, it seems, were only foreshadowings of the substance which is now given to the world.

As a book of this sort is in the nature of things not very accessible, it may be as well to give the Table of Contents, which appears at the end of the volume. The work as a whole is divided into eight parts: 1. Preface, vii-xxiv. 2. On the MSS., xxv-xlii. 3. Bibliography, xlii-xlv. 4. An Epitome taken from the Third Basle Edition, xlv-xlvii. 5. Abbreviations for the MSS., xlviii. 6. *The Meteorologica* I.-IV. 7. Index of Words, 165-221. 8. Pagination, etc., of the Various Editions, 223-234. In addition to the above, we may mention that page v is wholly devoted to the filial inscription—*Parentibus Sacrum*. At the end of the preface there is a grateful acknowledgment of indebtedness to Mr. W. D. Ross and many others, including E. M. Webster, who died in France for his country (U.S.A.); thanks also are paid to the Syndics of the Harvard Press for undertaking the work.

From the preface it appears that it is the main object of the editor to bring into play more MSS. than Bekker had done before him. If he cannot get back to the pristine integrity of the original writer, at least he hopes to approach

more nearly to the authority of the archetype, which he has convinced himself underlies all the MSS. The two manuscripts to which Mr. Fobes ascribes the greatest authority in all matters, including orthography, are those which he calls E and J.

In the second part of the work (*De Codicibus*, pp. xxv-xlii) we are told that those MSS. which are marked with a star have not been seen by the editor, and that those which are marked with a dagger have only been looked at here and there. As therefore the larger number of manuscripts have neither star nor dagger, we are left in amazement at the number of manuscripts which have been carefully examined.

The Bibliography (*Notitia Litteraria*) shows personal acquaintance with many books and papers, since there are only two stars and no daggers in the whole list.

The Analysis (*Epitome*) of the four books of the *Meteorologica* is one of the rare instances in which we find a direct desire to help the reader towards the right understanding of the subject-matter.

I have heard it said a long time ago that the end of scholarship is translation; nor do I wish now to quarrel with the author of that apophthegm. But what if the text be unsound? In that case the scholar may be trying to translate something which the author never wished to say or which has no meaning at all. From that evil we shall not suffer if Mr. Fobes' care can accomplish our deliverance. He has shown himself willing even to construct a special dictionary for the four books of the *Meteorologica*. The only charge, therefore, that can reasonably be brought against him is that he has taken too much pains. But he must be allowed to judge himself whether the game is worth the candle.

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

OECONOMICA.

The Works of Aristotle translated into English: Oeconomica. By E. S. FORSTER, M.A., Lecturer in Greek at the University of Sheffield, formerly scholar of Oriel College, Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1920.

THE translation here given of the *Oeconomica* seems to me to be very well done. Where the result is unsatisfactory the fault generally lies, not with the translator, but with the original which he has to translate.

The two small treatises known as the *Economics* A and B manifestly emanate from the Peripatetic School. They have the crabbedness of lecture notes, the incertitude of meaning, and the neglect of style, which mark the disciples of Aristotle. They have also the haunting suggestion of unsoundness in the text which hangs round some of the undisputed works of Aristotle himself.

The parts of Mr. Forster's works are: 1. Preface. 2. Contents. 3. *Oeconomica* I. 4. *Oeconomica* II. 5. Index.

The Table of Contents is good as far as it goes, but it does not go very far, as it consists only of a few lines.

The Index is excellent, and must have cost great labour.

Let us now examine, or at least notice, some particular passages in the translation:

How comes it that in 1343a, 22 Hesiod is quoted thus:

First and foremost a house, then a wife . . . the end of the line being suppressed? As a whole it runs thus:

Οἶκον μὲν πρῶτιστα, γυναῖκά τε βούν τ' ἀροτῆρα.

The answer to the above question clearly is, 'because there is some MS. authority for doing so.' But how can *γυναῖκα* in the line in question be translated by 'wife,' when Hesiod hastens to add:

κητῆρην, οὐ γαμετῆρην, ἥτις καὶ βουσὶν ἔποιτο.

1344b, 19. 'As is the case in a city.' Perhaps the meaning would be brought out better by saying, 'any more than in a state.'

1347a, 13. 'To come against them.'

Ought it not to be 'to come to them'? Hostility is expressed a few lines further on by ἐπί with the acc. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Βοσπόρῳ τυράννους.

In 1324b, 17 τοὺς οἰκέτας would be rendered better by 'domestics' than by 'households.'

1438a, 14. Instead of 'told them that their city, which was his capital, was unfortified,' ought we not to have here 'told them that this city of his, though it was their mother-city, was unfortified'?

1345a, 16. 'To make a man healthy and wealthy and wise.' A very happy *tour de force* for:

καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν καὶ οἰκονομίαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν χρήσιμον.

1351a. 'Each wishing to retain their own temple.' 'Each' is an awkward word to deal with.

1352a, 27. 'Affronted.' καταφρονηθῆ is rather 'to be held in contempt.'

1352b, 30. Perhaps 'armies' is here a slip for soldiers.'

1352b, 32. 'Brought in.' But 'brought up' is the regular word for a journey to the capital.

1352b, 34. 'The slaves who were to serve in the army.' Does it not mean 'to look after the camp'?

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

ATHENIENSIIUM RESPUBLICA.

The Works of Aristotle translated into English: Atheniensium Respublica. By SIR FREDERIC G. KENYON, K.C.B., F.B.A., Hon. Fellow of Magdalen and New Colleges. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1920.

WHEN *The Constitution of Athens* was first given to the world of letters about thirty years ago, a distinguished scholar, especially devoted to Aristotle, was asked why he had not read this lately discovered work. His reply was, 'There are many of Aristotle's works which I have not read.' As it is possible that some scholars may not even yet have read *The Constitution of Athens*, it may be as well to say a few words about it.

The work of Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, which lies before us, consists of these

parts: Preface; Contents; Translation (chaps. 1-69) with Notes; Index.

In the short preface of one page we are told several things. One is that the translation was originally made for Messrs. Bell and Son 'shortly after the first appearance of the Greek Text, 1891,' . . . and is now 'issued with their concurrence.' The whole of the translation has been revised, and the last six chapters (64-9) are now translated for the first time. The text on which the translation is based is naturally that of the papyrus now in the British Museum. Before that treasure was found there was nothing but the fragments collected from various authors, which had only left scholars like Oliver 'aching for more.'

The Table of Contents falls into two parts. The first forty-one chapters are a sketch of Athenian constitutional history, while in chapter 42 to the end we have a description of the constitution of Athens in the fourth century B.C. Thus we may be said to be given first the dynamics and afterwards the statics of the same subject. Sir Frederic tells us that in translating he has tried 'to follow the matter-of-fact, unadorned style of the original.' He has, and that with most happy results. For what we find, where conditions in the original are at all favourable, is a narrative in a beautiful flowing style. Take for instance chapter 6 or 15.

The translator tells us that he has not in the notes discussed the historical value of the treatise, a declaration which exonerates the critic from attempting anything of the kind.

The Index seems to be as full as one could wish. 'The references are to chapters and sections.' This last arrangement involves the awkwardness of having two different systems of reference within the same cover. But personally I am thankful for it, if I may be allowed to give utterance to a purely personal, and perhaps irrational, prejudice. It is long familiarity, I suppose, that endears me to the old chapter and verse of Bekker.

The verse renderings which we come across must be pronounced a success, especially if we bear in mind that what passes for poetry is a political brochure. All the passages given are from Solon

(5 §§ 2, 3, 12), except when they are from drinking-songs (19 § 3, 20 § 5).

The metre most used is well chosen. There is rumbling as of thunder in the long sonorous line. The words in 5 § 2,

As I mark the oldest home of the ancient Ionian
race
 Slain by the sword,

are open to the fallacy of division, for the incautious reader might well take 'slain by the sword' as being predicated, not of 'the Ionian race,' but of its 'oldest home,' which is absurd.

Now let me offer some petty criticisms which will serve to show how hard it is to bring forward any criticisms at all.

In 12 § 3 we have the words, 'And again elsewhere he speaks about the persons who wished to redistribute the land.' Can this be considered a translation of *καὶ πάλιν διαγνώθῃ ποῦ λέγει περὶ τῶν διανείμασθαι τὴν γῆν βουλομένων*? Literally translated, I suppose this must run as follows: 'And again discern where he speaks about those who wish to distribute the land.'

The name of Cypsēlus is in the translation (17 § 4), but is not in the Index.

What is Orēum in the text (33 § 1) becomes Oreus in the Index. Which is right?

'Thessalus was much junior in age' (18 § 2). Is the pleonasm called for?

The *Atheniensium Respublica* offers many points of interest. To Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon may now be added a fourth great authority on Athenian history; chronology is aided by new names of Archons, and new technical terms are made known to us (e.g. 64 § 2 *ἐμπέκτος*); but most interesting of all, to my mind at least, is to find Aristotle appearing in a new character, that of an historian, and that the most philosophical kind of historian, namely, the constitutional historian. If Aristotle's actual authorship is challenged by anyone, let me refer him to Sir Frederic G. Kenyon himself, who said nigh thirty years ago (*Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens*, p. xviii): 'The evidence, internal and external, tends strongly to show that Aristotle himself was its author.'

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

RES METRICA.

Res Metrica. An Introduction to the Study of Greek and Versification. By the late WILLIAM ROSS HARDIE. Pp. xxi+275. Clarendon Press, 1920. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS interesting book is strangely unlike anything that could have been written in France or Germany or America. Professor Hardie knew this well, and in his preface he anticipates with grim humour the reception which it may expect from Mr. White and his masters, 'if they condescend to notice it at all.' Of his own account of Aeolic verse and of the structure of the *Enoplious* he writes, with dangerous moderation: 'Though it does not rest on complete knowledge of the evidence, it does not rest on complete ignorance of it either.' The book as a whole is not, indeed, a very logical structure. Its gradual and undesigned growth is described in the preface, and might perhaps have been guessed without it. It began with an account of Horace's lyric metres, and that chapter (now the last) remains the most satisfying in the book. Here Professor Hardie is perfectly at home. He is always excellent on problems of stress and ictus. He has a clear idea of Horace's aims and methods, and deals admirably with the metrical theories which influenced him: moreover his long experience of Horatian teaching is strikingly apparent. The book (as he frequently insists) is a textbook, and, above all, a textbook for teachers. He gives an excellent scheme for an introductory course of Horatian study (based partly on metrical, partly on literary and historical grounds), which includes nearly half the odes. He does nothing like this for Pindar—with him he is content to remark that it is wiser (on metrical grounds) to begin with the Fourth Pythian than with the First Olympian. The chapters on the Greek and Roman hexameter are interesting. They show wide knowledge of earlier statistics, and much laborious research: but he never forgets the treacherous nature of statistics, and the difficulty of preliminary definition:

and he effectively 'disables' much elaborate theory by challenging the soundness of its assumptions. In particular, he holds that too much attention has been paid to breaks between words, without reference to rhetorical pauses. On the Latin elegiac, again, he is excellent, but on the Greek elegiac he is inadequate: he seems to be unaware of the strictness of Alexandrian rules. On the iambic trimeter he is interesting, and especially on the Latin senarius: here he gives valuable statistics of Roman metrical practice from the earliest poets to Seneca.

The most controversial chapters deal with Greek lyric and with the Saturnian. In neither case has Professor Hardie found a master-key, but he states the prevailing views with scrupulous care. On Greek lyric, indeed, he has strong negative opinions: though generally cautious in expressions, he is obviously convinced that most recent theories are wrong. In two *excursus* (pp. 136 to 143, and 177 to 195) he discusses Aeolic verse and the dactylo-epitrite in considerable detail, with especial attention to the alleged fifth-century evidence. He quotes Blass and Schroeder occasionally, but he deals chiefly with Mr. White's *Verse of Greek Comedy*. His standpoint may be illustrated by a quotation: 'The choriambo-ionic scansion divorces the metre from similar lyrics which clearly consist of dactyls and trochees. . . . What is the "epitritus" but the shortest trochaic *κῶλον*? And the enoplious but a group of dactyls, not the shortest possible, but a short and effective one? Can we imagine a poet—not in India or in Persia, but in Greece—inventing a metre which consists of a choriamb and an "Ionicus a maiore"? Some of the quadrisyllabists themselves do not deny the relation to dactylo-trochaic lyrics. But if it is admitted, the choriambo-ionic scheme becomes merely a possible aspect of the group of syllables, a later interpretation or a special musical setting—a thing with which the ordinary reader need not concern himself' (p. 179). He is inclined to conclude (p. 195) 'that the Ionic-

choriambic-ditrambic-ditrochaic scansion would be impossible for a reader, ancient or modern.'

It is regrettable that Professor Hardie does not seem to have known Walter Headlam's work in this field. Though he would perhaps have been suspicious of musical parallels, he would have appreciated the general spirit of Headlam's treatment, especially his breadth of view and his impatience of foot-chopping. As they stand, his own chapters on Greek lyric are not very readable, from the lack of unifying generalisations.

The book is practically complete; but Professor Hardie left one gap (Greece 200 to 100 B.C.) in the useful table 'Chronologia Metrica' at the end: this has not been filled in. In the same table (p. 272) we read (for the period 300 to 200 B.C.): 'Philosophy again expressed in verse.' This implies the mention of the earlier philosophical poets, but they are in fact omitted. There is no index.

In conclusion, a few sentences may be quoted to illustrate the vigour of Professor Hardie's style, and his keen common-sense. 'In Horace's line "vade, vale, cavē ne titubēs" there is no metrical question about *cavē*. The syllable *was* short, and no metrical principle had to operate upon it to make it so' (p. 46). 'Further, shorter words' (he is comparing English and ancient verse) 'mean that more thought, more turns or articulations of thought, will be contained in the same number of syllables; the length of the line for the apprehending mind will thus be greater, and it is this mental *tempo* that is important' (p. 96). 'Schroeder says of this: "Platonis locum . . . procul habere satius erit." "Procul habere" is a good thing to do with a passage that does not prove what it is taken to prove' (p. 182).

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LATIN EPIGRAPHY.

Latin Epigraphy. An Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions. By Sir JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, Litt.D., F.B.A. One vol. Pp. xxiii+324. Fifty illustrations. Cambridge: University Press, 1919. 12s. 6d. net.

THE case for the inclusion of epigraphy in a rational scheme of classical study has been briefly and adequately put by Cagnat in the introduction to his *Cours d'Épigraphie latine*: 'Ce n'est, à vrai dire, que l'un des éléments, mais c'est un élément essentiel de la philologie, l'une des sources auxquelles doit puiser quiconque veut connaître la religion, les lois, l'histoire politique, la vie privée et le langage des anciens.' The vogue of epigraphical study in France—witness the four editions of Cagnat's stately work—rests on something more than a recognition of the value of the *Corpus* to classical students in general. The French student of the Classics is pretty sure to spend his life—whether as a teacher in France, or as an administrator in Africa or Syria, or as a priest in Asia Minor—

in close contact with epigraphical discovery and the discussion of epigraphical problems. At a given moment it may devolve on him to make a copy of an inscription, just discovered, and soon to disappear. Actual experience of discovery, the ubiquity of collections of inscriptions, and a natural interest in the rich Roman remains of his country, predispose the French student to take the study of epigraphy seriously. With us it is otherwise. Few British students of the Classics are likely to be brought, as a matter of course, into contact with problems of epigraphy, either at home or in their usual haunts abroad. If it is to appeal to more than a few specialists, epigraphical study must find its justification, for us, in the sentence quoted from Cagnat. The epigraphist must convince us that a knowledge of his craft, and of its products, is an essential element in a good classical education. The teacher of epigraphy in this country should aim primarily at weaving his subject into the web of classical studies, and take

his chance of turning out an occasional epigraphist. No other discipline is so likely to inculcate accurate habits of work and a demand for precise knowledge. No classical discipline approaches so closely to the objectivity of science. And in many departments of inquiry, where the silence of literature excites and baffles curiosity, the inscriptions provide us with a rich store of information.

It is from the British point of view that Sir John Sandys envisages his task. His Introduction began its career as an article in the *Cambridge Companion to Latin Studies*. The 324 pages of its present form endeavour to cover the ground occupied by the foreign Introductions, and to introduce new features germane to the author's purpose and most welcome to the classical student. The reader learns with a shock that this is the first introduction to classical Latin epigraphy published in England. The epigraphist rubs his eyes when he finds the ἀναγκαῖότητα of his tool-bag—the whole of Cagnat's *deuxième partie*—relegated to the appendices. Cagnat, whose aim is to train epigraphists, takes his reader through a course of nomenclature, the *cursus honorum*, the Imperial titles and chronology, before he 'is permitted to reach the study of the actual inscriptions.' Sir John Sandys, who set out to write a book 'which might be useful to classical students who were interested in Latin literature, but were not necessarily aiming at becoming specialists in epigraphy,' gives prominence to the 'humaner' aspects of the subject, and has the credit of having written the first introduction to Latin epigraphy fit for perusal in the train, or in an easy chair.

A select bibliography (which should perhaps include, on p. xx, a reference to the *Revue épigraphique*, which, with its lamented editor, fell in the war) is followed by chapters on Latin Inscriptions in Classical Authors (a new and welcome feature) and on Modern Collections of Latin Inscriptions, both in the best style of the author of the *History of Classical Scholarship*. Next, after giving us a lucid exposition of the epigraphical alphabet, admirably illus-

trated, the author devotes six chapters to the different categories of inscriptions, broadly distinguished as *tituli* and documentary inscriptions, the former including Epitaphs, Dedications, Honorary Inscriptions, Inscriptions on Public Works, and Inscriptions on Portable Objects. There follow chapters on Language and Style, and on Restoration and Criticism. Then come the six appendices—the first three of which the epigraphist cannot help likening to the proverbial feminine postscript—I. Names; II. Officials; III. Emperors; IV. Six Historical Inscriptions (including the Monumentum Ancyranum, and all discreetly annotated); V. Sixty Inscriptions exemplifying Abbreviated Phrases; VI. Abbreviations. The value of the book is enhanced by the fifty illustrations, which are representative of every aspect of the subject, well reproduced, and scattered (as illustrations ought to be) throughout the book to catch the eye at the right moment.

That the work, on its technical side, is competently and accurately done goes without saying. A happy feature is the author's skill—an uncanny *felicitas*—in choosing his examples, and illustrating them from literature, whether the Latin writers, or Tennyson, or Byron. The footnotes are so good that one is set wishing for more of them—e.g., on 'supra medicos' on p. 74, or on 'ossa inferre licebit' on p. 77. I have noted misprints on p. 41 (*praidad* without *dē* in the transcription) and on p. III (*publicarum* for *publicorum*).

I will close with two observations, which are submitted for what they are worth, to the author and his readers.

In the first place, I grudge the space given in the chapter on Epitaphs to the discussion of a point which (so far as it concerns epigraphy) belongs properly to a special monograph on the inscriptions of Southern Gaul. Four precious pages are lavished on one out of a hundred interesting points of detail—the expression *sub ascia*. Surely in a matter of this sort a British Introduction need not try to improve on Cagnat! A footnote on p. 81 reminds us that the *ascia* of Lyons has not escaped the attention of the historians of religion, and that the author himself has taken a

hand in the discussion. Interesting as the question of the *ascia* is, I should like to see the space it occupies in the book given, in a future edition, to a longer discussion of the provisions made for protecting the tomb, and of the cult of the dead.

Secondly, I would suggest to the author that his second edition should contain a chapter on "How to Use the Evidence of Inscriptions," directing the student to the indices of the *Corpus* or of Dessau, and showing him by means of a few practical examples how to

weave the information contained in groups of inscriptions, or the mere statistics of their distribution in space and time, into a reasoned account of some feature of ancient history—say, the organisation of a *saltus* in Africa, or the use of Latin in the East. The discussion of the *Ascia* might well find a place in such a chapter.

For the book, as it stands, the epigraphist and the teacher and student of classical literature owe its author a deep debt of gratitude.

W. M. CALDER.

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΑΜΟΥ.

Περὶ γάμων: *Antiquorum poetarum philosophorumque Graecorum de matrimonio sententiae e quibus mediae novaeque comoediae iudicia locique communes illustrentur.* Scripsit FRIDERICUS BUDDENHAGEN BASILIENSIS. Particula I. Pp. 58. Turici: Typis Gebr. Leemann and Co., MCMXIX.

THIS dissertation, part of a thesis in very Teutonic Latin for the Ph.D. of the University of Bâle, suffers from two handicaps, neither of which is in any way the fault of its author. The first is, that he was obliged to change his original purpose of writing three chapters (on marriage, on slavery, and on country life), as set forth in the New Comedy and in contemporary, earlier, and later poetry and philosophy, on account of the vast and unwieldy bulk of material; and that even after omitting the proposed second and third chapters, he found that Legrand's *Daos* had to a large extent anticipated him, and so was reduced to writing a sort of history of ancient views on marriage, from Hesiod down. Homer he omits as belonging to another world than the later writers. The second, and for a reviewer the more annoying, is that post-war conditions obliged him to print a mere fragment of the work, with a summary of the rest.

The part which he has been able to print traces from the story of Pandora and the precepts about matrimony in the *Works and Days*, down through Simonides of Amorgos' apologue and into the times of Sokrates, the well-

worn commonplaces about the good and bad points of women, the advantages and defects of marriage and parenthood, and so forth, together with some treatment of a few of the great female characters in Tragedy. Unfortunately, just as the subject is getting really interesting—*i.e.*, when Euripides and Aristophanes appear—the work breaks off, and we are left with a table of contents.

So far as can be judged from what we have, the dissertation was worth writing, and the material has been well arranged. One or two details, however, call for less favourable comment.

The first is that so little is said about the relation of these τόποι to the folklore and proverbial wisdom of Greece and other lands. A brief mention (p. 16, n. 1) of folklore parallels for Simonides' apologue is the only hint of this which the present reviewer has noticed; and it is surely of importance, even from the most narrowly philological point of view, to realise that a later author, who seems to imitate Simonides or Hesiod, may be writing down what he heard from his nurse.

With this goes the author's failure to consider to what extent sociological facts may have influenced the authors, literary or other, of these sayings. To understand what a Greek said on any subject it is, first of all, necessary to realise under what conditions he lived; and this was never more necessary than now, when so much that is uncritical is written about the social organisation of early Greece. We regret in this con-

nexion to notice (p. 45, n. 6) that apparently one or two writers (our author himself has more good sense) still incline to believe the tale of Sokrates' two wives; a poor ghost of a tradition which

we thought Bentley (*Epist. of Socrates* xiii.) had decently laid nearly 225 years ago.

H. J. ROSE.

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A STUDY OF WOMEN IN ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS.

A Study of Women in Attic Inscriptions.

By HELEN McCLEES, Ph.D. 8vo. Pp. iv+51. New York: Columbia University Press, 1920. \$1.00 net.

THE writer of this interesting and useful little study does not claim that her reading of Attic inscriptions relating to women has 'brought to light any fact contrary to our knowledge of the manner of life or position in society of Athenian women derived from literary and artistic sources.' But the evidence of the inscriptions is valuable, she holds, in the first place as amplifying by the amount of detail it contributes the knowledge of women's life derived from other sources, and in the second place as modifying the view of the matter given by Greek literature alone. For 'the inscriptions . . . show that in practice there was much to render the lot of Athenian women comparatively happy and normal.' Thus the numerous sepulchral inscriptions bear witness to much appreciation of the character of women. The number of dedications made by women, including money con-

tributions and objects of value, show that the position of women in regard to property was not so humiliating in practice as it was in strict law. Again, the inscriptions relating to priestesses and religious associations in which women were concerned indicate that at least in one sphere outside the family—the sphere of religion and religious observances—women could find scope for their intelligence, their taste, and their practical ability.

Miss McClees thus summarises her conclusions in her Introduction, and then proceeds to give the reader opportunity to substantiate them by a careful study of the Attic inscriptions of all periods, which relate to women, under six headings (Religious Associations and Public Honours, Dedications, Tabellae Defixionum, Trade and Occupations, Mortgage and Boundary Inscriptions, Sepulchral Inscriptions).

The Appendix contains a list of all the Attic inscriptions in which women are mentioned, arranged under the same headings.

H. RICHARDSON.

ANCIENT ARMENIA.

L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam, depuis la Conquête Arabe jusqu'en 886. Par J. LAURENT. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 117.) One vol. Octavo. Pp. xii+398. One outline map. Paris: Fontemoing-Boccard, 1919.

M. LAURENT'S book fully maintains the standard of scholarship set in former volumes of the famous series in which it is published. Within the period it covers, it is practically an exhaustive work, and in his introduction the author promises further

volumes, which will carry the story through the Byzantine domination and the Turkish invasion to the establishment of a new Armenia in the Cilician hills and its entente with the Crusaders from the West. The present volume gives a most interesting picture of Armenian feudal society before the blows of the Seljuqs and the cultural influence of the Latins had transformed it. But one might criticise M. Laurent for taking the Arab conquest as his starting-point, instead of going back to the origins of the society he describes. The background of his scene is the ancient independent king-

dom of Armenia and its conversion to Christianity, and in treating the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries he is constantly compelled to carry us back to the fourth, fifth, and sixth. Much of the material he marshals for us (and he errs on the side of prolixity) properly falls outside the limits which he nominally assigns himself in this volume. This is also true of the bibliography, but in this case we have no fault to find. He gives us a magni-

ficent tableau of the sources—Arabic and Armenian and Greek—as well as the modern secondary works relating to his field, and the value of the list is greatly increased by the concise critical notes on the authors. The book is dedicated by the author to Professor Charles Diehl, and adds to the number of those written under that great scholar's inspiration.

A. J. TOYNBEE.

THE STYLE AND LITERARY METHOD OF LUKE.

The Style and Literary Method of Luke: I. The Diction of Luke and Acts. Harvard Theological Studies (VI.). By H. J. CADBURY. 9½" × 6½". Pp. viii+72. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Milford, 1919.

THIS is Part I. of a monograph which is to extend to 205 pages and cost three dollars. The present instalment deals with: (i.) The size of Luke's vocabulary (calculations are made which entail most laborious work and are summarised in a few paragraphs); (ii.) the literary standard of Luke's vocabulary; and (iii.) the alleged medical vocabulary of Luke.

In the second section Professor Cadbury warns us at the outset of the limitations of the method. 'Whether a word used by Luke occurs in another writing depends far more on the chance of subject-matter and the size of the writings compared than on any real affinity of language.' Luke is known to be dependent on Mark, but so far as vocabulary goes he has more in common with 2 Maccabees, though there is nothing to show that he knew the last-named book. The basis of Professor Cadbury's comparison is Schmid's 'Atticismus,' which analyses the vocabularies of Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, Aristides, Aelian, and the younger Philostratus. The result is that 'the vocabulary of Luke, while it has its natural affiliations with the Greek of the Bible, is not so far removed from the literary style of the Atticists as to be

beyond comparison with them.' The author is inclined to revolt from the present overrating of the popular and non-literary elements in the Greek Testament.

The third section is good reading. That the author of Luke-Acts was a physician is generally thought to have been demonstrated by Hobart with his mass of evidence. Harnack and others have strengthened the argument by using the most convincing instances only. It is these that Professor Cadbury tests rigorously. In nearly every case he shows that a fuller vocabulary, due to a wider range of culture, is sufficient to account for the alleged medical language. Many of the test-words are the ordinary words for ordinary experiences. Medical language with us consists of using derivatives from the Greek; Greeks who had complaints described them in one way only—the current Greek term. Professor Moore, one of the editors of this series, adds a note on *κραίπαλη*, which describes a sick headache after a debauch. This word, which Galen (quoted by Wetstein) says is the common Greek word for this common experience, is actually claimed by Harnack, Zahn, and Moffatt as a proof of acquaintance with medical phraseology.

'The beloved physician' may well have written the third Gospel and Acts, but after this book little or no confidence can be felt in the argument from language. After all, why should we have ever expected to find reminiscences of Hippocrates, etc.? What

doctor of our acquaintance, writing on a religious subject, if he had any sense of literary fitness, would betray his

knowledge of technical medical science?

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

SHORT NOTICES

Juristische Papyri. Von P. M. MEYER.
Pp. xx + 380. Berlin: Weidmann,
1920. M. 22.

This book is designed as an introduction for the non-expert to the legal side of papyri, a purpose for which it is well designed. It contains ninety-six texts (mostly Greek, a few Latin), selected and classified to illustrate the main topics of Graeco-Roman law—types of legal documents, law of persons, law of contract, of property, criminal law and legal procedure, with their various sub-divisions. Besides the full prefaces and annotations which accompany the individual texts, the sections are each preceded by a general introductory survey giving in a concise form the preliminary information necessary for an intelligent study of the succeeding documents. The ground covered is, of course, much the same as in the *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie* of Mitteis, but this new work justifies its existence not only by the inclusion of a number of fresh texts, but also by the greater wealth of explanatory and illustrative matter suitable to the rather different scope of the author. Professor Meyer is indefatigable in the collection of parallels, and if he sometimes seems to carry this rather to excess, the fault is on the right side. It is a pity that the convenience of readers was not studied by a more adequate method of numbering the lines of the texts. The important 'Gnomon of the Idios Logos,' recently published by the Berlin Museum, is printed as an appendix, with a brief commentary, which delay in the production of the more elaborate exegesis promised by the Museum renders the more welcome. Useful indices complete a very practical volume, which deserved better print, paper, and binding than those accorded to it.

A. S. H.

RESTREPO'S SEMANTICS.

El Alma des Palabras Diseño des Semantica General. By FÉLIX RESTREPO, S.J. One vol. Pp. 234. Four diagrams in text. Barcelona: Imprenta Editorial Barcelonesa, 1917. 4 pesetas.

FATHER RESTREPO, in the modest Preface to his *Soul of Words*, says that up to now 'no one has made a general classification of all the phenomena of semantics.' The statement is not exact. For this was the aim of M. R. de la Grasserie's *Essai d'une Sémantique intégrale* (1908)—an ambitious but unscientific work noticed in this Review, December, 1910, pp. 247 ff., and included (perhaps for the sake of completeness) in the bibliography of Mr. Nyrop's *Grammaire historique* of French (Vol. IV. *Sémantique*), one of Father Restrepo's chief authorities. Father Restrepo is a much safer guide than M. de la Grasserie. He is at least imbued with the principles of modern philological inquiry, and though he has not read as widely as he might have, his use of his material shows judgment and care. This 'Sketch' is not marked by originality or profundity nor by brilliant divination like Bréal's. But at the present time, when semantics is still in the descriptive stage, all that we can expect from a work of this size is that it should be sound as far as it goes and attractive to students; and this the 'Sketch of General Semantics' will on the whole be found to be. I would only suggest to the author that in future he should not limit himself so severely to the discussion of *words*; many phrases 'are semantic unities' (Nyrop, Ch. VII.; or, as I have called them, 'rhemes') and entitled to their place; and that his remarks on Spanish *dar* and Latin *dare* might be improved by reference to Thielmann's *Das Verbum 'dare' im*

Lateinischen, 1882. I may add that the book is written in easy Spanish and in an agreeable style. J. P. P.

SALLUST.

Sallust. With an English translation by J. C. ROLFE, Professor of Latin in the University of Pennsylvania. One vol. Pp. xxii+535. London: W. Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam (Loeb Classical Library), 1920. 10s.

SALLUST is a difficult author to translate. Quite apart from his 'immortal speed and brevity,' the peculiar flavour given to his style by archaism and poetic colour can scarcely be reproduced in English without creating an impression of affectation and preciousness. Professor Rolfe has avoided this peril, and produced a readable and straightforward translation. But he has perhaps played for safety to an excessive extent, for his version is somewhat undistinguished, and lacks both the vividness and eloquence which are such marked characteristics of Sallust. A little more freedom of treatment and a slightly richer colouring would have produced something more likely to suggest to the uninstructed reader that Sallust was a great stylist. The translator's is, however, a thankless task, and it would be ungenerous to press this point. The English is clear and correct and the translation accurate. Limits of space preclude detailed criticism. But it may be noted that the translator has scarcely done justice to what is probably the most difficult passage in either the *Jugurtha* or the *Catiline*, viz. the description of the battle on the Muthul (*Jug.* 49. 6), where both the translation and the explanatory note are far from clear, although it would perhaps be going too far to say that they are incorrect. Summers alone of editors has succeeded in giving a really lucid explanation of Metellus' tactics. Again in *Cat.* 4. 2, *res gestas populi Romani carptim . . . perscribere* can scarcely mean 'write a history of the Roman people, selecting such portions,' etc. It is rather 'write the history of selected portions,' etc. Nor, to turn to a point

of style, does 'gore and grief' commend itself as a translation of *cruore et luctu* (*Cat.* 51. 9). The book is, however, a welcome addition to the Loeb series. The text has been judiciously handled, and includes the four speeches and two letters which have survived from the Histories, together with the four pseudo-Sallustian works. There is the usual short bibliography, to which the edition by Summers should surely be added.

H. E. BUTLER.

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ORAZIO LIRICO.

Orazio Lirico. Studi di GIORGIO PASQUALI. One volume. Octavo. Pp. ii+789. Firenze: Felice le Monnier, 1920. L. 25.

SIGNOR PASQUALI has devoted no less than 789 pages to the consideration of Horace as a lyric poet, and has spared no pains to make himself thoroughly acquainted with all that has survived of Greek lyric poetry and with everything in Hellenistic poetry that may conceivably have influenced Horace or served to illustrate him: he has also made an exhaustive study of the work of German scholars on the subject. But he has read more than he has been able to digest—a fact which, not unassisted by a tendency to verbosity, is largely responsible for the inordinate bulk of the book, which might easily have been reduced to at least half its size without essential loss.

The ordinary student of Horace will find little to interest him. A number of odes are examined in detail, and the conclusions arrived at are often sensible enough. When, however, the author breaks fresh ground, it is to be feared that he will find few followers (*e.g.* in his views of I. 18, where he refuses to admit that the last six lines are designed as a warning against excessive indulgence in wine; and again in his interpretation of I. 10).

He further seeks to determine Horace's debt to Alcaeus, and decides that Horace was no mere translator, but takes a line or stanza of Alcaeus as a text to be developed on Romano-Hellenistic lines.

But by far the most useful portion of the book is to be found in his lengthy discussion of Horace's relation to Hellenistic poets. The results as regards Horace are, as in the case of so many modern efforts of 'source-hunting,' somewhat scanty and inconclusive. But much useful information is provided as to the treatment of similar themes in Hellenistic literature, and students of that period of literary history will find not a little of interest, though the process of detaching the ore from the quartz may be somewhat laborious.

H. E. BUTLER.

The Genitive of Value in Latin and other Constructions with Verbs of 'Rating.'
By GORDON J. LAING. Chicago, Ill.

PROFESSOR LAING's little treatise gives a very good conspectus of the theories hitherto advanced as to the origin of this construction (*magni aestimare*, etc.), and arrives at the conclusion that they are all more or less inadequate; his own view is that this genitive was from the first adverbial and of independent origin. The theory of locative origin, so tempting to English scholars (*magni* = 'at a great price'), fails to account for the equally old *pluris*, *minoris*, etc., and for the parallel Greek constructions *πολλοῦ*, *πλεϊόνος*, etc. The derivations from a partitive gen., from a gen. of quality, and from old Indo-European adverbs in *i* (Wackernagel) are all criticised as failing at some point or other. Laing's own theory is negative rather than positive; and it may be criticised as failing to recognise the affinities between this adverbial gen. and certain types of adnominal genitives. And why has he deliberately left out the gen. of *price*? It is obviously akin to the gen. of *value*, to which he limits his discussion. He might easily have spoken, as Bennett does (*Synt. of Early Latin*, II. p. 93), of the former as a development of the latter. Kühner-Gerth³ (II. 1, p. 377), however, treats both of these constructions together and deals with them as of adnominal origin. In Latin it seems not impossible to find in the common expression *homo nihili* 'a man of naught,'

the original type of usage from which the gen. of value was developed. On this principle *res nihili* would mean 'a thing of naught' (Shakespeare, *M.N.D.* iv. 2-14) and *nihili facere* (*pendere, aestimare*, etc.), which are the most frequently found of all expressions of worthlessness (p. 24), would mean 'to reckon as of naught.' When we have an adjective like *magni*, *parvi*, etc., instead of the noun *nihili*, it is not necessary, I think, to suppose that the noun *pretii* has dropped out (so Landgraf, quoted on p. 3); for *magni*, *parvi*, etc., may be adjectives used as nouns, 'of the great,' 'of the small,' perhaps on the analogy of *nihili*. But I doubt whether a strictly historical account of the origin or development of these various types of usage is within our reach. They are all found side by side in the earliest literature that we have, and we cannot be sure which is prior to which.

I have few criticisms to offer in regard to details; but I suggest that *tanti* in *Juv. X. 97* (p. 17) means 'worth having,' 'worth while' (see p. 18), and that the *ut* in *l. 98* = 'on condition that'; cf. Owen's translation, p. 63;¹ also that in *Hor. Sat. II. 5, 35 cassa nuce pauperet* is not parallel to *empsi vitiosa nuce* (*Plaut. Mil. 316*; p. 36), but contains the abl. which is found with *spoliare*.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.

Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration in the Last Half-Century of the Roman Republic. By R. O. JOLLIFFE. One volume. 8vo. Pp. 109. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1919.

MR. JOLLIFFE has written a good specimen of the kind of dissertation required for the doctorate by American Universities. There is in his work little or nothing that is original; but he has summarised clearly and sensibly the evidence for 'graft' by Roman officials in the age of Cicero. He deals with abuses in the army, especially in connexion with furloughs, requisitions,

¹ To take the *ut* as consecutive (so Laing, with Mayor and others) makes havoc of the sense.

and the quartering of troops, and in the navy, especially 'ship-money' and the shameless embezzlements of Verres, and then passes on to the corruption of Roman magistrates and senators by client princes and the misuse of embassies and missions as means to private profits. Sometimes he takes too literally

the wild invectives of Cicero against Piso and Verres; sometimes (pp. 58, 70) he suspects corruption where none can be proved; but, on the whole, he paints us a true if gloomy picture of this deep-seated disease in the administration of the dying Roman Republic.

W. W. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

PLATO, *REPUBLIC* 421A: A REJOINDER.

IF I understand Mr. Ferguson's argument (in *C.R.* XXXV. 17 f.) aright, the main difference between his view and mine is that, whereas he would confine the horizon of the writer's thought to Athens, I would extend it to embrace Sicily. If I am right, γεωμόρους seems at least a tolerable correction; but if he is right, then χορηγούς is much the superior. As against the limitation of the reference to Athens, I would refer to the words (of the objector) in 420A οἶον ἄλλοι κτλ. (with Adam's *n.*), to the allusion to Syracusan luxury in 404D (*cf. Ep.* 326B), and to Sicilian affairs elsewhere in *Rep.* (e.g. 473D). Moreover, the word πανήγυρις, which Mr. Ferguson regards as a 'clue' word, may well mean

a 'promiscuous gathering' παντοδαπὸν ἀνθρώπων (*cf.* 604E) rather than an official Athenian festival. Finally, as to γεωμόρους, may not Stallbaum be right when he says (*ad Leges* 737E), 'singulis locis semper videndum, qua vi et potestate vocabulum accipiendum sit'?

R. G. BURY.

CORRECTION.

THE last three lines of the paragraph on Art in the summary of the *Berliner Wochenschrift* (*C.R.*, February-March, 1921) should have read: 'Fig. 142 is a clever modern forgery, copying a relief in the Museo Barracco (LII) with the aid of a plate, published in the *Annali dell' Istituto*, after a lost Madrid copy.'

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).

(1921.)

ART.—Jan. 10. F. Studniczka, *Das Bild Menanders* (Bates). Scholarly and accurate, save for mistakes about American museums.

LITERATURE.—Jan. 17. F. Holland, *Seneca* (Gummere). An interesting sketch of an interesting man.—Jan. 24. J. Geffcken, *Die griechische Tragödie* (Fitch). Brief but suggestive.—A. Körte, *Die griechische Komödie* (Fitch). On the same lines as the preceding, but hardly so well phrased.—Jan. 31. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Bassett). 'Even W.'s analysis is a long step towards the Unitarian position,' though he has hardly a good word for its defenders.—Mar. 28. Helen E. Wieand, *Deception in Plautus* (Rolfé). Carefully done.—R. D. Elliott, *Transition in the Attic Orators* (Van Hook). Thorough but dull.—Agnes C. Vaughan, *Madness in Greek Thought and Custom* (Robinson). Systematic, readable, and sound.—W. C. Summers, *Silver Age of Latin Literature* (Mustard). Praised. M. adds further quotations to show the influence of Silver Latin authors on modern literature.

NUMISMATICS.—Jan. 10. E. A. Sydenham, *Historical References on Coins of the Roman Empire* (Agnes Brett). Warmly commended to students of Roman history.

NO. CCLXXXI. VOL. XXXV.

RELIGION.—Jan. 24. N. Bentwich, *Hellenism* (Allen). A discussion, sometimes monotonous, of Hellenistic Judaism.

SCIENCE.—Mar. 7. T. L. Heath, *Euclid in Greek, Book I* (Humphreys and D. E. Smith). Highly praised.

Jan. 24 and Feb. 28. Contain useful lists by Grace H. Goodale and W. S. Messer respectively of recent classical articles in non-classical periodicals (written in English, with few exceptions).

GÖTTINGISCHE GELEHRTE ANZEIGEN.

(1918-20.)

ARCHAEOLOGY, ETC.—1920, pp. 116-125. A. Frickenhaus, *Die altgriechische Bühne* [Strassburg, 1917. M. 16] (A. Körte). On the whole disappointing, especially on controversial topics such as Theologeion and Lycurgan stage.

HISTORY.—1919, pp. 419-35. Otto Th. Schulz, *Vom Prinzipat zum Dominat. Das Wesen des römischen Kaisertums des dritten Jahrhunderts* [in Drerup, Grimme, Kirsch, *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*, IX. 4, 5. Paderborn, 1919. M. 13+20 per cent.] (J. Kromayer). A continuation of his earlier work (*ibid.* 1916) dealing with the first two centuries. An exhaustive collection of material, not however arranged to the best

advantage. S. successfully shows, as against Mommsen, that the *Imperium* could not be legally conferred by acclamation on the part of the army. The reviewer disposes of Schulz's further view that a general *imperium consulare* was an essential element in the Principate, and likewise of the contentions of Gelzer, who tries to support Mommsen on fresh grounds—namely, a 'general' *Imperium* dating from the military oath of 32 B.C.

LINGUISTIC.—1918, pp. 343-62. Alois Walde, *Ueber älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern* [Innsbruck, 1917. Pp. 77] (E. Hermann). W. does not establish a case for his revolutionary view that 'Gälolatinisch' is to be inserted as an intermediate generation in the descent of 'Urkel-tisch' and 'Uritalisch' from 'Urindoger-manisch.' In points of detail he makes some valuable suggestions, and deserves credit for stimulating a fuller examination of the relations between Celtic and Italic.—1919, pp. 471-2. E. Hermann, *Die Silbenbildung im Griechischen und in den andern indogermanischen Sprachen*. Notice by the author of his forthcoming publication in *Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, XVII.

PALAEOGRAPHY AND PAPYRI.—1918, pp. 81-126, 126-136. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XI., XII. (Karl Fr. W. Schmidt). An analysis of the principal contents of each volume, discussing also the Hesiod fragments in the former, with some emendations.—1919, pp. 30-43. Ernst von Druffel, *Papyrologische Studien zum byzantinischen Urkundenwesen im Anschluss an P. Heidelberg 311* [= *Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung*, I. München, 1915. M. 350] (A. Steinwenter). Discusses questions of form and publication of Byzantine documents in connexion with this sixth century papyrus. 'Anyone dealing with Byzantine documents will be well advised to invoke frequently the help of this valuable booklet.'

GREEK LITERATURE.—1919, pp. 141-9. Eduard Schwartz, *Zur Entschlung der Ilias* [Strassburg, 1918. M. 3] (E. Bethe). An expanded version of S.'s review of Wilamowitz's *Die Ilias und Homer* (1915), originally printed in *Deutsch. Litt. Zeit.* 1918. B. goes even further than W. and S., and believes the whole *Iliad* was 'zusammengedichtet' in the sixth century.—1918, pp. 321-43. J. J. Hartman, *De Plutarcho scriptore et philosopho* [Leyden, 1916. M. 15] (M. Pohlenz). The author lives in, and for, his subject. His portrait of Plutarch is essentially subjective, as are his standards for admitting or denying the genuineness of doubtful treatises. H. is almost totally ignorant of modern research, both on the internal evidence for the order and circumstances in which Plutarch's works were written and in textual criticism. In the latter department he deserves thanks for several convincing emendations, but is apt elsewhere to miss the point, and is too ready with his 'amputation knife.'—1918, pp. 305-16. Ernst Nachmanson, *Erotianstudien* [Uppsala and Leipzig, 1917. M. 35] (J. Ilberg). Introductory studies to his forthcoming edition

of Erotian's glossary on Hippokrates. A most important contribution to the study of Greek medical writings; learned, well arranged, and admirably indexed.

LATIN LITERATURE.—1918, pp. 274-305. Carolus U. Clark, *Ammiani Marcellini rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt, recensuit rhythmicęque distinxit*. Vol. II. pars. I. Libri XXVI.-XXXI. [Berlin, 1915. M. 8] (E. Bickel). This edition, though achieving a considerable advance in many ways, leaves room for improvement alike in method, in arrangement of the critical apparatus, and in the system of orthography followed. B. discusses the influence of Cicero, Seneca, and others on the vocabulary of Ammianus.

PHILOSOPHY.—1919, pp. 301-14. Richard Höningwald, *Die Philosophie des Altertums* [München, 1917. M. 13] (Bruno Bauch). A stimulating and individualistic piece of work, essentially consisting of 'problemgeschichtliche Untersuchungen.'

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT. (JANUARY—MARCH, 1921.)

GREEK LITERATURE. — H. Meyer-Benfey, *Sophokles' Antigone* (Seeliger). Contains many fruitful suggestions; reviewer disagrees with author's main contention that Kreon is the real hero, and gives reasons for dating Oedipus Tyrannus before Antigone.—J. T. Sheppard, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (Wecklein). Has achieved his object of giving an ethical and psychological rather than an aesthetic explanation of the tragedy; reviewer not entirely satisfied with the grammatical and critical notes.—H. Frey, *Der Bios Εὐριπίδου des Satyros* (Wecklein). Thorough and acute, but hampered by scanty and fragmentary material.—G. Norwood, *Greek Tragedy* (Dörpfeld). Good and comprehensive survey of everything connected with Greek theatre, with an account of all the Greek tragedies; where experts still differ, all views given impartially; reviewer disagrees with N.'s interpretation of ἐκκυκλῆμα.—A. Lörcher, *Wie, wo, wann ist die Ilias entstanden?* (Bethe). Follows 'psychological method' in grappling with Homeric problem; reviewer agrees in the main with L.'s conclusions as to date, home, and unity of *Iliad*, but also discusses many points of difference.—N. Wecklein, *Die homerischen Hymnen und die griechischen Tragiker* (Eberhard). Influence of Homeric Hymns does not appear in Aeschylus; in Sophocles and Euripides the case is quite different. Many textual emendations, of which reviewer cites a few. Most instructive and stimulating.—Luise Reinhard, *Die Anakoluthe bei Platon* (Seeliger). Author's desire to leave nothing unexplained often leads her to far-fetched, extravagant, and even incorrect interpretations; chief merit is the collection of examples.—W. v. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 6th Ed., Part II., i (K. F. W. Schmidt). New edition has grown from 506 to 662 pages; many corrections and additions, based on results of recent research and discoveries.

LATIN LITERATURE.—O. Gebhardt, *Sallust als politischer Publizist während des Bürgerkrieges* (Kurfess). Sound and acute work, based on hitherto neglected ancient evidence.—R. Neumann, *Qua ratione Ovidius in Amoris scribendis Propertii elegiis usus sit* (Magnus). This industrious work gives a consistent and complete account of the relations of the two poets; N.'s Latin style is very inadequate.—E. Flinck, *De Octaviae praelectae auctore* (Tolkiehn). Thorough piece of work; reviewer agrees with F. in attributing the Octavia to Seneca.—L. Wiener, *Tacitus' Germania and other forgeries* (Wolff). Germans will prefer their proved guides (Müllenhoff, Norden, etc.) to this new 'light' in the west.—L. Wilser, *Denkmäler deutscher Geschichte*, IV. C. *Velleius Paterculus*; V. *Des P. Cornelius Tacitus Jahrbücher und Geschichten* (Bock). Translation and commentary are in same style and of same quality as in the preceding three volumes of this series.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.—E. Kornemann, *Mausoleum und Tatenbericht des Augustus* (Gardthausen). Mainly an attempt to sift out the original draft ('Urmonument') of the Monum. Ancyranum; reviewer does not believe convincing results are possible.—E. Norden, *Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' Germania* (L. Schmidt). The first comprehensive attempt to solve, by a thorough examination of Tacitus' relation to his predecessors, the many ethnographical problems in the Germania; rich and for the most part conclusive results; reviewer, however, discusses questions on which he disagrees with N.'s views.—A. Rostagni, *Giuliano L'Apostata* (Asmus). A new feature is the earnest attempt to draw a portrait of Julian as he is revealed in his writings; warmly recommended.—A. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europäischen Kultur-entwicklung* (Philipp). D.'s object is to trace the development of mediaeval civilisation from that of Rome.

PHILOSOPHY.—M. Wundt, *Plotin* (Nestle). Materially furthers our knowledge of Plotinus, in whom W. sees rather a revivalist preacher than a systematic philosopher; his relations with Gallienus also carefully examined.—H. F. Müller, *Dionysios, Proklos, Plotinos* (Nestle). Concludes that Dionysius and Proclus depend upon Plotinus in all essentials.—V. Macchioro, *Zagreus; studi sull' Orfismo* (Gruppe). Ingenious, but uncritical application of evidence; reviewer discusses Orphic and other cults at some length.

ART.—A. Hagemann, *Griechische Panzerung; I. Der Metallharnisch* (B. A. Müller). Generally convincing account of the development of Greek metal defensive armour, with a careful list of objects preserved and 173 illustrations; reviewer in a long discussion suggests several additions and corrections.—L. v. Sybel, *Frühgeschichtliche Kunst* (Thomsen). Clever sketch of Early Christian art; wonderfully copious references.—Nikos A. Bees, *Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Eulaliosfrage* (Sare). B.'s masterly investiga-

tions lead to results of the utmost importance for Byzantine art, especially wall-painting.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—C. Praschniker and A. Schöber, *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro* (Pagenstecher). Important results from hitherto almost unknown districts; sites of towns divided into Greek, Greco-Illyrian, and Illyrian; description of their walls and other ruins, Roman forts, roads, bridges, inscriptions, etc., also some important sculptures, especially a small archaic Apollo from Durazzo.

METRIC.—T. Fitzhugh, *The Old-Latin and Old-Irish Monuments of Verse* (B. Klotz). Does not prove his case for Latin; firmer ground needed to build on.

EPIGRAPHY.—J. E. Sandys, *Latin Epigraphy* (Wissowa). Attractively written and useful as an introduction for beginners; uneven arrangement of material criticised, and omissions and errors discussed at length.—J. Sundwall, *Der Ursprung der kretischen Schrift* (Herman). Unconvincing attempt to trace Cretan pictographs to Egyptian originals.

GEOGRAPHY.—W. Kubitschek, *Itinerar-Studien* (Mentz). Completes list of itineraries given by him in Pauly-Wissowa, finds an itinerary in a list of towns in the Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum, and—his most comprehensive chapter—compares rivers mentioned by Ravennas and Tab. Peutingeriana; very valuable.

LAW.—P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* (Kübler). M. is well qualified to produce a book like this, in which he reveals his habitual accuracy and terseness: intended for historians and classical philologists as well as for students of law; the introductions and commentaries to the selections are first-rate.—H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der Gräcoägyptischen Papyrusurkunden* (Kübler). Deserves unstinted praise in every respect; a complete exposition of right of inheritance as revealed by papyri; well arranged and provided with careful indices.—L. Guenoun, *La cessio bonorum* (Kübler). Careful, thorough, and conscientious work; takes into account papyri, which were not available when Wlassak wrote his article for Pauly-Wissowa.—F. v. Velsen, *Die legis actio per iudicis postulationem im alten Rom* (Kübler). A hasty, bungling piece of work, which reviewer criticises at length in the severest terms.

GENERAL.—L. Laurand, *Manuel des études grecques et latines*, 8 vols. (Stangl). Author is an unprejudiced scholar of ripe judgment and rare taste; essentials are carefully distinguished from subordinate matter, and there is no trace of obscurity or carelessness; general arrangement, paper, and print excellent. Contents: I. and IV., Greek and Roman geography, history, etc.; II. and V., History of Greek and Roman literature; III. and VI., Greek and Latin historical grammar; VII., Metre, textual criticism, epigraphy, archaeology, etc.; VIII., Indices. Very highly praised.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Acta Academiae Aboensis.* Humaniora I., containing: The Belief in Spirits in Morocco, by E. Westermarck, pp. 167; Der Ursprung der Kretischen Schrift, by Dr. J. Sundwall, pp. 25; Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador, by R. Karsten, pp. 75; Beiträge zur Sittengeschichte der Südamerikanischen Indianer, by Dr. R. Karsten, pp. 104; Papuan Magic in the Building of Houses, by G. Landtman, pp. 28; Die Magie des Webens und des Webstuhls im Schwedischen Volksglauben, by K. R. V. Wikman. Pp. 21. Åbo Akademi, 1920.
- Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.* Recherches sur l'Épigraphie attique et en Particulier sur la Date de l'Institution. By Alice Brenot. Pp. xxviii+52. La Table Hypothécaire de Veleia, Étude sur la Propriété Foncière dans l'Apennin de Plaisance. By F. G. de Pachtère. Pp. xix+119. 10"×6½". Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1920.
- Boll (F.)* Vita Contemplativa. 9½"×6½". Pp. 34. Heideberg: Carl Winters, 1920. M. 2.
- Bräunlich (A. F.)* The Indicative Indirect Question in Latin. 9½"×6½". Pp. xxxi+211. Chicago: University Press, 1920. Private edition.
- Cagnat (R.) and Chapot (V.)* Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine. Vol. 2. 9"×5½". Pp. vi+574. Paris: Picard, 1920. Fr. 30.
- Classical Philology.* January, 1921. Chicago: University Press.
- Donovan (J.)* Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition. Part I. 8½"×5½". Pp. 124. Oxford: Blackwell, 1921. Paper boards, 5s. net.
- Ferrar (W. J.)* The Proof of the Gospel. 2 Vols. 7½"×5". Vol. I., pp. xl+271; Vol. II., pp. 257. London: S.P.C.K., 1920. 2 vols., cloth, 30s. net.
- Flinck (E.)* Auguralia und Verwandtes. 9½"×6½". Pp. 76. Helsingfors Hielaniemenkatu 3, Dr. E. Flinck, 1921.
- Gomme (A. W.)* Mr. Wells as Historian. 9"×5½". Pp. 48. Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson and Co., 1921. 2s. net.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.* Vol. XXXI. 9"×6". Pp. 169. Oxford: University Press, 1920. Paper boards, 6s. 6d. net.
- Krumbacher (A.)* Die Stimmgebung der Redner in Altertum bis auf die Zeit Quintilians. 9½"×6". Pp. 108. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1921. M. 7.
- Legge (F.)* Philosophumena; or, The Refutation of all Heresies. 2 Vols. 7½"×5". Vol. I., pp. vi+180; Vol. II., pp. vi+189. London: S.P.C.K., 1921. Cloth, 30s. net.
- Loeb Classical Library: Rolfe (J. C.)* Sallust. Pp. xxii+535. *Butler (H. E.)* Quintilian. Vol. I. Pp. xiv+544. *Fowler (H. N.)* Plato. Vol. II. Pp. vii+459. *Godley (A. D.)* Herodotus. Vol. I. Pp. xxi+504. 6½"×4½". Cloth, 10s. net each.
- Ludovici (A. M.)* Man's Descent from the Gods. 9"×6½". Pp. xiii+255. London: Heinemann, 1921. Cloth, 14s. net.
- Macdonald (G.)* F. Haverfield, 1860-1919. 9½"×6". Pp. 18. Published by Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1921. 2s. net.
- Marouzeau (J.)* La Linguistique ou Science du Langage. 7½"×4¾". Pp. 190. Paris: Librairie Geuthner, 1921. Fr. 7.50.
- Meillet (A.)* Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Générale. Pp. viii+335. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1921.
- Modern Greek Grammar.* Translated by W. H. D. Rouse. 8"×5". Pp. xii+256. Heidelberg: Julius Groos, 1921.
- P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum.* Liber III. Edited by C. Bailey. 7½"×5". Pp. 141. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Peterson (T.)* Cicero. A Biography. 9½"×6½". Pp. vi+699. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1920. Cloth, 5s.
- Pharr (C.)* Homeric Greek. 8"×5½". Pp. xlii+400. London: Harrap and Co., 1921. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Price (A. C.)* Homer: Iliad, Book XXI. 7"×4½". Pp. li+60. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Q. Asconii Pediani Commentarii.* Edited by Caesar Giarratano. 10"×7". Pp. xx+112. Rome: A. Nardecchia, 1920.
- Russell (C. H. St. L.)* The Tradition of the Roman Empire. 7½"×5". Pp. viii+280. London: Macmillan, 1921. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Selections from Catullus.* Edited by M. Macmillan. 6¾"×4¼". Pp. 124. Oxford: University Press. Paper boards, 2s. net.
- Stail (G.)* Über die Pseudoxenophontische. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ. 9½"×6½". Pp. 134. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1921. M. 7.60.
- Sundwall (J.)* Zur Deutung Kretischer Tontäfelchen. 9½"×6½". Pp. 12. Åbo Akademi, 1920.
- The Homeric Catalogue of Ships.* Edited by T. W. Allen. 9"×6". Pp. xi+191. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Cloth, 16s. net.
- Thomson (J. A. K.)* Greeks and Barbarians. 8"×5½". Pp. 218. London: Allen and Unwin, 1921. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Toynbee (A. J.)* The Tragedy of Greece. 7½"×5". Pp. 42. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 2s. net.
- Traube (L.)* Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. Part III. 10"×7". Pp. xvi+334. München: C. H. Beck, 1920. M. 21.91.
- Walker (E. M.)* Greek History. 6¾"×4¼". Pp. 165. Oxford: Blackwell, 1921. Paper boards, 3s. 6d. net.
- Walker (R. J.)* Euripidean Fragments. 9"×6". Pp. 52. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1920. Half cloth and paper boards. 7s. 6d. net.
- Walker (R. J.)* The Macedonian Tetralogy of Euripides. 9"×6". Pp. 139. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1920. Half cloth and paper boards. 12s. 6d. net.

The Classical Review

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1921

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

THE hospitality of Cambridge, the presence of American scholars, an excellent Presidential Address, and a number of stimulating papers, made the meeting of the Classical Association a success. We wish that Professor Rand, of Harvard, could have heard the applause which greeted his delightful essay on *Fortunatus*. On practical policy Professor Harrower made a provocative and suggestive speech, but the debate was disappointing. We wanted to hear more facts about the experience and actual difficulties of teachers, less about the admitted merits of our case. On that topic Dr. Couchoud, the genial representative of France, said in one sentence all that need be said: 'Les études classiques servent à former l'esprit, et l'esprit sert à tout.'

During the past few months the Association, with the Classical Journals, has had to record the loss of several stalwart friends, including Dr. Warde

Fowler, Sir William Peterson, whose place as correspondent of this *Review* is now filled by Professor Maurice Hutton, of Toronto, Mr. W. R. Paton, and Mr. A. M. Cook, formerly Assistant-Editor. We much regret that the heavy pressure on our space makes it impossible to publish a full account of these scholars, whose loss we deplore.

In the present number we print an article by Dr. Mackail on the Report of the Prime Minister's Committee. We hope that readers will send us their opinions on this important matter, and we intend to devote some part of the December number to a selection from the correspondence. Finally, the arrears of reviews and original matter alike are so serious that we are obliged to hold up many contributions and to make considerable use of small print. The remedy is simple. Only an increase in the number of subscribers can justify an increase in the size of the *Review*.

VERSION.

I NE'ER could any lustre see
In eyes that would not look on me;
I ne'er saw nectar on a lip,
But where my own did hope to sip.
Has the maid who seeks my heart
Cheeks of rose untouched by art?
I will own their colour true,
When yielding blushes aid their hue.

Is her hand so soft and pure?
I must press it, to be sure;
Nor can I be certain then,
Till it, grateful, press again.
Must I, with attentive eye,
Watch her heaving bosom sigh?
I will do so, when I see
That heaving bosom sigh for me.

SHERIDAN.

QUID si lucentes sibi Lydia iactat ocellos?
sit mihi, quae soli lux mihi sola nitet;
quid si nectareis iactat se Lydia labris?
quod mea libabunt oscula, nectar erit.
'En! color eximius nullique obnoxius arti:
infecere suae virginis ora rosae.'
has tu nativas si vis me teste probari,
consciis inficiat virginis ora rubor.
num manus, ut fama est, mollis, num
pura puellae?
ne dubitem, prius est ista premenda mea;
ac ne pressa quidem mihi protinus illa
placebit,
ni manus et nostram presserit ipsa
manum.
me spectare iubes, tumeant quo turbida
motu
pectora, virgineos sollicitante sinus:
nempe vel iniussus pectusque sinumque
tuebor,
causa ubi iam fuero, cur moveantur, ego.

W. T. V.

THE REPORT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMITTEE ON THE CLASSICS IN EDUCATION.

THIS Report is dated June 7, and was published July 20 last. The eighteen months occupied by the Committee's investigations were not excessive, in view of the inevitable cumbrousness of procedure, the immense mass of the material supplied or collected, and the 140 witnesses who gave personal evidence. The ground has, for the first time, been fully traversed. The results are to be seen, not merely in the conclusions to which the Committee came and the specific recommendations which they make, but also in two facts of the highest importance. These are, first, that we now for the first time know (if not exactly, yet substantially) where we are as regards the position of the Classics and the machinery of classical education, and that this knowledge is accessible to the whole public; secondly, that the problem is set forth in its relation to the whole sphere and compass of national education. The final recommendation of the Committee is that the Reports of the four Committees on Science, Modern Languages, English, and Classics should be considered jointly, and that the elements of agreement in them should be the basis for organising schemes of education both in schools and in Universities.

The large public, who are frankly uninterested either in the Classics or in education, will not read the Report. What will soak through to them 'by indirections' will not be the conspectus of the facts; it will be on the one hand a certain number of the *media axiomata* laid down in the Report, and on the other some portions of the practical advice given on the reference under which the Committee worked. Like all such Reports, this one will be used as a magazine, out of which arguments may be drawn in support of views already held. It may be possible, if so it is most desirable, to set forth its substance briefly and yet with approximate accuracy, in a popular form, intelligible and even, perhaps, attractive to the plain man. At all events, all members of the Classical Association,

whether or not they are professionally engaged in study or teaching of the Classics, can do something of the kind in their own immediate surroundings; and it is their clear duty to do so. For that purpose the Report must be studied and mastered in detail.

This paper is accordingly meant for preliminary guidance, *ad narrandum non ad probandum*. It would be impossible within its limits to analyse a document packed with matter and filling more than 300 closely printed pages. Even the summary of recommendations covers fourteen. The sections (Parts V. to VII.) dealing with Scotland, Ireland, and Wales must be for the moment set aside; and as regards the main body of the Report, all that can be done is to select and emphasise what seem the cardinal points. The definition and vindication of the Classics as an element in individual and national welfare requires little or no comment. The more detailed suggestions for extending the field, increasing the potency, and improving the methods of classical education require, and no doubt will receive, a fuller scrutiny.

But first it may be well to note a group of fallacies which vitiate much of both educational theory and educational practice, for their influence is visible in certain parts of this Report. One is that boys or girls are divided by nature, and can be divided for education, into two kinds—those who have and those who have not 'a capacity for literary subjects': as if language, the vehicle of all thought and the motive force towards all action, were something 'literary,' and as if the object of education were not to give the nutriment which creates capacity. Another is that 'in schools where the pupils must begin to earn their living at sixteen, those subjects which have a direct bearing on their subsequent occupation must have a special importance.' That, no doubt, is true; but these subjects (apart from manual training and physical exercises) are the three R's, neither more nor less. Everything else has a bearing

just in so far as it creates capacity. The suspicion of 'vocational training' felt in the ranks of labour is based on a sound if a somewhat confused instinct. The third is that education should be so planned as to follow the line of least resistance. 'Following the boy's natural bent' is with a sounder judgment condemned by Quintilian as fitted only for the small proportion of abnormals, the *imbecilla ingenia*.

What the most cursory reading of the Report brings out, and what its detailed study confirms, is that Classics do not in fact hold a position of undue predominance in our general educational system or in any part of it; that, indeed, they do not hold any dominance at all. Given that they supply an element towards the intellectual and moral life of the nation and the individual not only important but irreplaceable,¹ the situation now, compared with what it was even twenty years ago, gives, so the Committee report, 'ground for grave misgiving.' 'The danger with which we are faced is not that too many pupils will learn Latin and Greek, but that the greater part of the educated men and women of the nation will necessarily grow up in ignorance of the foundations on which European society is built' (p. 43). Modern pragmatism may contend that the foundations are there, and are not affected by our knowledge or ignorance of them. This is just the misconception which knowledge of the past, did it not exist, would have to be rediscovered in order to correct, for it is only such knowledge that brings home to us the fatal results of neglecting experience. In human life the foundations and the superstructure are not detachable, for they are constituent elements of a single living organism.

The facts, as ascertained and recorded by the Committee, are these: 'In the Public Schools comparatively few boys are learning Greek.' 'Latin tends more and more to be dropped in the higher forms.' None of the

new Provided Schools have yet been able to develop a classical tradition. In nearly 1,000 schools (those belonging to the Head Masters' Conference and the Head Masters' and Head Mistresses' Associations), with over 260,000 pupils, boys and girls, Greek is being taught only (in round numbers) to 7,000 boys and 450 girls. The Report prudently forbears from treading on the hot ashes of compulsory Greek as an entrance test for the Universities. What it brings out, however, is how modern a thing compulsory Greek is. At Oxford and Cambridge it is a creation of the nineteenth century; in Scotland it only held good from 1858 to 1892.

Against Latin there is no wide or deep popular prejudice. Local education authorities are as a rule quite friendly to it. The general public realise that there is some use in it, and are even disposed to agree that without it secondary education is incomplete. But in the list of schools just cited a considerable number do not teach Latin at all; and in the whole of them little more than 2 per cent. of the pupils continue it beyond the First Examination stage. It is clear that if Latin is to be an integral part of secondary education, its study should normally be continued up to the end of school life. But it is also clear that, with more skilful school organisation from the earliest stages upward, pupils whose formal education stops at sixteen can easily by that time have obtained a good grounding in Latin, a fair ability in handling it, and a capacity for carrying forward or resuming its study later.

The upshot of the evidence on the minds of the Committee is to be gathered from their list of recommendations. These are unanimous; there are no dissents or reservations. An unanimous report, while not without the elements of weakness or ambiguity that attach to all compromises, carries great weight. True, it is made by a body all of whom have had 'the inestimable advantage of an education in which the Classics played a conspicuous part,' and of whom it may accordingly be suspected by hostile critics that (to quote their own words) 'our view of the question is distorted

¹ This could hardly be put better than it is put in the impressive concluding paragraph of the Report, p. 268. 'That is our case; we should only weaken it by bringing in secondary arguments, many of which are debateable, and some (if we will be frank) are sophistical.'

by our individual predilections.' But it means that within the camp there is substantial agreement. The Classics have suffered much from quarrels among their supporters or exponents—*nullas infestas hominibus bestias*, said Julian, *ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum*—and might be easier about their enemies if they could sometimes be saved from their friends.

There are in all fifty-seven recommendations, under eighteen heads. Their range is very wide, their relative importance very varied. A few will rouse sharp contention. A few others are only uncontentious because they are so vague. But four may be singled out as cardinal. Their significance will be best seen by their being set out in two pairs:

LATIN.

A. Latin to be a normal part of the curriculum for all pupils in Public and Secondary Schools.

B. Latin to be retained or reinstated (as the case may be) as a necessary subject in all University Arts Courses.

GREEK.

C. Knowledge of Greek to be required from all teachers of Latin.

D. Greek to be accepted as an universal alternative to Latin in all public examinations, and, 'so far as possible,' in all School and University curricula.

Of these four, the first three are the key to the whole situation. The fourth bears the aspect of a formula arrived at in order to secure unanimity. Is it a pious doctrine, or one meant to mould actual usage? If the latter, it is not clear that its implications have been thought out: at all events, they are not stated. If the former, one understands why there is no suggestion that knowledge of Latin should be required from all teachers of Greek. Perhaps all it means is conveyed in the words (p. 121) 'to secure that boys should be given the opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of Greek, and if they have no time to pursue both, of making the choice'—when?—'between it and Latin.' Perhaps we may let it go at that. Of Latinless

Greek—Greek not interpreted, or as some would say, wrongly I think, diluted, into the terms of the Latin mind—we have too little experience to judge how it would work. It might act as an intoxicant, or as an explosive, or it might not act at all. Of Homer indeed this is not true; but that is because Homer, to put it in the form of a paradox, is not Greek. Will any one be bold enough to revive the Roman doctrine and practice of beginning Greek with Homer? That would mean, of course, a revolution in Greek teaching.

To these four cardinal recommendations are to be added six others, the first five of which are all of high importance, and not only so, but are capable of being carried into effect by administrative action. The Committee advise:

1. Organised transfer of pupils, with the co-operation of head-masters and head-mistresses, at an age not later than fourteen, from schools which do not to schools which do provide a full Classical Course.

2. Replacement of Advanced Courses by free combinations of advanced work; or, so far as that may be impracticable, recognition of Advanced Courses including Latin (or Greek) alone.

3. Higher allowance for Classics in the Civil Service Examinations, both Class I. and Clerical.

4. Retention of all the existing provision of Classical Scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, and increased provision in the other Universities.

5. Reinstatement in elementary education of the teaching of formal grammar, as the basis of all linguistic and literary study whether of the mother tongue or of any other language, ancient or modern.

6. 'Measures to be devised by the Board of Education' towards giving Greek a footing, or preventing its disappearance, in schools.

On these a few observations may be added:

1. The question of transfer is full of difficulties. Without loyal co-operation on the part of school authorities, and cheerful acquiescence on the part of parents, the system could not work at all. But even so, it is a desperate

remedy. It might even aggravate the drawbacks which it is meant to remove. Break of gauge is in itself always awkward and wasteful. A double break of gauge at eleven and fourteen is still more so. Further, transfer from one school to another before the First Examination stage would *pro tanto* dislocate the whole school organisation, besides making it more difficult than ever for the former school to develop. Patience, and advance, however slow, on a broad front are needed. But meanwhile a provisional solution may perhaps be found in encouragement of transfer at the First Examination stage, and its discouragement earlier. This means that for such pupils, at any rate, Greek will not be begun before fifteen: and they would tend to set the pattern for the whole school. But that need not be an unmixed misfortune. If recommendations A, B, and C were accepted and made fully operative, the study of Greek would be begun with some marked advantages, and could be both much more rapid and much more effective. Between fifteen and eighteen Greek could be mastered up to an adequate point: and these are just the years in which it could be attacked with the necessary interest and intelligence. This, or something very like it, was in effect the doctrine of the great humanists. 'When they had herd me speak of y^e greke literature or lerning,' More writes of his Utopians, 'they made wonderfull earneste and importunate sute vnto me that I would teach and instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the labour, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued incontinente by their diligence, that my laboure should not be bestowed in vaine. In lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie staye.' For confirmation of this doctrine or prophecy, see pp. 122 and 175 of the Report.

2. As regards Advanced Courses. They were initiated as a war-emergency

measure, for valid reasons. They were expressly stated to be provisional and tentative. Nobody, so far as I am aware, liked them much, or contemplated their permanence. Much of the adverse criticism they have incurred is due to ignorant or wilful misconception of this fact. Already, since the issue of the Report, effect has been given to the second half of this recommendation by the institution of the new D Courses in the Regulations of 1921.

3 and 4. These hardly call for comment. The former is welcome as a step made towards economy and efficiency by substitution of induced for forced draught. The only criticism to be made on the latter is one which, while it is undeniably serious, applies to the whole scholarship system, and indeed to free or bounty-fed education itself.

5. This is directly educational, and of high importance. The introduction of a rational and simple standardised grammar as the basis of all language teaching, while it would not work miracles, would perhaps do as much as any other single thing to ease the working and increase the efficiency of the whole educational machine from top to bottom.

There remains 6. Here we come to the kernel of the Greek problem; and here, unfortunately, the Report gives no guidance. There needed no ghost to tell us that the Board of Education should devise measures for retaining or introducing Greek in schools, or to express regret (p. 63) that 'they have apparently not thought it possible' to do so. But when we (or the Board) ask, What measures? the detailed recommendations of the Committee may be scrutinised in vain for an answer. We have to fall back on the cardinal recommendations: or, rather, on the first three of the four; for it will hardly be contended that Greek will be, to any substantial extent, either retained in or introduced into schools merely by its recognition as a possible alternative to Latin. But if Latin were required as an integral subject in the curricula of Secondary Schools and in University Arts Courses, and if adequate knowledge of Greek were required in all teachers of Latin,

the naturalisation of the Classics in education would be secured. This cannot be effected immediately; it is idle to imagine that the situation can be retrieved by a stroke of the pen. But if it is a fixed and defined aim, continuous and accelerating progress can be made towards its substantial attainment. Supply will create demand, and demand create supply. Departmental regulations are little more than a codification of usage; but that little more may be all-important in directing movement. A generation hence, it may be hoped that usage, in both these matters, will be so general that it can, if necessary, be registered in enactment. But if this is to happen, there must be the most persistent and strenuous effort on the part of the Classical Association, not to cry its own wares, which is easy and useless, but to bring about further improvement in the spirit and methods of classical teaching, and in the qualifications to be looked for, as a mere matter of honesty and self-respect, in teachers of the Classics. The rest will be done by growing public appreciation of the results, in the product of the schools, of the strengthening, enlarging, and vitalising influence which Latin and Greek, or Latin alone, as taught by competent scholars to whom the Classics really mean something, can exert on the average boy or girl. Of this task it may be said in general, as Sir William Ramsay says in particular (pp. 190, 203) of the study of ancient geography, that 'nothing has been done and everything remains to be done.' Or if this be too sweeping—for in the eighteen years of its existence the Classical Association has done not a little—the path of safety and of honour lies in thinking nothing done so long as anything remains to do.

A large proportion of the working classes (p. 123) 'are genuinely anxious to get the best possible education for their children'; and as to what that education is, most of them 'accept unquestioningly the advice of the teacher.' As has been said of them in another sphere, 'they don't know what they want, but they insist on having it.' When they do know, they will see that they get it. A free nation has the education, sooner or later, that

it wants to have. 'Where it is taught,' the Committee report of Greek in Scotland (p. 221), 'it is popular.' In Scotland there is still some tradition of the humanist ideal. But even in England that ideal, only seen from far off in the sixteenth century, is beginning to take shape: *nec tam aversus equos Tyria sol iungit ab urbe.*

Very special attention must accordingly be given to the section of the Report dealing with matters of method. These matters are many and varied. Among them may be singled out for prominence the building up of a historical background; the choice and treatment of texts; the place to be given to composition (on which there is much more to be said than is said by the Committee); the moral importance of school libraries; the use and abuse of translations; the scope of what are called material aids; the so-called Direct Method, on which an adverse judgment is pronounced.

The traditional method of classical teaching, so the Committee conclude, while susceptible of and calling for perpetual improvement, 'has been amply justified by results' (p. 276). But to save it from slipping back into a dead tradition, it has to be kept fluid; it has to be applied with intelligence; it has to preserve an open mind towards change; it has to be worked, and that most of all with beginners, by teachers of scholarly attainment. And beyond all these, it has to be recognised as an element in a larger system; and competition between subjects, as a phrase and as a thing, must be banished from education.

'Latin,' the Report says (p. 40), 'is suffering unduly from the competition of modern and scientific subjects.' But Latin, and Greek too, is a scientific and a modern subject. Have we at this time of day to begin to learn that competition between subjects is alike injurious to all the competitors, and is founded either on a radically vicious theory of education, or, what is nearer the truth, on a total failure to understand what education means?

The concordat arrived at in 1917—for which not only the Classical Association, but the nation, owes a debt to

Sir Frederic Kenyon which ought to be acknowledged—was perhaps the most important step taken in education for many years. It got the educational machine on to the rails. All that is wanted now to make it run is motive force, common-sense, and patience. The motive force does not come from Government Departments which release it, or from local education authorities which apply it, or from the teaching profession which uses it. It comes from the inarticulate but all-powerful national consciousness. But national consciousness, public opinion, can be formed; and now is the time to do so—now when all traditions, classical or anti-classical, are in flux. ‘One of the best means of assuring the position of the Classics in the educational system of the United Kingdom’ is, so the Committee find, ‘that the membership of the Classical Association should be maintained and increased’; and twice over elsewhere they strongly urge all teachers of Classics to join it. Multiplication and strengthening of local branches, missionary work among the wider public, capture of the young, are named as specific aims; and the suggestion of the foundation of a Classical Institute, which should serve as the headquarters of the Classical Association and of all kindred societies, will not escape notice. But something more is wanted than machinery. What will save, not the Classics—they need

no salvation—but the study of the Classics, is, in the phrase which is perhaps the most significant in the whole Report, ‘the realisation that they have something to contribute to the problems of the present day and the permanent life of man.’ That this was so used to be taken for granted as self-evident. Then it was largely forgotten. It has to be realised and taught afresh. The ideal of classical education as an austere discipline must not be lost; there was never a time when it was more needed: but it must be linked up with and incorporated in the larger ideal of an enfranchised life.

One of the incomparable values of the Classics is that by their inherent virtue they supply the antidote against their own misuse. Before we set out to save the Classics, it would be well to make sure whether the Classics have saved us. Those who have really learned the lesson which the Classics teach will not feel either ‘nervous alarm’ or ‘premature despair.’ It will not even seem to them particularly useful to have ‘grave misgivings.’ These are not the highest or the most powerful springs of action. The price had to be paid for old crimes and follies, entrenchment in privilege, supercilious detachment, obstinate resistance to change. So far as we shared in these, we must take our punishment. But *tristitia* no less than *superbia* is one of the deadly sins.

J. W. MACKAIL.

THE OCTAVIA.

In these days the usual response evoked by an allusion to the tragedies of Seneca is a grimace: with the excuse, perhaps, that the literary expression of Seneca the tragedian may be described as itself perpetually one. But it is questionable whether this modern attitude is not almost as exaggerated as Scaliger's preference of Seneca to Euripides, and Heywood's raptures about ‘the flower of poets.’ In any case the *Octavia* does deserve honourable exception from the general anathema.

It is not Seneca's; that is doubtless why. Its spuriousness never needed the cumbrous engines of the learned

critic to prove it; no one with any literary sense could credit the author of the lurid Thyestes with this simple little piece, pale and delicate as the figures on a Wedgwood vase. But attempts to father it on any known poet are futile guesswork; and even attempts to date it have varied from Nero's reign to the Middle Ages.

The evidence is as follows:—

First, a prophetic description of Nero's death (ll. 618-631) and a possible allusion to Vindex (255) establish a date after 68. Seneca died in 65.

Secondly, the play, though not Seneca's, is the work of an admirer

only too familiar with his drama and his prose. Now over his younger contemporaries, as Quintilian with pain records, Seneca exercised an influence amounting to obsession: on the other hand, with the accession of the Flavians came a reaction from the extravagances of the earlier empire to a new simplicity.

All this suits perfectly the combined Senecanism and simplicity, or, perhaps, *simplesse*, of the *Octavia*, if we suppose it written under the Flavians not too long after the deaths of Seneca and of Nero: for, again, its vivid touches and accuracy of detail smack far more of living memory than of the third and fourth centuries A.D.

Of other evidence worth the name there is little. But on the ground of supposed historical blunders in the play an attempt has been made by Dr. Vürtheim in his edition (Leyden, 1909) to pull down the *Octavia* to the later date.

He argues that the Prefect of the *Octavia*, who feebly tries to restrain Nero's fury against the Roman people and his wife, could not be the creation of a writer living while Tigellinus, the man who could deprave even Nero, was still remembered.

But it does not follow that the Prefect of the *Octavia* need be identified with Tigellinus at all. Burrus had two successors, Tigellinus and Faenius Rufus. The latter, according to Tacitus, was a man 'vita famaue laudatus,' though of a certain 'segnis innocentia.' He brought himself into disfavour by his loyalty to Agrippina, just as he tries to be loyal to Octavia in the play, and he joined the conspiracy of Piso in 65. But his intentions, if good, were feeble, and he vainly tried to save his own neck by persecuting his confederates. It is surely easier to suppose that the author of the *Octavia* had this well-meaning coward in mind, than that one who, whenever he lived, knew so much of Nero, should have been ignorant of the almost equally infamous Tigellinus.

Dr. Vürtheim remarks that Poppaea's wickedness is equally neglected. There are only, he complains, allusions to her beauty as if she were another Helen; and she has visions like another Penelope. Elsewhere, however, he suggests that the author of the *Octavia* may have

derived his favourable view of Poppaea, who had Jewish leanings, from Josephus. But if a contemporary historian could whitewash her, why not a contemporary playwright? Further, it is not hard to trace the workings of a by no means innocent conscience in Poppaea's dream.

Parallels of expression with Tacitus are equally futile: they cannot be proved to be plagiarisms: in any case, which was the plagiarist? And lastly to urge, as does Dr. Vürtheim, that Seneca could not have been made by anyone who knew the facts to say of Octavia, 'Implebit aulam stirpe,' because she was really barren, is rather too much, seeing that her own husband had her accused of abortion at this very time (Tac. *Ann.* 14. 63).

Anything like certainty is, however, out of the question: one can at most say it seems probable that the *Octavia* with its Senecan influence and its Flavian simplicity is not much later than the genuine plays with which it became associated.

Of more interest than the date of the *Octavia* is its construction. Considering its ingenuous air, the artificiality and the meticulous symmetry of arrangement which it reveals on close examination are astonishing.

There is a symmetry in the pedimental grouping of its characters—Nero in the centre, his two contrasted ministers, Seneca and the Prefect, on either side; behind Seneca Octavia and her nurse; behind the Prefect Poppaea and hers; in the background the spirit of Agrippina, the Ate of the Palatine; in the foreground the chorus vacillating from side to side.

There is an equal symmetry in the action. Octavia relates to her nurse that she dreamt Nero killed Britannicus in her arms. Then Agrippina's ghost appears. Then Poppaea relates to her nurse that she dreamt, first that Agrippina's ghost appeared, next that Nero killed Crispinus in her arms.

The lyrics are similarly balanced. The chorus foretells to Octavia that Nero will leave her rivals as Jove left Leda, Danae, and Europa. Then they foretell to Poppaea that Jove will love her as he loved Leda, Danae, and Europa. First they sing of Agrippina's

death; then Agrippina's ghost appears. First they proclaim the rights of Octavia, then the beauties of Poppaea. They reproach Rome for not rising against Nero's new love; they reproach Rome for rising against love at all.

Finally, there are traceable through the play three 'leit-motivs,' similar to those of Aeschylus,¹ or Wagner, or Ibsen: all three recur for the last time in the last chorus of the play.

The first theme is the haunting dominance of the Erinyes, the curse of the Julio-Claudian line, now personified, now regarded as incarnate in Agrippina. Just so the Curse of the House of Atreus in the *Agamemnon* works, now by itself, now embodied in Clytemnestra.

In the shape of Agrippina, it presides, always with its Stygian torch, at the weddings both of Nero and Octavia (23), and of Nero and Poppaea (593, 712) and foretells the Emperor's final doom.

As the personified curse, on the other hand, the Erinyes, it has already watched over the murder of Messalina (264) and of Claudius (162), while Pietas fled in horror from the Palatine.

Then, in the last scene, this Avenger stands forth supreme, world-dominant. 'The deity of Pietas is broken: the gods are no more.' With a last appeal, like that of Turnus, from those deaf gods to the powers of Hell, Octavia goes out to die.

The second 'motiv' is a similar play

¹ Cf. J. T. Sheppard, *Greek Tragedy*, pp. 36-41.

on Charon's 'Ship of the Dead,' and Agrippina's 'Death-ship' (125, 312, 601, 905). This, too, culminates at the close: in the ship which is to bear her to die in Pandateria, Octavia recognises the fatal vessel which bore Agrippina to her fate.

Thirdly, there is a play on the double relationship as royal brother and sister, husband and wife, of Nero and Octavia, as of Jupiter and Juno (ll. 46, 220, 282, 535, 658, 790, 828, 910). Little by little those ties dissolve before us. Divorce destroys Octavia's royalty and her wifehood, murder tramples on her sisterhood; she fades from us at the end, no more the earthly counterpart of the Queen of Heaven, but the sister in death, as in life, of the deposed and murdered Britannicus.

It all makes a strangely complex structure. Had our poet known as well to build as to plan, his work would have been really great. But, product of a decadent and senile, even though chastened, age, it lacks life; and without that the most conscientiously classical devotion to form can only conceive offspring listless and bloodless, however perfectly shaped.

Yet even so in her frail pathos, her simplicity, her pessimism, her yearning for the past, her despair of present and future, of good and God, the Octavia of this drama has to this day a weary Botticellian charm, little dreamed of by those who pass her by.

F. L. LUCAS.

THE HOMERIC HYMNS (XV.).

Εἰς Ἑρμῆν.

THE expression πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέρος (53) deserves a little consideration. If κατὰ μέρος means '(each string) in turn,' as Allen and Sikes say no doubt correctly, the phrase can only describe the familiar preliminary of tuning up so necessary with all stringed instruments. In The Rejected Addresses we may read how 'their various tones to tune—squeaks the fiddle sharp—and twangs the tingling harp,'

Till like great Jove the leader figuring in
Attunes to order the chaotic din.

On this hypothesis σμερδαλέον in its ordinary acceptance might have some excuse in 54; but this conception of the passage is assuredly wrong. Hermes is not tuning up his lyre in these lines. For that purpose all that was necessary was done in 51 συμφώνους or εὐφώνους (it matters not which) ἐτανύσσατο χορδὰς. Now he is evidently playing music, and nothing could be more prosaic and weak than κατὰ μέρος πειρήτιζε to describe a musical performance. The author of this hymn was not such a contemptible poet as some of his editors in their wisdom are

pleased to assume. First of all against this unsuitable *κατὰ μέρος* stands the fact that *μέρος* is a word not to be found in the early epic vocabulary though trite enough in later Greek, which fully accounts for its appearance in the tradition.

The true reading here, I have little doubt, is *κατὰ μόρον*, which is exactly equivalent to the *κατὰ μοῖραν* of Π 367, where the army is in disorderly retreat,

οὐδὲ κατὰ μοῖραν πέραον πάλιν.

Hermes touched the strings 'in order due,' 'in seemly and fitting manner,' so as to produce a tune or melody. The words that follow show this plainly, and confirmation is given by 419 f., where there can be no question of trying each string in turn. Indeed the tradition there recognises this impossibility by reading erroneously *κατὰ μέλος*, which editors even more erroneously alter to *κατὰ μέρος*, after Martin. The correct reading in both passages is *κατὰ μόρον*, which was almost bound to disappear in later times because, unfortunately, like *μοῖρα*, *μόρος* had the derived meaning of 'fate,' 'doom,' so that even in epic *κατὰ μόρον* generally suggests a contrast with *ὑπὲρ μόρον*, which, as we have seen, is suggestive of the supernatural, *v. note on H. Dem.* 428.

58 δὲ πάρος ὠρίζεσκον ἑταιρείῃ φιλότῃ.

That *ὅν* is the cognate or internal accusative after the verb here is difficult to believe, and is certainly not rendered more credible by any of the examples quoted by Allen and Sikes. There is no proverbial element in our line as in *ὁ λαγὼς τὸν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν τρέχει*, no technical formula as in *κινήσω τὸν ἄφ' ἱερᾶς*. Undoubtedly Abel, Gemoll, and Evelyn-White are right in reading, after Ernesti, *ὡς*, or in the earlier writing *ὅς*, which invites the simple grammatical correction *ὅν*.

A much more serious difficulty presents itself in the form *ὠρίζεσκον*, which could not come from the well-established early-epic *ὀρίζω* (*v.* 170, xxiii. 3). So far as we know the word fell out of use and became obsolete in later Greek. Even so restoration seems to me not unattainable. Analogy would warrant the

suggestion of *ὠρίσασκον* and the line would read thus,

ὡς πάρος ὠρίσασκον ἑταιρείῃ φιλότῃ.

Cf. ὠσασκε, ἐρητύσασκε. Another iterative formed from the present tense would be *ὀρίζεσκον*, less likely here because its introduction involves the dropping of *πάρος*, *e.g.*

ὡς ποθ' ἑταιρείῃ ὀρίζεσκον φιλότῃ.

In the next line the original reading (*cf.* δ 178) was probably *ὀνομακλήδην ὀνομάζων*. *Ὀνομακλυτόν* is very weak here.

62 καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν ἦειδε, τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοῖνα.

By the change of one letter we get a much better reading, *ἦειδ', ἔτι δέ*.

69. Instead of the traditional *αὐτὰρ ἄρ' Ἑρμῆς* Barnes suggested *αὐτὰρ ὅ γ'*, nor is this to be lightly rejected because an equally mistrustworthy *αὐτὰρ ἄρα* is found in B 103; but it may be permissible to offer *ἐς* as an alternative to Barnes's *ὅ γ'*, which can hardly stand immediately before *Ἑρμῆς*. That the first preposition in *εἰσαφίκανε* should be removed from its position here is only what might be expected.

73 τῶν τότε Μαιάδος υἱός, εὐσκοπὸς Ἀργεφόντης
πεντήκοντ' ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βοῦς ἐριμύκους.

It is impossible that *τῶν* should be correct here unless it be referred to the *θεῶν μακάρων* of 71, which is hardly likely. All editors and translators, so far as I can ascertain, complacently take it to mean 'of these cows,' which would, of course, require *τάων* and would, moreover, involve the inevitable conclusion that Hermes stole only part of Apollo's cows, whereas it is clear enough that he took them all, leaving only the bull looking rather blue and four clever dogs, *v.* 193 ff., also 340.

Τῶν may be attributed to a foolish rhapsodist who did not fully realise the facts of the case, and was probably misled in some degree by *ἀπετάμνετο*, which seems to be a technical term for cattle lifting, *cf.* Σ 528 *τάμνοντ' ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας* and our nautical expression 'cutting out.' I suggest that the true reading is *τὰς τότε*.

80. There are three places in the *Hymns* in which we find the peculiar combination *θανατατὰ ἔργα*: here, in 440, and in vii. 34. We have also one line,

(165) in Hesiod's *Shield of Hercules*, where it is the ill-supported reading. No further support for an adj. *θανματός* can be found in the earlier epic, to which we may safely conclude it was quite alien, being in fact merely an importation from later usage. Pindar has it twice, *Ol.* 1. 43, *Pyth.* 10. 49. The epic adj. is *θέσκελος*, which became obsolete, *v.* Γ130 *θέσκελα ἔργα*, also λ374, 610, and we may take it as highly probable, if not certain, that such was the reading in all these three passages in the *Hymns*.

95 πολλὰ δ' ὄρη σκίοντα καὶ αὐλῶνας κελαδαινοὺς
καὶ πεδί' ἀνθεμένοντα διήλασε κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.

No one need believe and no one ought to believe that the writer of this Hymn wrote or sang ὄρη or even a dissyllabic ὄρεα, as Ilgen half-heartedly would have it. The poet had at his command two trisyllabic forms, οὐρεα and ὄρεα, but the usage of later ages was against both. So and for no other reason the tradition presents us with ὄρη, an epic monstrosity.

Possibly, however, there may be another reason connected with αὐλῶνας κελαδαινοὺς. Now αὐλῶνες are narrows, deep valleys, gorges, or *cañons*, as they say in America, and κελαδεινός as applied to them meant 'filled with the noise (κέλαδος) and tumult of the chase' (*cf.* Ἄρτεμις κελαδαινῇ). In this case Hermes is driving his cows in the night, and as far as possible in silence.

πολλὰ δ' ὃ γε σκίοντα ὄρε' αὐλῶνάς τε κελαινοὺς
καὶ πεδί' ἀνθεμένοντα διήλασε.

The adjectives indicate the character of the difficulties the little herdsman had to face, the long shadows in the mountains, the black darkness in the deep vales, and the natural desire of the cows to crop the herbage on the levels (*πεδία*).

Against this view may be set the idle idea that the author of the Hymn was afflicted with poetical incapacity and destitute of common sense; therefore objection against our tradition must always be ineffective. I do not subscribe to this. In fact, the fallibility of the tradition is amusingly exhibited within four lines. In l. 100 we read of a high-sounding personality, otherwise unknown, Megamedes,

Πάλλαντος θυγάτηρ Μεγαμηδείδω ἀνακτος.

It would be flattering this gentleman to say he was a myth. He is not even the shadow of a myth. He is an absolute nonentity, a Mrs. Harris, and as such I propose to kill him outright with a drop of ink. He has cumbered the ground long enough. I remove very gently his capital and his two false dentals, and so at last recovering his own long-lost consonants, still dentals, he emerges with adjectival faculty and power, no longer bolstering up a Titanic impostor, -μεγαμητιέταο-.

Pallas himself, according to Hesiod (*Theog.* 375 f.) the son of Crius and Eurybia—a parentage unquestioned by the author of this hymn—is 'the high-counsellor prince.'

In 99 προσεβήσετο (not -ατο) should be read, *v.* Monro, *H.G.* § 41, and in 101 Ἀλφειοῦ rather than Ἀλφειύν.

103 ἀδμήτες δ' ἴκανον ἐς αὐλῖον ὑψιμέλαθρον.

In view of 106 Schneidewin's ἐπ' might replace ἐς here. For ἀδμήτες ('unyoked,' A. and S.) ἀκμήτες is generally read after Ilgen. Indeed, no one could possibly imagine that the oxen arrived 'yoked.' Mr. Allen himself has suggested ἄκμηνοι, and I am glad to give to this the commendation I bestowed upon it twenty-four years ago (*Class. Rev.*, November, 1896). It makes good sense, *cf.* my remark on *πεδία ἀνθεμένοντα* l. 96 above, a far better sense than ἀκμήτες, and has this further point in its favour that the later Greeks would readily abandon an almost obsolete word for a familiar one like ἀδμήτες, which they might understand here, not in the strict sense of 'unyoked,' but more loosely as 'unbeaten,' 'not worn-out' by their long journey. It was really Hermes who never tired. Mr. Allen does not do himself justice here by abandoning perhaps the best conjecture he ever made—

οὐ γάρ πω τοῖον ἴδον ἀνέρος οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι.

105 ἐνθ' ἐπεὶ εὖ βοτάνης ἐπεφόρβει βοὺς ἐριμύκους
καὶ τὰς μὲν συνέλασσαν ἐς αὐλῖον ἀθρόας οὐσας
λωτὸν ἐρεπτομένας ἥδ' ἐρσήεντα κύπειρον·
σὺν δ' ἐφόρει ξύλα πολλὰ, πυρὸς δ' ἐπεμαίετο
τέχνην.

It may be taken as almost certain that Gemoll is right in reading ἐπεὶ οὖν instead of ἐπεὶ εὖ (105), and as quite certain that ἀθρόας οὐσας (106) is absolutely wrong and impossible. Allen

and Sikes are dogmatic as usual: 'however we account for -ās, the word (viz. ἀθρόας) is not to be disturbed.' One wonders why. Other scholars have not thought so—notably Barnes, Ilgen, Hermann, Franke, Cobet, Stadtmüller, Abel, Ludwig. Not even in meaning is ἀθρόας satisfactory. If it be proleptic, then οὔσας is worse than useless, and if there is no prolepsis it would be the worst possible policy for a cattle-driver to get his cows in a dense mass if he wished to get them through a doorway or narrow gate. But our editors never consider the facts of the case. They simply lay down the law. Then they proceed to deal with οὔσας: 'the later form is defended by *H. Apoll.* 330, where, however, emendation is easy, see note *ad loc.*'—where, indeed, as they admit, it is plain as daylight that τηλόθ' εἰούσα, not τηλόθεν οὔσα, is the true reading, and the defence is no defence at all. Even graphically the tradition τηλόθεν οὔσα is merely a correction of a wrong division (τηλόθε οὔσα) of the true reading.

Of the emendations suggested, that made by Barnes, ἀθρό' ιούσας, is the best, but is doubtful Greek for ἀθρόας or ἀθροεῖ ιούσας. Ἀμμυγ' ιούσας or ἀθροισθείσας would be at least admissible Greek, yet I recommend neither; for unless I am much mistaken the true reading is, in spite of any lack of Homeric authority for the actual verb, ἀφραιοῦσας.

The cows are in the condition we might expect after their long journey. They are 'flecked with foam.' A visit to any cattle-market would be sufficient to show the propriety of this description. Graphically the word involves the omission of one and the change of two letters only. Oppian in the *Halieutica* 1. 772 is, it seems, the sole authority for the verb, but he must have had some warrant for its use. It can hardly have been his own invention: cf. ἰσχάνω ἰσχανάω, ἐρυκάνω ἐρυκανάω.

In 107 ἰδ' ἐερσήεντα is undoubtedly the true reading, and the third foot is a dactyl. Epic usage here admits no denial or qualification. In all probability a comma only should follow κύπειρον, making 108 the apodosis to the ἐπεὶ of 105. Finally, the concluding

words seem to have suffered in transmission:

πυρὸς δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην.

The construction is bad, for ἐπεμαίετο takes a gen. when it means to desire to aim at, e.g. K 401 δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός, μ 220, ε 344. The meaning is little better, for what is 'the art of fire'? A vacuous expression intended to mean the art of producing fire, as we may here charitably suppose, but no more expressing this meaning than the art of gas or electricity, or of potatoes or onions, would signify the method of producing these articles. Allen and Sikes, untroubled by the want of sense, consider that the accusative is 'established' by 511 on the two blacks, etc., principle. The line runs

αὐτὸς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρης σοφίης ἐκμάσσατο τέχνην.

The passage in which it stands is more than usually corrupt, but even if the tradition were otherwise immaculate and above suspicion it is surely plain as a pikestaff that ἐκμάσσατο is merely a perverted ἐκμήσατο, 'devised,' and has nothing to do with μαίομαι at all, but with μῆδομαι, cf. δ 437 δόλον δ' ἐπεμήδετο πατρί and μῆσατο *passim*. So much for the cogency and value of the 'establishing' bit of black.

Palaeographically there is little to choose between ι and ν, and Ilgen's πυρὸς δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην is made almost a certainty even if it be not quite confirmed by

483 τέχνην καὶ σοφίην δεδαημένους ἐξερεεῖν,

'with skill and cunning', 'artfully and wisely.' I would even suggest for 511 αὐτὸς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρην σοφίην ἐκμήσατο τέχνην: 'but again of his own cleverness he invented another art,' 'all by himself he cleverly invented,' etc.

The actual process employed by Hermes to produce his fire, not his art of fire, is described in five lines 109-114, for one of these (111) is an impertinent and flagrant intrusion which makes Hermes play the part of Prometheus, πῦρ ἀνέδωκε, a hopeless and grotesque absurdity, accepted by Allen and Sikes with blind credulity and ill judgment. The first two lines stand thus:

δάφνης ἀγλαὸν ὄζον ἐλὼν ἐπέλεψε σιδήρῳ
ἀρμενον ἐν παλάμῃ, ἀμπνυτο δὲ θερμὸς αὐτμή.

Now ἐπέλεψε is usually understood to mean 'peeled,' which is, of course, perfectly right. Hermes stripped the laurel branch *on the surface*, i.e. removed the bark. But Allen and Sikes blunder as usual by translating ἐπί 'prune to a point,' 'sharpen.' 'This sense of ἐπί in composition,' they say, 'is recognised by the lexicons in ἐπικόπτειν, ἐπιτέμνειν.' I find no such recognition, and until I see some evidence to the contrary, which will be difficult to produce, I shall venture to regard the statement as erroneous. Even if it were correct, it must be obvious that nothing could be more likely to make the 'borer,' the τρύπανον, ineffective and useless than to sharpen it and so reduce the frictional surface moving on the block, the στορεύς.

But the best MS. *M* has ἐνίαλλε, not ἐπέλεψε, and this or a close approximation to this, ἐνίελλε, I take to be the true reading here. Kuhn's idea that a line has been lost between 109 and 110 is quite an unnecessary complication. The statement of the text is that Hermes dashed the laurel stick (ἵαλλε) or moved it to and fro (ἔλλε or εἶλε, cf. Soph. *Antig.* 340 ἰλλομένων ἀρότρων) on the iron (ἐν σιδήρῳ). The iron is evidently the storeus, and it may well be that this rubbing-block was covered with a thin iron plate which from the known properties of the metal would not materially alter its frictional efficiency and would certainly make it more

durable. At the same time we must not be oblivious to the possibility that the poet originally wrote in plain terms ἐνίαλλε στορήϊ, of which σιδήρῳ is a later perversion and needless metrical correction. The early epic writer faced a difficulty of this kind without hesitation, and we meet not only ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον etc. ἢ σκέπαρνον, but also the more closely analogous twice-repeated ἐκ δὲ στέατος.

Allen and Sikes support Kuhn with this notable but singularly ill-considered statement, which cannot be allowed to pass without notice: 'the words ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃ are appropriate not to the τρύπανον but to the στορεύς, which needed to be kept steady.' They evidently mistake the στορεύς for a modern match-box. Holding in the hand would not secure steadiness for this or any analogous mechanical process such as filing or sawing. There is no need to go to an engineering works for information on this question.

Dixeris haec inter varicosos centuriones,
Continuo crassum ridet Pulfennius ingens
Et centum Graecos curto centusse licetur.

We require not the skilled advice of any foreman over a hundred workmen. A very small acquaintance with implements and tools is sufficient to enable us to feel sure that the τρύπανον, not the στορεύς, was adapted for the hand to grip.

T. L. AGAR.

NOTES.

NOTES ON AESCHYLUS.

Supplices 6-10 :

οὕτῃν' ἐφ' αἵματι δημηλασίαν
ψήφῳ πόλεως γνωσθεῖσαι,
ἀλλ' αὐτογέννητον φύλαξανοραν
γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῆ τ'
ὀνοταζόμεναι.

The third line is corrupt. Might we not drop the letter φ which spoils the metre, and change ν into γ? Read ἀλλ' αὐτογενῆ τὸν ὑλαξαγορᾶν, and join αὐτογενῆ and ἀσεβῆ as predicates of γάμον, 'but objecting to the marriage with the clamorous sons of Aegyptus as incestuous and impious.' ὑλαξαγόρας,

a compound of ὑλάσσω and ἀγορή, is analogous with Ἀναξαγόρας, λαβραγόρας. It depicts the cousins of the Danaids as a yelping pack in hot pursuit. So in 776 they are called μεμαργωμένοι κυνοθρασεῖς.

Supplices 271-3 :

τὰ δὲ παλαιῶν αἱμάτων μιάσμασιν
χρανθεῖς ἀνῆκε γαῖα μηνεῖται ἄκη,
δρακονθόμιλον δυσμενῆ ξυνοικίαν.

μηνιτὴ δάκη, Porson; μνηνιταῖ' ἄκη, Hermann; μνηιαῖ' ἄχη, Dindorf. None of these seems quite to meet the case. I should trace the source of corruption

a little deeper, in the substitution of *M* owing to the collocation of *ΑΔ*, reading *δηναιά δάκη*, 'monsters which the earth for a long time produced (till Apis cleansed it),' *δηναιά* agreeing with *γαῖα* qualifies the action of *ἀνῆκε*, as in *τριταῖος ἐλθεῖν* and the like. The same word has been corrupted in *Eum.* 848 and 880.

Supplices 300-3 :

ΧΟ. μὴ καὶ λόγος τις Ζῆνα μιχθῆναι βροτῶ;
ΒΑ. καὶ κρυπτά γ' Ἦρας ταῦτα παλλαγμάτων.

The second verse is deficient in sense and metre. Professor Tucker reads *κοῦ κρυπτά γ' Ἦρας ταῦτ' ἀπ' ἀντιταγμάτων*, 'Aye, and the matter was no secret from Hera's counter-workings.' This seems to me to make excellent sense, but we might keep a little nearer to the text by adding three letters instead of altering three: *ταῦτ' ἀπ' (ἀντ)αλλαγμάτων*, 'from the *reprisals* of Hera.' *ἀντάλλαγμα*, which occurs in *Eur. Or.* 1157, is something taken in exchange for another. Here it either has the general sense of *reprisals* or a special reference to the taking away of Io's human form in revenge for the love of Zeus, as stated below.

Supplices 317-9 :

ΒΑ. τίς οὖν ὁ Διὸς πόρτις εὐχεται βοδῆ;
ΧΟ. Ἐπαφος ἀληθῶς ῥυσίων ἐπώνυμος.
ΒΑ. (Ἐπαφον δὲ τίς ποτ' ἐξέφν παρώνυμος ;)
ΧΟ. Λιβύη, μέγιστον γῆς (λίβος) καρπουμένη.

A verse is wanting here, which I have supplied as above for the sake of illustration. Professor Tucker suggests that it probably began with some case of Ἐπαφος, and was passed over in copying through this resemblance to the preceding line. If the ending was also similar, it would make the accident still more likely. The sense is, 'And who was born from Epaphus with a name to correspond?'—that is to say, with some name indicative of the blessing foreshown in his. Epaphus (from *ἐπαφάω*) is 'the petted darling' of Zeus. He is 'held in the hand' of the Most High, like a treasured pledge or security, hence *ἀληθῶς ῥυσίων ἐπώνυμος*, the phrase in such a case being *ἐφάπτεσθαι ῥυσίων*. We might therefore supply the missing word in the next verse as shown above, 'Λιβύη, who reaps the fruits of greatest *λίβος* on earth,' the rich

stream of Nile. She thus manifests in her name the blessing bestowed on her father. So *Prom.* 877 Ἐπαφον, ὃς καρπώσεται ὅσην πλατύρρους Νεῖλος ἀρδεύει χθόνα.

Supplices 324-6 :

ΒΑ. καὶ τοῦδ' ἀνοίγε τοῖονμ' ἀφθόνῳ λόγῳ
ΧΟ. Αἴγυπτος. εἰδὼς δ' ἀμὸν ἀρχαῖον γένος
πράσσοις ἀν ὡς Ἀργεῖον ἀνστήσας στόλον.

The tense of *ἀνστήσας* seems impossible. The King has not yet raised up the suppliants from their sanctuary, and cannot therefore be invited to act on the assurance that he has done so. The second hand has written *ἀντήσας* in the margin, which suggests that *ἀντλήσας* is the word that Aeschylus wrote, 'act as having *taken into* your town an Argive (not a foreign) train.' The Danaids claim the rights of consanguinity with Argos. So *Theb.* 780, πόλις ἄντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, 'the town took in no bilge,' i.e. let in no foreign foe.

Supplices 792-3 :

ἀφυκτον δ' οὐκέτ' ἀν πέλοι κέαρ.
κελαινόχρως δὲ πάλ्लεται μου καρδία.

ἄσφυκτον, 'without pulsation,' Bentley; *ἄλυκτον*, Hermann, with *νόαρ*, 'spectre,' at the end; *ἀφύκτων*, Tucker, with *σκέπαρ*, 'refuge,' at the end. We might change a single letter, reading *ἀμυκτὸν* from *ἀμύσσω*, as *ὀρυκτὸν* from *ὀρύσσω*, 'then would my heart be no longer *rent* with fear, whereas now,' etc., *Pers.* 117 φρήν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ, 164 καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς, *Hom. Il.* I. 243, σὺ δ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἀμύξεις.

Supplices 819-21 :

λύσιμα μάχημα δ' ἔπιδε, πάτερ,
βλαῖα μὴ φιλεῖς ὀρῶν
δμῶσιν ἐνδίκῳις.

μὴ φιλεῖς is ungrammatical, and is answered by *δίζηνται* in the antistrophe. *φαιδρῶς*, Oberdick; *φαιδροῖς*, Weil. A better sense would perhaps be given by *ψιλοῖς*, 'but look for deliverance in fighting, father, and do not regard deeds of violence with *mere* accusing eyes.' The sense 'without resort to arms' is implied in *ψιλοῖς*.

Prometheus 415-7 :

δακρυστάκτον δ' ἀπ' ὅσων
ραδιῶν λειβομένα ρέος παρειᾶν
νοτίους ἔτεγξα πηγαῖς.

The first verse is Ionic a minore in the antistrophe. There is an erasure after *νοτίοις* in the MS. We might therefore remove δ' (Heath), joining *λειβομένη* with *στένω* above, and read *νοτίοις τ'*. But what construction has *παρειάν*, or rather *ρέος*, for the Greeks said *λείβειν ρέος*, but *λείβεσθαι ρεύματι παρειάν*? Eur. *Andr.* 532 *λείβομαι δακρύοισι κόρας*, 'my eyes are suffused with tears.' Schol. *παρὰ τὸ ρέω ρέος ὡς κλέπτω κλέπος*. But everyone knows that *ρέος* is from *ρέω*, and the parallel of *κλέπτω κλέπος* is less simple. Read *παρὰ τὸ ρέζω ρέθος*, which makes the parallel more relevant. *Orion*, p. 129, *ρέζαι γὰρ τὸ βάψαι*. *Ἐπίχαρμος Ὀδυσσεῖ*. 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ρέζει τι χρώμα,' ἀντὶ τοῦ βάπτει. *Elym. Mag.* p. 703, *ρέζαι γὰρ τὸ βάψαι, καὶ οἶον μεταποιῆσαι*. So *inficere* for *tingere*. *ρέθος* is the tincture or complexion of the face, *προσώπου ἐρύθημα*, as it is often explained in the lexicons. We might therefore replace a letter in the text, reading *λειβομένη ρέθος παρειάν*, 'with tears distilled from my sluicing eyes suffusing the complexion of my cheeks.' When *ρέος* was written, the conjunction was shifted to bring *παρειάν* under the government of *ἐτεγξα*. Compare Soph. *Ant.* 528-30, *νεφέλη δ' ὀφρύων ὑπερ αἵματόεν ρέθος αἰσχύνει, τέγγουσ' εὐῶπα παρειάν*, 'a cloud over her brow makes havoc of her flushed complexion, by soaking her beauteous cheek.' Schol. *αἱματὸεν ρέθος* · τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐρύθημα. In the antistrophe to these verses there is a gap, which we might perhaps fill up as follows:

μεγαλοσχήμενά τ' ἀρχαιο-
πρεπῆ (Κιμμέριοι) στένουσι τὰν σὰν
ξυνομαιμόνων τε τιμάν.

The Chorus go on to mention the Asiatic colonists, the Amazons, the Scythians, and an Arab offshoot near Caucasus as sympathising with the sorrows of Prometheus. On the first of these the scholiast observes *ἀναχρονισμός* · οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐποικισθεῖσα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἡ Ἀσία. The Cimmerians, a nation old enough to be named in Homer, would not so readily invite this objection, but coming first in the list they might be the first to suffer from a mistaken attempt to remove it. Their name recurs in close connection

with the Amazons at 756; their home was about the lake Maeotis, near enough the scene of Prometheus' torment; and, being an ancient people themselves, they would naturally lament the downfall of an ancient dynasty.

Prometheus 703-6:

ἦσσαν πρὸς εὐποτον τε Κερχναίᾳ ρέος
Λέρνης ἄκρην τε· βουκόλος δὲ γηγενὴς
ἄκρατος ὀργὴν Ἄργος ὠμάρτει πυκνοῖς
δοσσοῖς δεδορκῶς τοὺς ἐμούς κατὰ στίβους.

Lerna was a low-lying marsh, whereas *ἄκρα* is a headland or height. The Ionic vowel of *ἄκρην* is suspicious, and *ἄκρην τε Λέρνης* appears the natural order. *Λέρνης τε κρήνην*, Canter; *ἄκτῃν τε Λέρνης*, Blomfield; *Λέρνης τ' ἐς ἄκτῃν*, Reisig. I rather suspect that *ἄκρην* has arisen from *ἄκρατος* below, and has supplanted a longer word after *Λέρνης*. It appears to me that *εὐποτον* was opposed by ΓΕ (not ΤΕ) to *ἄκρατος*, and that when the particle was miswritten room had to be found for an answering τε. Read *εὐποτόν γε Κερχναίᾳ ρέος, Λέρνης τιθήνην*, 'I rushed to the rivulet of Cerchneia, so cool and clear to drink, the nurse of Lerna; but still the herdsman Argus with hot untempered rage would dog my steps,' etc. *τιθήνη*, as the source of supply to the marsh, reminds us of *Αἴτνα χιόνος τιθήνα*.

AUSTIN SMYTH.

AESCHYLUS, CHOEPHORI 296.

κακῶς ταριχευθέντα παμφθάρτωι μῶρῳ.

THE meaning of *ταριχευθέντα*, imperfectly seen by most scholars, has been proved by Mr. J. C. Lawson in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, pp. 421 ff. and 455 ff. It is 'preserved from corruption,' 'damned to incorruption.' The parallel passages in the *Eumenides* show that the body is to be preserved, not dissolved:

ἄτμῳ κατισχνάινουσα *Eum.* 138: καὶ ζῶντά σ'
ισχνάνασα 267, ὕμνος . . . αὐοῖα βροτοῖς 332
(ὁ ξηραίνων τοὺς βροτούς Schol.).

Mr. Lawson finally explains the whole line (p. 457) 'damned to incorruption even in that doom which wastes all else': 'plane exitiosus,' Steph. That is the only way in which he can save the epithet *παμφθάρτωι* from being otiose; but 'else' is not in the Greek; and the sense which we require is the opposite: 'by a doom of incorruption,' a sense which can be obtained without the change of a single letter thus:

κακῶς ταριχευθέντ' ἀπαμφθάρτωι μῶρι.

Now it may be objected that Greek, when it wishes to negative totality, does so in the order παν-α-, not α-παν-, as παν-ἀ-φθίτος, παν-α-πήμων, παν-αφ-ήλιξ. Yes, certainly; if the meaning be 'totally immortal,' 'totally free from sorrow.' But the meaning in this passage is different; it is 'not totally destroyed,' like Tennyson's 'not all-unhappy'; that is, 'partly preserved,' 'partly happy but partly unhappy': for the process of ταριχευσις, as Dr. Leaf has observed on H 85, is that of 'partial mummification,' that is, 'partial preservation.'

In short, the words in our line have been wrongly divided; and when we have restored ἀπαμφθαρτος to the Lexicon, it will follow that ἀπαμφθαρτος, which exists on the sole authority of this passage, must disappear from it.

J. U. POWELL.

AESCHYLUS, AGAMEMNON.

286 ff. ὑπερτελής τε, πόντον ὥστε νῶτισαι
ισχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονὴν
πέυκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὥς τις ἥλιος,
σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπαῖς.

THE verb required in place of the corrupt πέυκη is ἐπέυκτο. The tense of παραγγείλασα is then explained as no other suggested correction has explained it; and χρυσοφεγγές σέλας is better without the article preceding it. The form ἐπέυκτο does not occur elsewhere, but the simple form εὔκτο is cited from the *Thebais* (Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, p. 42). The resulting passage appears to me strikingly Aeschylean:

'And towering high to bridge the sea's broad span,
The giant courier-blaze made joyful boast
That ne'er had sun shot message-beam more bright
With golden glory to Makistus' towers.'

717 ff. ἔθρεψεν δὲ λέοντος ἱ-
νὺν δόμοις ἀγάλακτον οὐ-
τως ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον κ.τ.λ.

Conington's correction of λέοντα σῖνιν to λέοντος ἱνὺν is incomplete: the unsatisfactory words ἀγάλακτον οὕτως conceal the epithet of λέοντος, namely ἀγελακτόνου, and the remaining letters τως should be restored as τέως. The adjective ἀγελακτόνος, though not found, is correct in form, and has special point here as anticipating the phrase μηλοφόνουσι σὺν αἵταις, the respect in which the whelp subsequently displayed ἦθος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων. The adverb τέως, repeated and defined by ἐν βιότῳ προτελείοις, anticipates and contrasts with χρονισθεῖς δὲ at the opening of the antistrophe.

1169 ff. ἄκος δ'
οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν
τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχειν παθεῖν,
ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδω βαλῶ.

The MSS. vary between ἔχειν and ἔχει, but ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν is not tolerable Greek,

idiom demanding ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἔχει or παθεῖν ὥσπερ (or ἀπερ) ἔπαθε. The *lectio difficilior* ἔχειν conceals the first corruption in these two lines: it should be ἔχρων—'those sacrifices availed not to save my country from suffering even as I kept foretelling'—and provides the clue to the thought of the next line,

ἐγὼ δ' ἔθ' ὀρμαίνουσα γ' ἐμπέδω ματῶ.
(And I, whose vision still is sure, still warn in vain.)

With this reading there is a pathetic corroboration of Cassandra's plaint in the reply of the Chorus, who, while acknowledging the inspired source of her dismal prophecies, conclude the whole passage with τέρμα δ' ἀμχανῶ.

J. C. LAWSON.

EMENDATIONS OF XENOPHON'S HELLENICA.

II. iii. 56.

οὐκ ἀγνοῶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιώλογα.

THIS could only mean 'these things are trifling anecdotes,' but we evidently expect 'such anecdotes are trifling,' τοιαῦτα, which is better than ταῦτα <τὰ>, or at least more logical.

II. iv. 13:

καὶ τοὺς φιλάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπeseμαίνοντο.

No Greek would ever say τοὺς φιλάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων, nor can ἀπeseμαίνοντο mean 'proscribe,' but is regularly used of confiscating goods. Portus in a blundering way suggested τὰ φίλτατα, as if anybody would say τὰ φίλτατα τῶν ἡμετέρων for τὰ τιμιώτατα; but it is to his credit that he saw the text to be impossible. Read τοὺς φιλάτους <ὑβρίζον καὶ> τὰ ἡμέτερα: we can so account for the corruption better than Portus does, since when the gap had been made τὰ ἡμέτερα was obviously wrong and the next scribe accordingly corrupted it, and everybody knows that any words may drop out anywhere, but that τοὺς φιλάτους is a very unlikely corruption of τὰ φίλτατα unless some cause can be shown for it. Wytttenbach, proposing τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀπeseμαίνοντο καὶ τοὺς φιλάτους ἀπέκτεινον, gets much the same sense as I do but at greater expense, and ἀπέκτεινον is plainly the wrong idea. II. iii. 21, αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημῆσθαι: precisely; the thirty killed the men αὐτοὺς, but οἱ φίλτατοι would

be the objects of ὕβρις. Thuc. VII. 68, ἀνδράσι μὲν ἂν τάλγιστα προσέθεσαν παισὶ δὲ καὶ γυναιξὶ τὰ ἀπρεπέστατα.

I fancy that a good many words and phrases have dropped out from the text of the *Hellenica*; another instance seems pretty clear in this same chapter, 26, where read χαλεπῶς φερόντων <τῶν> ἱππέων.

III. iii. 5:

οὗτος δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ εἶδος νεανικὸς (so Naber for νεανίσκος) καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐρωστος.

But how can a man be νεανικὸς in appearance? Or if he might be said to look νεανικὸς when he was really older, what possible object could Xenophon have in putting in so irrelevant a remark? I think that εἶδος is a corruption of ἦθος, which may have first become ἦδος, as ἦθη became ἦδη in Theognis 667, and was then naturally changed to εἶδος. It is an obvious objection that ἦθος and ψυχὴ do not give a sufficient antithesis, but I think they do: 'he was spirited in character, resolute in will' (L. and S. s.v. ψυχὴ II. 3, and cf. εὐψυχος). If the antithesis were between appearance and mind, the word used would be σῶμα, not εἶδος. Cf. Plato, *Symposium*. 195 E, ἐν ἡθεσι καὶ ψυχαῖς.

IV. i. 39:

ὁ δὲ δεξιόμενος, φάλαρα ἔχοντος περὶ τῷ ἵππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως πάγκαλα, περιελὼν ἀντέδωκεν αὐτῷ.

This clumsy sentence has to mean that Agesilaus took away the trappings of the horse of Idaeus and gave them to the son of Pharnabazus as a return present. A cheap way of being generous! And what was 'Idaeus the painter' doing in the suite of the general, and why were his φάλαρα so beautiful? Was it because he had painted them himself? Yes, but they were not his own. Xenophon wrote ἔχων. Agesilaus had fine trappings on his own horse, adorned by this painter, and some sleepy scribe seeing a genitive coming along perverted ἔχων into agreement with it. Or perhaps ἔχων τὰ.

IV. iii. 5.

οἱ μὲν Θερταλοὶ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἱππομαχεῖν.

The Thessalians had been attacking the rear of Agesilaus, the latter had therefore massed his cavalry there to

keep them off, and the cavalry on both sides παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις. The Thes-salians accordingly would have to fight the horse, not the foot, who had no intention of entering into battle but only desired to march on unimpeded. Read τοῖς ὀπλίταις: the Thessalians did not like engaging the enemy in the neighbourhood of the hoplites.

IV. v. 14:

ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης ἀποδιῶσαι τοὺς προειρημένους.

Iphicrates λαβὼν τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρα. It is inconceivable that Xenophon should then immediately speak of these peltasts as τοὺς προειρημένους: of course he wrote τοὺς προσκειμένους. (προσφερομένους is perhaps also conceivable, but less good on every ground.)

V. iii. 7:

φημὶ ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν . . .

Cobet deletes οὖν, and plainly it is impossible to keep it; but the sense requires ἂν with παιδεύεσθαι. For confusion of ἂν with οὖν see Bywater in *J.P.* vol. xxxii, p. 227.

V. iv. 24:

ἔδοξεν αὐτῇ δὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι δίκην κριθῆναι.

Dindorf inserts ἡ before δίκην. This would mean that the case 'was most iniquitously decided in Sparta,' where the last two words are superfluous. The sense we want is 'this was the most iniquitous decision ever made in Sparta,' i.e. ἀδικωτάτη without ἡ; or if you keep ἡ, then τῶν must be added before ἐν. The former is obviously the better remedy.

V. iv. 58:

γενομένης δὲ τῆς κνήμης ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἀφορήτων.

This καὶ is itself intolerable; it is only a case of μ' being misread as κ'.

VI. iv. 32:

ὅποι δὲ ἀφίκοντο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν ταῖς πλείστας ἐτιμῶντο.

This very unsatisfactory sentence is due to somebody who did not understand the idiom ἐν τοῖς πλείστα.

VII. iv. 37:

ὥς δὲ πολλοὶ οἱ εἰργμένοι ἦσαν, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκπεπηδηκότες.

Clearly we want *μὲν* after the first *πολλοὶ*; clearly, too, we do not want *οἱ*. It seems then that a scribe wrote *οἱ* for *μὲν* by a species of dittographical blunder, much as Shelley wrote 'a dove chased by a dove' when he meant 'by a hawk.' (See the *Boat on the Serchio*).

ARTHUR PLATT.

HORACE, ODES I. VIII. 1-2.

THIS passage is one of a very few where, in preparing a new edition of Wickham's text for the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* in 1912, I departed from the reading which had approved itself to Wickham. In place of

Lydia, dic, per omnes

Te deos oro, Sybarin cur properes amando,

I followed Vollmer in introducing the very much better attested *hoc deos vere*. This latter is the reading of all the MSS. of what is, in my edition, called the *a* Group, and in that of Vollmer the *ⓐ* Group; and it has partial support from the *β* or *ⓑ* Group. I see no reason to depart from the principle which I laid down in my *Praefatio*, p. ix, that the *a* Group should always carry an authority much greater than that of the other stock of MSS. On the other hand, there are, as I pointed out, a number of passages where, quite certainly, the MSS. of the *a* Group have suffered interpolation, and where the truth is faithfully preserved in the *β* Group. The present passage is, as I now think, one of these. In 1912 I did not understand the origin of the variants here, and I doubt whether Vollmer did. Once their origin is perceived, the business of selecting between them is not a difficult one.

As is well known, Horace employs in this *Ode* a metre which is not illustrated by any of the extant remains of Greek lyric. Kiessling and others have supposed that he invented it. Wilamowitz, on the other hand, regards its employment by Horace as sufficient evidence that it was used by Sappho and Alcaeus (*Isyllus*, p. 133). A third view, and a very much older one, is that Horace supposed himself to be writing choriambic dimeters and tetrameters, but did not understand his metre. Until the dust of Egypt—as it may any day do—furnishes my refutation, I shall adhere to this third view. In doing so, I have the powerful support of Caesius Bassus, who was both a poet and a metrician. In the judgment of Quintilian, Bassus was the second lyric poet of Rome. He was also the author of a treatise upon metric of which a considerable fragment is preserved to us in Part I. of the *Ars* of Atilius Fortunatianus. Bassus (p. 270) begins by quoting the first two lines of our poem in the form in which they appear in the MSS. of the *β* Group—*te deos oro*, etc. 'Horace,' he proceeds, 'made only one attempt in this metre, exhibiting a laborious regularity in error which arose from his not knowing its real nature. Certainly his vagary is not a very charming one. By tampering

with one of the feet, he has produced a result which is harsh. If he had realised that he was dealing with a choriambic metre possessing a settled cadence, he would not have dropped into this rough effect. The first line is choriamb + antibacchius—*Lydia, dic per omnes*. The second, and longer, line consists of three choriamb with one antibacchius for its close. That is the pattern of the metre in Alcaeus, who had a very good knowledge of rhythmical effects. But Horace has produced a most ugly effect by making the last part of his first choriamb (in line 2) spondaic instead of iambic—*hoc deos oro* (hoc *AB*: *te ed. pr.*: oro *B* (?). *ed. pr.*: vere *A*). If he had done as Alcaeus does, he would have given us the rhythm of *hoc dea vere*.'

Now in this passage Bassus begins, as I say, by quoting lines 1-2 of our poem (in full) in the form which they have in the *β* Group; nor do his MSS., nor does the *ed. pr.*, offer there any variants. The variants, therefore, which I have noted at the end of the passage are most simply explained as due to the proximity of *hoc dea vere*. Bassus starts from *te deos oro*. He pronounces that metrically faulty. In order to make plain what the true metre is he remodels the line in such a way as to exhibit the metre with the least possible alteration of words and sense. If *te dea oro* would have served his turn, he would have given us that. But having changed *deos* to *dea*, he is involved in the consequential change *vere*, or the like, for *oro*. The further substitution of *hoc* for *te* is made, not *metri gratia*, but in order to yield a couplet more or less complete in sense (the sense of *per omnes* is, it is true, a little dim). This is the regular method of the Latin metricians, exemplified elsewhere in Bassus himself by

Maecenas atavis edite remigibus.

It yields in this passage two lines—

Te deos oro, Sybarin cur properes amando

Hoc dea vere, Sybarin cur properes amando,

of which it may be said that they have fared hand in hand down the centuries of grammatical learning. They appear first in Bassus. They are reproduced in two passages of Marius Victorinus, pp. 87, 166 (=Aphthonius: and the double citation, no doubt, indicates that Aphthonius was drawing upon two distinct sources). They reappear in Atilius Fortunatianus, p. 300. Though they are not found together in Diomedes, it is clear that Diomedes, pp. 120, 128, goes back ultimately to Bassus. It was impossible that these lines should stand side by side in the metrical handbooks for centuries without the *te deos oro* of the first becoming, by assimilation with the second, *hoc deos vere*. The assimilation is already completed in Marius Victorinus, although Atilius keeps *te deos oro*. I have little doubt that it is from the metrical handbooks, in particular those which treated specially the metres of Horace, that the Horatian MSS. of the *a* Group derive their *hoc deos vere*. They derive it, that is, from a line of Bassus which is no more Horatian than 'Postquam res Asiae desine Maenali' is Vergilian.

Bassus' rather sharp criticism of Horace suggests, I may be allowed to notice, interesting speculations. Is it merely that the second lyric of Rome is not prepared to take second place *lying down*? Or is Bassus the inheritor of a metrical tradition which was at loggerheads with the school of Horace? Varro is said (by those whose scholarship is in the fashion) to have been the 'source' of Bassus. It is unlikely that Varro criticised the *Odes* of Horace: he died in 28 B.C. But he may very well have been the enemy of the Augustan school of metric. If he preferred the Sapphics of Catullus to Sapphics constructed like those of Horace, most of us will sympathise with him. If he said that the new school did not understand how to write choriambics, he said what was very likely true. For my part, I feel obliged to say that I have yet to learn what lyric metre Horace did understand. His idea of a lyric line seems to be that it shall always have what in Greek it never has, the caesura characteristic of spoken or recited verse. If that was a principle of the new school, I can quite believe that Varro criticised it. It would be interesting to have a little more of this Varroian criticism: particularly if it came to us in Latin as good as that of Caesius Bassus.

H. W. GARROD.

HORACE, *EPP.* 1. 2. 30, 31.

Cui pulcrum fuit in medios dormire dies et
Ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.

A TOO familiar crux, on which the last word has probably been spoken long ago. And yet while I was reading the *Epistles* this morning after many years, there flashed upon me what I believe to be the truth.

Cessatum ducere curam is possible Latin; but the sons of Alcinous had no cares. *Curam* may have come in from *curanda* in 29.

The v. l. *somnum*, old as it is, is not only impossible but ridiculous. The Phaeacians were not dormice; they stayed awake to hear Odysseus, and are represented as leading a jolly life. Horace means to tell us that they turned day into night and night into day. Besides, nobody would order a *strepitus* to help him to go to sleep! So far from sleeping, they were dancing; compare *Ep.* 1. 14. 26.

What is the word displaced by *curam* and *somnum*? I am convinced that the word is *noctem*, which is almost required to balance *dies* in 30.

Bentley's *cessantem* is probably right. Compare *Ep.* 1. 15. 6, where, as here, it means not 'slow to come' but 'slow to go.' Or, quite possibly, it means 'an idle night': the word is a favourite with Horace.

W. R. INGE.

VIRGIL'S 'ECLOGUES': A METRICAL CLUE TO THE ORDER OF COMPOSITION.

IN an interesting article on 'A Metrical Peculiarity of the *Culex*' (*Classical Review*, Vol. XXXIII., August-September, 1919, pp. 95-7), Dr.

Warde Fowler calls attention to a characteristically Lucretian rhythm, in which the fifth foot of the hexameter commences with a monosyllabic word, whether or not preceded by a distinct pause. His arguments appear to prove that, with the gradual maturing of his artistic instinct, Virgil tended more and more to avoid this normally awkward movement. Consequently it may be of value to apply the metrical test to the disputed question of the order in which the *Eclogues* were composed. An examination of these yields the following undoubted instances: *Ecl.* I. none; II. 26, 37, 42, 53, 60; III. 1, 23, 40, 52, 88, 94; IV. 34, 56; V. 52, 80, 87 (quot. of III. 1); VI. 9, 80; VII. 21, 47; VIII. 7, 49 and 51 (cf. *Culex* 292), 103 (cf. II. 26); IX. 17, 33, 53, 60; X. 11 (cf. Theoc. I. 67).¹ Of these cases all but twelve are preceded by a distinct pause ('Bucolic Diaeresis'). The frequency of the rhythm in each poem can be indicated by the ratio, respectively, of the number of cases to the total number of lines, and the *Eclogues* can then be arranged in a diminishing series, which *ex hypothesi* should roughly correspond with the chronological order: II. (1/14.6), IX. (1/16.75), III. (1/18.5), VIII. (1/27.5), V. (1/30), IV. (1/31.5), VII. (1/35), VI. (1/43), X. (1/77), I. (no case).²

This computation is open to question. The characteristic feature of the rhythm, giving it a somewhat harsh effect, is the conflict of metrical ictus and word accent (e.g. *non ego Daphnim*, II. 26). This is absent in ten of the instances (II. 53, 60; III. 88; V. 52, 80; VI. 9; VIII. 49 and 51; IX. 33, 53), where we have the monosyllable followed by *quoque*, a word which has

¹ Exclusive of cases with enclitic *que* (I. 14, III. 68, VI. 21, VIII. 34, IX. 59), the last of which at least is counted by Dr. Warde Fowler. These are not pure instances, and the absence of a conflict of word accent and ictus has the effect of softening the harshness of the rhythm. The two cases of the elision of a dissyllabic word (VII. 7, IX. 51) are very doubtfully to be reckoned. If admitted, they would give an earlier position to VII. and IX.

² Cf. with the average ratio for the *Eclogues* (1/32.65)—*Culex* (1/20.7), Lucretius Bk. I. (1/34.87), *Georgics* (1/100.16), *Ciris* (1/108), Catullus LXIV. (1/204), *Aeneid* I.-VI. (1/135.8), on the same basis of calculation.

the value of an unstressed enclitic, throwing its accent back upon the monosyllable. Thus it may be advisable to omit these cases,¹ as, on different grounds, V. 87 and X. 11, the former as a quotation, the latter as a repetition of *nam néque* at the beginning of the line in conscious imitation of the original (*ἦ κατὰ Πηνειῷ καλὰ τέμπεα; ἦ κατὰ Πίνδω;*). On this revised basis of calculation we obtain as the order—III. (1/22·2), II. (1/24·3), IV. (1/31·5), IX. (1/33·5), VII. (1/35), VIII. (1/55), VI. (1/86), V., X., I. (no cases).²

Such a result may possibly be a matter of pure accident; but we must bear in mind the consciousness of Virgil's art, and the likelihood that he bestowed special care on his line endings. Consequently it appears that we have here, without laying undue stress on a test with so slender a basis, some indication of earliness or lateness in the case of poems *at either end of the scale*. We cannot of course rely on it to give us a much more accurate determination of order, as a poet's practice does not necessarily vary in a strict mathematical sense, and a poem's relative position would be considerably affected by the presence of one or two instances more or less.

It is with reference to the relative position of IX. and I. that this evidence seems chiefly valuable, and it is remarkable how the rest harmonise, whichever calculation we accept, with the place accorded them on other grounds, internal and external. Most authorities agree with placing II. and III. early and VI. and X. correspondingly late. X. (professedly the last: *cf.* l. 1) is perhaps fixed (l. 47) by Agrippa's expedition in 37 B.C., while the subject-matter of VI. transcends that of the pure pastoral. IV. seems definitely fixed by Pollio's consulship to 40 B.C. (middle of period), and VIII. by its preface to 39 B.C. The rough consistency of the order here obtained with the conclusions

from these and many other data lends some countenance to the view that the test is also right in assigning to IX. an earlier date than to I.

The tradition that Virgil, on the advice and through the advocacy of Pollio, obtained from Octavian himself at Rome the restitution of his farm, and that subsequently, owing to the change in the governorship of Transpadane Gaul, he found himself dispossessed, and barely escaped with his life, gives the suggestion of an attempt to account for events on the assumption that I. preceded IX. From this test it would appear that the truth was actually the reverse, though of course the question would have to be decided by other methods of proof. It is not in itself an unreasonable assumption that I. was written late, and prefixed as a preface to the whole collection in honour of the man whose supremacy was then acknowledged in the West (*circa* 37 B.C.), and to whom the poet owed a special debt of gratitude, whether or not, at the date of composition, the restoration of his lands was an accomplished fact.

An application of the same metrical test gives the following proportions in the several books of the *Georgics*³: I. 1/128·5, II. 1/67·75, III. 1/62·9, IV. 1/141·5. The average (1/100·16) is well below that of the *Eclogues*, and the number of instances is proportionately so small that it is doubtful if anything could be based on it. It should, however, be noted: (1) That the greater number of instances occur in II. and III., the more Lucretian and didactic books; (2) that they tend to occur in groups, these being usually typically Lucretian passages; while (3) in at least five cases (II. 82, 308, 321, 486; IV. 498) the rhythm is used with conscious purpose and effect.

ALEXANDER J. D. PORTEOUS.

MARTIAL IX. 21.

THIS is an epigram of similar argument to XII. 16 (*cf.* X. 31); property has been realised to find the means for

¹ As an example of the difference *cf.* the smoothness of *crudelis tú quoque máter* of VIII. 49 and 51 with the original *crudelis tú mágis Órphēu* (*Culex* 292).

² There appears to be a real anomaly here in the position of V., which is generally placed soon after II. and III. (II. 86-7).

³ The cases are: I. 29, 150, 356, 380; II. 20, 49, 82, 308, 321, 447, 458, 486; III. 8, 35, 42, 84, 176, 260, 416, 496, 499; IV. 84, 324, 418, 498.

amusements. In this case there has been less of a sale than an exchange—Calliodorus has given Artemidorus a slave-boy in return for an estate.

There is little point in the last line. 'Which of them scored? *Artemidorus amat, Calliodorus arat.*' Is not *amat* a correction by an over-ingenious copyist of an *arat* in the first half of the line also ('both are ploughmen now'), the word being used literally the second time and *in malam partem* the first time? Cf. Plautus *Truculentus* 150 'qui arari solent ad pueros ire melius.' S. GASELEE.

ΠΕΠΙΑΚΤΟΙ (ΘΤΡΑΙ).

IN *Georgics* III. 24, 'vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus,' what does Vergil mean by *discedere*? Surely he means 'open,' just as the earth opens in an earthquake (Cic. *De off.* III. 9, 'cum terra *discessisset* magnis quibusdam imbribus'), or the sky seems to open (Cic. *De Div.* I. 43, 97, 'cum caelum *discessione* visum est atque in eo animadversi globi'). 'The back-scene opens with a change of front,' by which the side previously hidden from the view of the audience becomes visible and *vice versa*. (Servius did not understand *discedat*, and so introduced the irrelevant remark about *scaena ductilis*.) Obviously there must have been a Greek expression for this arrangement: I suggest *πεπιακτοὶ θύραι*, doors revolving on a centre. This supports Professor Exon's view (*Hermathena* XI. 1901, p. 132), and explains the Scholion on *Eumenides* 64. In the next edition of Professor Flickinger's *Greek Theater and its Drama* he might well alter the note on p. 298 (in which the conventional interpretation of Vitruvius is given), and boldly label the arrangement, lucidly explained on p. 285 and shown in Fig. 74, as *πεπιακτοὶ*. We may then without hesitation apply the term to the fifth-century Attic stage.

I submit (a) that Plutarch (*Mor.* 348E) does not necessarily imply that *μηχανή* is the substantive to be supplied, and that Vitruvius (V. 6. 8) is rather against it; (b) that as more doors were pierced in the back scene, the triangular arrangement came to be introduced, and *tableaux* were no longer exhibited in the manner of the fifth century. Now, we can give its full value to Vitruvius' statement (VII. *Praef.* 10), 'namque primum Agatharchus Athenis, Aeschylus docente tragoediam, scenam fecit.' The two surfaces of canvas or wood supplied a

large area for scene-painting. It may well be that Agatharchus first produced something of the sort for the *Oresteia*, the last production of Aeschylus on the Athenian stage, and went on improving his work of collaboration with Sophocles between 458 and 441, the date of the production of the *Antigone*. This would explain Aristotle's attribution of *σκηνογραφία* to Sophocles (*Poetics*, 1449a 18).

G. C. RICHARDS.

ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS.

HAPPENING to visit the public museum at Exeter, I found an Etruscan inscription there which appears to be unpublished. It is on a patera of *bucchero* ware. The part which runs round the rim reads:

θανιασειαντι : tutnafecherinisa : ḥ.

As the circle of letters is complete, the last *ḥ* might be intended to stand before *θανια*. It appears to be the initial of *śuthina*, a derivative of *śuthi* 'tomb,' often inscribed upon objects intended to be buried with the deceased. *tutna* is for *tutnal*, and the translation is: 'Thania Seianti: Tutnai's daughter, Herini's wife: for her tomb.'

It happens that this lady's epitaph is extant as follows:

θανια : seiанти : tutnal : ḥec : herinisa

(Fabretti, *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum*, 705, and Paulli, *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, 2757): it was found near Chiusi.

The second part of the inscription at Exeter is written across the face of the patera:

atehctnet

I believe that the first three letters are a complete word equivalent to *viduus* (cp. *atiu* 'a widow'), and that the fourth is the initial of *herini*, the husband's name. Other abbreviations follow, I think.

The whole inscription was produced with a stylus or similar instrument, and the reading is quite certain. The writing is throughout retrograde.

W. MADELEY.

REVIEWS

GRECO-ROMAN AND ARABIC BRONZE INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR MEDICO-SURGICAL USE.

Greco-Roman and Arabic Bronze Instruments and their Medico-Surgical Use.
By S. HOLTH, M.D. Pp. 19, four plates, and five figures in text. Christiania, 1919. (Written in English.)

WE are wont to reflect upon the prodigious advance that would have been made by the Greeks had they but possessed adequate instruments for discovery. Well, this is not quite so simple a proposition as it looks. Instruments are both cause and consequence of discovery. The term A in a series enables the artificer to make a certain instrument which carries the observer on to term B. But term A was itself the apex of a cone of previous causes. Thus the experimental method engenders its own instruments. The Ionians had not time enough to develop more than the simplest scientific instruments, nor to train competent artificers; later, in Alexandria, many valuable instruments were manufactured, but step by step, as discovery originated them, and as more time and more settled institutions favoured their production.

In Hippocratic times surgical instruments were designed and used more efficiently than we commonly suppose. The period culminating in Hippocrates must have been far longer than is generally realised. We are apt to speak of Hippocrates as an insurgent genius springing as it were full-grown out of the brain of a rudimentary age. A genius he was no doubt, but must also have been the child of a long period of medical practice, and ripe experience, of which we know nothing, literally nothing! But strong men lived before Hippocrates: the surgery of the fifth century, and such masterly treatises as *The Aphorisms*, *Ancient Medicine*, *First and Third Epidemics*, *Airs, Waters and Places*, *On the Joints*, and *On Fractures*, must assuredly have been the outcome of a long gestation of earlier tradition and experience. We may speak of that time as the lost school: medically pre-

historic. And yet it must have had some written documents and records, at any rate in its later time, and some implements.

Here the excavator may bring a little light to the literary student. By an unearthing of ancient surgical instruments the lost prehistoric school may yet be revealed more or less. There is no reason why bronze surgical instruments of pre-Hippocratic age should not be found, but so far as I know none of those yet discovered can claim any such antiquity; at any rate so far as Aegean civilisation is concerned. Mr. Thompson also, the courteous curator of the Wellcome Museum, tells me that no pre-Hippocratic surgical instruments have been found. He describes an engraving on marble of a forceps, a scalpel, and cupping vessels which may date from 100 B.C., but none exists that can be definitely dated as before our era.

Howbeit our present business is with Dr. Holth's Essay on a certain collection of surgical instruments of Greco-Roman and Arabian origin, found chiefly in Syria and Palestine between 1872 and 1890 by Baron Ustinov. Some came from Ascalon, others from Gaza, Caesarea, and Palmyra. All these are, of course, far from pre-Hippocratic. As most of the instruments from Greek to Byzantine times were of the same general forms, identification of period must be chiefly by incidental characters and circumstances. Concerning a certain spatula, Dr. Holth says that it is made of brass. Though metallic zinc was unknown to the early Mediterranean peoples, yet they did make brass, by melting copper ores with calamine stone—a zinc ore. A few of the Pompeian scalpel handles are also of brass (25 per cent. zinc, 75 per cent. copper). According to Mommsen (quoted Holth), the zinc bronzes came up during the Roman Empire. But the workmanship of this spatula is of later date. The decoration of some of these spatulas has rather an

Oriental than a Greco-Roman character. Silver also was used in Greco-Roman times for surgical instruments, and even gold; but these ornaments were evidently for very fashionable doctors. Instruments of steel—for no doubt fine steel was made with charcoal and the richest iron ores, then more accessible—have in great part perished by oxydation; the bronzes have survived. Of these large numbers are to be found in such collections as in the Naples Museum. Mr. Wellcome's Museum in Wigmore Street contains a fine and various collection. Mr. Milne's book remains still our standard work on the subject.¹

In Greco-Roman times surgical instruments were so various, effectual, and refined in workmanship as to prove that surgery had then become a very accomplished art; but illustrations of this conclusion are hardly appropriate for these pages. Of Arabian surgical instruments little is known; few specimens seem to have found their way into public collections.

Among the instruments described by Dr. Holth, I may speak of one which resembles a netter's needle, although the forks are at right angles to each other. It is said that this opposition is more convenient for winding on the thread, and was customary in ancient times. Such an instrument, in a particular collection of surgical implements, Dr. Milne thought had drifted there by chance; but, as this association has been found several times again, Dr. Holth plausibly suggests that such needles were used as handy reels or spools on which to keep sutures neatly arranged. There are two or three of these in the Wellcome Museum. Holth describes a steelyard also which he carefully examined.² On the stem of one instrument is a measure scale of transverse lines which 'signifies that a surgeon in Ascalon'—of Hellenic or Roman period?—'practically used a millimeter scale at least one millennium and a half before the invention of the metrical system.'

CLIFFORD ALLBUTT.

THE AGAMEMNON OF AESCHYLUS.

The Agamemnon of Aeschylus. Translated by RUSHWORTH KENNARD DAVIS. Oxford: Blackwell, 1919. 4s. 6d net.

The Agamemnon of Aeschylus. Translated by GILBERT MURRAY. London: Allen and Unwin, 1920.

THESE are not likely to be the last renderings of the *Agamemnon* in English verse. It is such a marvellous poem that anyone who really appreciates it feels tempted to convey his appreciation of it to those unable to read it in Greek.

Both these renderings are of course scholarly, and are agreeable to read. Professor Davis is perhaps the more conscientious translator. Professor Murray has chosen that rhymed verse which he writes with peculiar charm. Professor Davis writes in dignified blank

verse. As regards the choruses, such an essential part of the play, the form of verse adopted seems equally good in both cases.

I add a few notes on particular points:

V. 50 (Wecklein). We should, I think, adopt Headlam's admirable emendation ὑπατηλέχεων, 'with their nest on the hills'; for ὑπατοί λεχέων cannot mean 'above their nests.' It follows that in v. 55 ὑπατος κ.τ.λ. means here not 'a god on high,' but 'a god who has his sanctuary on the hill,' and whose guests (μέτοικοι) the vultures who nested near him are.

V. 299. Murray is quite right in adopting Ahren's emendation ἰχθύς for ἰσχύς. He should have added in a note that Aeschylus was thinking of fishing by torchlight, a form of fishing still so much practised here. The fish come up λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν, and you spear them—burning the water they used to

¹ See also Harmonic, Dr. P.: *La Chir. et la Méd. d'autrefois d'après une prem. Sér. d'Instruments* (of his own). Paris (1900), and Gurlt's *Hist. of Surgery*.

² There is such a steelyard in the Museum at Chester.

call it in Scotland when practised by salmon poachers.

V. 421. In this very difficult and corrupt passage the scholiast gives us the hint that we should seek some reference, not only to the abandoned husband, but to the members of the household who have lost their mistress. I don't understand Murray's rendering, 'And thou, thou, what art thou?' We are obliged to accept for the sake of the metre Hermann's *ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους*, and who can they be but Helen's handmaidens? They have, if we accept *ἄδιστα* for *ἄδιστος*, abandoned their sweetest tasks, and the *φάσμα* *δόξει* *δόμων* *ἀνάσσειν* is more appropriate to them than to Menelaus, who at least was still lord of his house. The important corruption lies, I think, in *σιγᾶς*.

V. 566. Here, I think, we must suppose that something is missing after *κατεψέκαζον*. The words *ἔμπεδον σίνος ἐσθημάτων τιθέντες ἔνθηρον τρίχα* contain a very clear and quite Aeschylean characterisation of the two varieties of louse which infest men, the *Pediculus vestimenti* and the *Pediculus capitis*—if I may be allowed to quote my own rendering, 'the creeping plague that to its lair in the clothing clings and houses in the hair,' and they cannot in any way be connected with the words that precede them in our text. No one ever maintained that vermin are due to damp.

V. 647, *διπλῇ μάστιγι*. I cannot agree with Murray's note on this. It appears to me that the double scourge of war is bondage and death, the former of which

was in antiquity almost as terrible as the latter.

Vv. 965-1000. There is no question of jettisoning cargo, as both renderings suggest. We know what *σφενδόνη* means. It is a machine (a crane or derrick for loading or unloading). The advice is 'do not overload' not 'lighten your ship when in danger.' There is a good deal of difference.

V. 1077. I suggest. *ἀνδροσφαγέϊον, παιδιορραντήριον*, as *πεδορρ.* does not seem to mean anything.

Vv. 1097-1098, *προτείνει δὲ χεὶρ ἐκ χερὸς ὀρεγομένα*. It is exactly the action of knitting or netting. She sees Clytemnestra doing this before she sees the actual net, the *ἀμφίβληστρον* which played so great a part in the murder. It does not, of course, imply that the queen made the net herself.

V. 1171. Little can be made of *θερμόνους*. I suggested *θαίμόπνους* which is not a violent change and gives good sense.

V. 1448. The same applies to *εὐνῆς*. In the appendix to my own rendering I suggest *συνθνής*, the only objection to which is that the word is unknown. It is, however, a perfectly possible word, and gives excellent sense. That it is not included in lexica would imply only that the corruption was very early.

Mr. Davis unfortunately is dead. It is to be hoped that Mr. Murray will render the whole trilogy, or at least the *Choephorae*—a very fine play.

W. R. PATON.

A HISTORY OF GREEK PUBLIC FINANCE.

Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσίας Οἰκονομίας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ βασιλείου.
By A. M. ANDREADES. Large 8vo.
One volume. Pp. xii + 624. Athens :
Raphthanis, 1918. 18 drachmas.

THE contents of this book are not quite in accord with their title. They carry us no further than the Byzantine age, and they do not provide a complete survey of the classical period. As Professor Andreades explains in his Preface, exigencies of space compelled

him to omit the less distinctive phases of Greek finance in order that he might give adequate attention to its most characteristic types; and we are told that the deficiencies will be made up in a forthcoming separate publication. Thus we may live in hopes; but meantime we cannot help regretting some of the lacunae in the volume before us. The finances of Ptolemaic Egypt and of the temples at Delphi and Delos are not mere variations of normal πόλις finance, and as our information on these topics is unusually complete, we

may wonder that not a line of space was found for them. Again, part at least of the fifty pages which are devoted to an excellent but irrelevant bibliography of Byzantine studies in general might have been given to a survey of Roman imperial finance, some knowledge of which is indispensable to a student of Byzantine finance. Therefore we draw from the present volume the same first impressions as from an ancient Greek statue: we miss a nose and two arms.

But second impressions will show that the author is a master of his craft. Professor Andreades is thoroughly at home in the special literature on Greek finance, but he never lets his erudition spoil his sense of proportion, and he understands how to show Greek economics in their proper perspective by comparing them with those of later ages. His judgment on controversial topics is studiously sane and well balanced, and his style has the characteristic lucidity of modern Greek scholarship.

A few words of comment are required on each of his principal chapters.

(1) *The Homeric Age*.—A comparison between this age and that of the Crusades is now becoming canonical, and Professor Andreades uses it to good advantage. This analogy enables him to set off the characteristic weakness of the Homeric kings' finance, viz. its 'παρσιτία' or reliance on 'benevolences' and the 'fruits of victory.' But the same analogy should have saved him from describing the Homeric armies as more 'national' than those of to-day.

(2) *Sparta*.—Professor Andreades follows Aristotle and others in fastening upon φιλοχρηματία as the predominant feature in Spartan character, and exposes ruthlessly the Spartans' lack of financial patriotism. In one instance the charge is pressed too far. Though Sparta was ill-disposed to finance long wars, she was not 'always unready': more than once she half won a campaign by superior rapidity in mobilisation. The statement that the contributions required of the individual Spartans to their συσσιτία were unduly heavy also needs qualification. No doubt absen-

teeism, especially in war-time, had the effect of reducing the output of the Spartan κλήροι to an inadequate amount, but the κλήροι were probably quite large enough to provide ample subsistence for a family under any rational system of cultivation. On the Spartan pacts with Persia Professor Andreades speaks with wholesome emphasis; as he rightly observes, of all the Greeks who cadged for Persian gold the Spartans were the most guilty, for they set the example to the rest.

(3) *City-State Finance in General*.—

Some of the statements in this chapter invite criticism. All Englishmen, and some students of Athenian and Roman history, will quarrel with the assertion that the 'liberty of the individual' was discovered by the French Revolution. And present-day taxpayers will scarcely admit that the modern state is burdened with fewer services than the Greek πόλις. Our expenses on the score of education, health, and the maintenance of regular fighting forces would hardly figure at all in a normal Greek budget, and the outlay of ancient states on 'panis et circenses' is roughly balanced by our Poor Law expenses. But the author is eminently successful in characterising city-state finance as a whole. He shows convincingly that the economic conditions of Greek life necessitated certain fiscal virtues, and that the Greeks accordingly steered clear of mercantilist and protectionist fallacies, and refrained from cheap and easy depreciations of currency. On the other hand, they lost large sums by relying on private tax-collectors; they fought shy of direct taxation; they seldom laid up reserves; in the absence of public credit they could not meet sudden calls for money by borrowing, but had recourse to expedients which often were no better than barefaced robbery.

(4) *Athens*.—This section contains a number of valuable new points. In fixing the date of the first appearance of εἰσφορά Professor Andreades draws an apt comparison with the history of the British Income Tax. He throws fresh light on the building policy of Pericles by suggesting that the glut of labour for which this policy was a remedy was

due to demobilisation after the Persian wars. The dates of Pericles' public works, and also of his cleruchies, show that this glut did not set in till about 450 B.C. The author also withholds the conventional admiration from Demosthenes' reform of the trierarchic liturgy, pointing out that his was but a half-measure: he might have added that the reform bore very heavily on the Three Hundred, who were also liable to *προεισφορά*.

Though Professor Andreades admits that Athenian finance was superior to that of other Greek states, he quotes with approval a saying of Gladstone's that Athens was ruined by bad finance. Here he overshoots the mark, for Athens was never ruined except in the sense that she failed to set up any permanent empire, and the primary cause of this failure certainly lay in faulty policy rather than in bad finance. He also appears to overrate the magnitude of the evil wrought by the *θεωρικόν* and

μισθός. No doubt the *θεωρικόν* was sheer waste, and the recipients of *μισθός* were far too numerous; but Professor Andreades' own figures show that the swollen military budgets which Athens drew up even in times of peace required retrenchment even more urgently. Conversely the author hardly gives the Athenians enough credit for their exemplary methods of accounting, or for the success of their general financial administration in the third and second centuries, as revealed by the researches of the American scholars, Professors Ferguson and Johnson.

But carping criticisms like these cannot detract perceptibly from the value of Professor Andreades' work. His book is not only informing—most treatises on finance suffer from an excess of this virtue—but stimulating and thought-compelling; and in spite of its deficiencies it gives one of the best general descriptions of ancient Greek finance.

M. CARY.

LES CULTES PAIENS DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN.

Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain.

Première Partie, les Provinces Latines. Tome III.—Les Cultes Indigènes Nationaux et Locaux: Afrique du Nord, Péninsule Ibérique, Gaule. By J. TOUTAIN. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1920.

THE present volume of 470 pages advances a stage the great work which Dr. Toutain has in hand of surveying the pagan religions of the Roman Empire. It will be remembered that the first volume, published in 1907, dealt with the official cults and the Roman and Greco-Roman cults in the Latin provinces, while in the second, published in 1911, the author treated of the Oriental cults and their diffusion within the same limits. In this third volume Dr. Toutain, still confining himself to the Latin provinces, has begun the treatment of the indigenous cults—the native cults, that is, which existed before the period of Roman domination and lasted on into it. The first half of this volume, containing North Africa and Iberia, was published

separately in 1917. Now with the addition of Gaul it is completed, but it will require at least one more volume to finish the indigenous cults of the Latin provinces, and so, presumably, to bring to an end the first part of the work.

Dr. Toutain's is a stupendous task, and he is much to be congratulated that, in spite of all the difficulties of the war-period, he has been able to issue this substantial contribution towards its completion. The range of his inquiry is vast and the detailed investigation involved enormous. Few scholars would be competent to criticise the work in detail, and I cannot attempt to do more than indicate its plan and the kind of interest which will be found in it as a book of reference or—for it is far more than a book of reference—in a continuous reading.

The same methodical treatment of the subject is pursued to which we have become accustomed in the earlier volumes. Taking each province in turn, Dr. Toutain treats successively of the various divinities worshipped, the character of the sanctuaries, the nature

of rites and offerings, the geographical and social diffusion of the cults, and their duration under the Roman Empire. This procedure has the advantage of uniformity, but it tends to obscure a little the striking features of the individual provinces. For instance, most readers of the present volume would say that the interest in Gaul lay in the character of the barbaric and semi-anthropomorphic deities worshipped, in Africa in the strangeness of some of the rites, and in Iberia perhaps in the diffusion of the cults in different parts of the provinces. Dr. Toutain gives us little indication of this, but leaves us to work it out for ourselves. Somewhat similar is his treatment of disputed points; his caution almost amounts to timidity, as, for instance, in the interesting discussion (pp. 226 ff.) whether the symbols found in representations of the mysterious 'God of the Mallet' in Gaul are to be interpreted allegorically or realistically. No one could pronounce with such authority as Dr. Toutain himself, and it is rather tantalising when he refrains.

The outcome of this intensely methodical and cautious procedure is a certain dryness of result: the salient points are hardly brought out enough, and we miss anything of the character of a general summary to guide us in the consideration of details—perhaps this will come at the end of the new volume. Nevertheless, certain points emerge which are of great interest for the study both of the religions of the provinces and of the character of the Roman imperial rule.

In the first place the duration of these indigenous cults and their continued popularity under the Roman government is very remarkable. Apart from the suppression of such practices as that of human sacrifice, Rome seems to have preserved a complete indifference to the indigenous cults. She neither participated in them—in each case the records of Roman worshippers are negligible—nor did she molest them. Crowds of native worshippers seem to have visited the shrines, performed the rites and left their offerings, while Rome stood aside. Religious toleration and neutrality were uniformly observed.

Secondly, though in the more

Romanised parts of the provinces the native deities were often assimilated to Greco-Roman gods either in name or in representation or in both, yet they were never merged in character: they always remain distinguishable by an epithet or a symbol. Sometimes, too, the identification seems purely arbitrary—as though the worshippers just sought a Roman name for their god without much thought of appropriateness. Thus it is odd to find that the Gaulish 'Jupiter' has a wheel for his emblem, and is a solar deity in character, while their 'Apollo' has nothing to do with the sun, but is god of thermal springs and a healer. This is very unlike the systematic assimilation which the Romans made of their own deities to those of Greece, and looks again as if Romans were indifferent, and the attempted assimilation came from the side of ignorant natives.

Thirdly, no reader can fail to be struck by the extremely primitive character of some of the surviving cults. In Gaul one deity is beast-headed, representing a half-completed emergence into anthropomorphism; another is tricephalous, representing, so Dr. Toutain thinks, a syncretism of three once independent divinities. Others have strange offerings, small animals and birds in Africa, whose bones were preserved in vases, and votive axes in Gaul (possibly an early form of currency). Their sanctuaries are rarely buildings, but usually enclosures—sometimes on mountain-tops, or at the sources of rivers; not infrequently caverns, and even the flat open sides of cliffs were sacred places. All this seems to show the tenacity of popular beliefs beneath a superficial culture, and this is strongly borne out when, as in Gaul, we find these strange old deities still persisting in easily recognised forms: it is not hard to see the *Fatae* and *Matrae* (notice the barbaric forms) in the *fées* and *martes* of French folklore to-day.

There are many more generalisations the reader can make for himself, and meanwhile all students of comparative religion must be grateful to Dr. Toutain for his collection and cautious sifting of the material. It is of peculiar interest

to English readers to know that the next volume will begin with a survey of the native cults of Britain. We shall

look forward to it eagerly. Is it too much to ask that it shall be provided with a good index? C. BAILEY.

LATE LATIN.

Vitae Patrum: kritische Untersuchungen über Text, Syntax und Wortschatz der spätlateinischer Vitae Patrum (B. III., V., VI., VII.) von Dr. A. H. SALONIUS. Pp. xi+456. Lund, 1920. (Acta Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis II.)

IN 1912, writing a report on Plautine literature of the five preceding years, I found that the most valuable contribution had come from a student of Late Latin, Dr. Einar Löfstedt. He rescued from 'emenders' many an anticipation by Plautus of the phrases and constructions which passed from Latin into the Romance languages. He made us see in Plautus the fountain-source of Romance idiom. To anyone interested in tracing the course of spoken Latin from 200 B.C. to 600 A.D. I would suggest that Plautus' prosody too reveals the origin of Romance forms. *Ad-illam vallem* is the precursor of Italian 'alla valle,' *meum patrem* of French 'mon père,' as is shown in detail in my (forthcoming) 'Early Latin Verse.' Who will investigate the prosody of Comedian in the light of Plautine prosody on the one hand and Romance forms on the other? Literary Latin, the artificial language of Virgil's epic or Cicero's prose, has not so much fascination as the Latin of actual speech.

Löfstedt became a professor at Lund University, where his lectures have recruited and equipped a band of researchers. Dr. Salenius, a Finn, ascribes to Löfstedt's notes on the *Peregrinatio Aethiopiae* the impulse to the book under review, a report on the Latinity of a collection of Lives of Saints, etc., usually called the *Vitae Patrum*, but more correctly the *Verba Seniorum*.

To give details would probably not interest readers of the *Classical Review*, for Latin scholarship in this country seems to choose by some perverse habit to make itself barren by restricting itself severely to a path which once offered

glorious prospects, but not now—the path of conjectural emendation. To thresh old straw, to re-edit and re-edit the text of Propertius and Catullus and Ovid, with no new materials and no new clue, to fill the pages of learned journals with dogmatic (and eristic) divination, that can lead to nothing but vanity and vanity's sequel—vexation of spirit. Can we wonder that so many University lecturers and school-teachers, if they publish anything at all, are content with books for schoolboys or articles which do not rise above the level of the *Times Literary Supplement*?

Anyone who read the Presidential Address to the British Academy last year will know that the International Academies contemplate a re-edition of Ducange. That will be partly a task for historians and jurists; and in the fields of history and law England can be trusted to play her part. But Latinists too will have a share. The great Latin *Thesaurus* of Germany includes the Latin of the Republic and Empire till 600 A.D. The publications of Professor Löfstedt and his pupils suggest that to Scandinavia might be allotted the collection of the vocabulary of authors of the seventh century, although the services of a Swiss, Professor Niedermann of Bâle, to our knowledge of late Latinity must not be forgotten, and the model for all such studies came from France, the late Professor Bonnet's *Grégoire de Tours*. But there is an important work for English Latinists. Ducange got the framework of his *Lexicon* from seventh (and eighth) century glossaries. He used inferior MSS. and had not the remotest idea of what these glossaries actually were or how related to each other. Correct editions of the leading glossaries, especially of the seventh century, are a necessary preliminary to a re-edition of Ducange. And this naturally falls to England. For it is England's oldest dictionary, the *Corpus Glossary* (soon to

be published by the Cambridge University Press), which gives the key to glossary compilation. And it is recent articles in the *Classical Review*, the *Classical Quarterly*, the *Journal of Philology*, etc., which have for the first time made possible the editing of glossaries in correct and intelligible form.

If I could get half a dozen more helpers I could guarantee the publication of all the leading seventh (and

eighth) century glossaries in a year or a couple of years. Will volunteers please write to me? No profound knowledge of Latin (Early or Late) is needed, but only common-sense, patience, and access to a library which contains such books as Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. But I do not wish volunteers from the 'quitter' tribe, who put their hand to the plough and then look back.

W. M. LINDSAY.

GIULIANO L'APOSTATO.

Giuliano l'Apostato. Saggio critico con le operette politiche e satiriche, tradotte e commentate. One volume. Pp. 398, with Index. By A. ROSTAGNI. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1920. L. 28.

THIS work, which forms the twelfth volume of *Il pensiero Greco*, edited by the Brothers Bocca, of Turin, is a careful, searching, and sympathetic study of the Emperor Julian, in relation to his objects and his environment. The author has availed himself of the voluminous literature on Julian which has appeared within the last eighty years, especially Mücke, Allard, Talbot, Negri, Seck, Bury's *Gibbon*, etc., down to Mr. Wright's translation and notes in the Loeb Library.¹ As the text of Hertlein is generally considered adequate, and Neumann's restoration of the *Contra Christianos* is not called in question (and, except the letters in the Mavrogordato Library, there do not seem to have been many new MS. discoveries), the author does not find it necessary to devote attention to textual criticism. His work is a good piece of literary and psychological history, based both on these works of Julian which he presents in a very readable Italian translation, and on the larger number to which, without translation, he constantly refers.

Julian's active life, as military commander and reforming administrator, in

Gaul, Constantinople, and the East, is only considered incidentally. The reader would like to know more of Signor Rostagni's opinions on this department of Julian's activities, and also, perhaps, what he thinks of Julian's attitude to the Mystery Religions, on which so much material has lately come to light, and of the philosophical sects with which the Emperor had to do (especially Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Cynics). But the author generally gives the impression that he knows much more of everything to do with Julian and his contemporaries than he could comprise in this volume.

The part entitled *Critical Essay on Julian as Man and Writer* constitutes about a third of the book. The second part consists of translations of the *Letter to Themistius*, the *Letter to the Athenians*, *The Caesars*, the *Misopogon*, and the writings *Against the Christians*. There follows an Appendix containing an interesting discussion of the influence of Mardonius on Julian (whose mutual intercourse Rostagni would extend over a longer period than that commonly assigned), and an inquiry into the date of the *Letter to Themistius*. This last point is of importance to the author's view of Julian and his development. Themistius had exhorted Julian to accept the rôle of a philosopher-king; Julian felt unequal to the part, and preferred to abide by philosophy. This was, Rostagni thinks, in 335, in the early days of Julian's Caesarship in Gaul. Before the second possible occasion, that is 361, after the soldiers had proclaimed Julian Emperor, he had felt that for him the die was cast,

¹ He corrects what he considers an error due to false punctuation by which Mr. Wright would make Oribasius rather than Euhemerus Julian's librarian in Gaul (*Letter to Athenians*, 277). But the point, even after reference to Eunapius, *Maximus* 96, is not entirely clear.

and that he was under a divine mandate to restore the ancient piety. The author considers that fundamentally Julian was a theorist, not a man of action.¹ In fact, he would seem to endorse Strauss's verdict on Julian (though he does not quote it) as a *Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cäsaren*. This seems hardly fair. Julian's last campaign was a failure, his attempt to restore polytheism a yet more evident one; yet his work in Gaul seems to have been effectual for some time, he had plans but not time to do much in Constantinople, and even his policy in identifying religious offices with humane obligations may have had some after-effect.

Julian's age, as Rostagni shows, was one in which the higher culture was dissociated from practical life. As he would put it, Art (including letters) and Science (or serious investigation of truth) were at variance. This Julian could not see. He would have forbidden Christians to teach Homer and the other classics, because he did

not realise that neither to pagan nor to Christian scholars did ancient literature supply principles for thought and life. To the adherents alike of the old and of the new religion, the classical writings were esteemed for their wording and general form, not for their intellectual and moral worth. This amounts to saying that the time was one of decadence, and in such a time, Rostagni says, there is only one form of living literary art—the satire. This art was effectively practised by Julian himself and by his bitterest opponent—Gregory Nazianzen. Of Julian's works selected for translation two are satires—*The Misopogon* and *The Caesars*. Most modern readers would prefer the latter, and find the coarseness of the former repulsive in spite of the impressive story of the would-be magnificent festival, at which the Emperor found in attendance only one priest with one goose. Whether satire belongs specially to times of decadence is a disputable point. But the suggestion is worth consideration.

¹ *Non aveva il genio del uomo politico.*

ALICE GARDNER.

ZAGREUS, STUDI SULL' ORFISMO.

Zagreus, Studi sull' Orfismo. By VITTORIO MACCHIORO. Pp. 269. Bari (Laterza e figli). 1920.

THE first two studies contained in this volume consist of a discussion of the remarkable series of frescoes discovered in the 'Villa Item' at Pompeii in 1909, and first published by de Petra in the following year in *Notizie dei Scavi*, p. 139 ff. The series was fully discussed by Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. III. (1913), where there is a much better outline reproduction of the frescoes than that given by Signor Macchioro, as well as photographs of some of the scenes. Signor Macchioro divides some of the scenes somewhat differently from his predecessors, and interprets them as representing the successive stages of one ritual performance; but in most points his exposition is not very different from that of Miss Cooke. He regards, however, the room in which they were

found, not as a triclinium, but as a 'hall of initiation,' and the whole building in which they were found as a private Orphic *bakcheion*; the ritual represented in the scenes is that which was performed in the hall—a secret ritual performed by women in daylight, like the Bacchanalia described by Livy (XXXIX. 13). Space does not allow a detailed discussion of the interpretation offered, but though it can hardly be doubted that the ritual is that of a Dionysiac initiation, the author is least convincing when he tries to connect it specifically with the worship of Zagreus. The scene which presents, as Miss Cooke says, 'a group of women engaged in a libation or lustration,' can hardly be, as the author thinks, a common feast or *agapé*, and it is scarcely legitimate to transfer the name *agapé* from Christian to Dionysiac worship. Still less is there any suggestion of such a sacramental feast as that of the Zagreus-mysteries. In the scene which

succeeds this, the author sees (among other figures) a female satyr giving the breast to the fawn; he interprets the fawn as representing the infant Dionysus, and so the 'new-born' neophyte, identified with the God; and he refers to the Orphic formula *ἐριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπειτον*: but even if his reading of the scene is correct (and it seems doubtful) the Orphic formula cannot refer to feeding at the breast. The old satyr who is present is interpreted as Silenus, the priest and educator of the infant God. (It does not seem to be quite certain that he really belongs to this scene.) In connexion with the next scene, which the author, like Miss Cooke, regards a scene of *λεκανομαντεία* (and this seems certain), he lays stress on the importance of the concave or distorting mirror (here used for divination) as one of the objects by which the infant Zagreus was lured to destruction, and as, in consequence, a symbol of the passion of the God, whose significance was as unmistakable for Orphics as that of the Cross for Christians. Here (as in some other places) his point seems to be insufficiently supported by evidence. Indeed, he does not convince us that the scenes have anything to do with Zagreus or with Orphism at all. The whole subject of Orphism and of Zagreus-worship seems to need a fresh study, in which the evidence which refers to Zagreus expressly is carefully distinguished from that which refers to Dionysus *simpliciter*, and that which has certainly a reference to Orphic rites or beliefs from that which is only conjectured to do so; and above all we need a very critical treatment of such late writers as Hippolytus, Firmicus Maternus, and Nonnus, if they are to be used as evidence of the content of 'Orphism,' or of the character of Dionysiac and other mystic rites in times long before they themselves wrote. The volume before us, though full of interesting suggestions, does not appear to be sufficiently critical in these respects.

The first two studies contain interesting discussions of other mystic 'properties' besides the mirror—*e.g.* of the plinth or oblong block (sometimes two or more) on which so many of the figures stand or sit in this and other re-

presentations of ritual (though the explanation of this by the *ἀγέλαστος πέτρα* seems almost wild); of the *sindon* or mystic robe, the cap worn by some of the officiants, and the dark stripe on the edge of the robe; as well as of a number of ritual acts.

The third study is mainly devoted to a discussion of the psychological character of mysticism, ancient and modern, but contains little that is not familiar to anthropologically-minded scholars. Stress is laid on the 'reality' of the experience undergone by the initiated—the substitution of one personality for another (as in a hypnotic trance), which constitutes the identification with the God, and the birth into a new life. Into the metaphysical problem raised by such 'reality' this is fortunately not the place to enter.

The last study begins by an attempt to connect the ritual of the frescoes with that of the Lesser Mysteries at Agrae, but the arguments used are very inconclusive. In particular the proofs that Zagreus was worshipped at Agrae, and that the ceremonies there (like those of the frescoes) included divination in a mirror, phallic ritual, and flagellation, are thoroughly unsatisfactory; nor is it clear how the derivation from Agrae is consistent with the character of a ceremony which (we are told) was performed only by women. The rest of the fourth study is mainly psychological, and contains a collection of illustrations from ancient and modern ceremonies.

The volume concludes with a chapter of *Corollari*, in which also there is much disputable matter. It is far from true that Pythagoreanism was entirely identical with Orphism, though, no doubt, doctrines like the Orphic entered largely into it; and the author's account of the doctrines of Heraclitus as simply a restatement in general form of the Zagreus-myth and its lessons needs very careful scrutiny. (We are promised a fuller treatment of Heraclitus in a forthcoming number of *Gnosis*.) Even more one-sided is the contention that Orphism played the main part in the transformation of the historical Jesus into the Pauline Christ—the latter, we are told, being closely modelled on Zagreus, the dying and re-living God,

who guaranteed salvation in the life to come. This part of the work shows less understanding of early Christianity than of Orphism; the influence of the latter on the former is greatly overstated, however true it may be that Orphic ideas afforded a soil favourable to the growth of Christianity. This chapter, however, and indeed the book as a whole, contains much useful

material, and the work is well supplied with references; many interesting suggestions are made, and some well-worn problems re-discussed; and if the solutions offered are carefully tested, the perusal of the book is likely to lead the reader to a better comprehension of the subjects with which he deals.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

THE TREES, SHRUBS, AND PLANTS OF VIRGIL.

The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil.

By JOHN SARGEAUNT. 8vo. Pp. vii + 149. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1920. 6s. net.

MR. WARDE FOWLER, in his illuminating address to the Classical Association at the recent meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, said: 'Roman poetry and oratory need to be more generously and humanly interpreted, now that the texts are becoming more scientifically settled.' No one has done more to bring about this desirable consummation than has Mr. Warde Fowler himself in his three charming studies of *Aen.* VII. (in part), *Aen.* VIII., and *Aen.* XII., and he has found worthy followers in Mr. Royds, who has written on the *Birds, Beasts, and Bees of Virgil*, and in the writer of the book now before us.

The late Mr. H. P. Platt, in his delightful little book, *Byways in the Classics* (p. 123), pointed out the lively way in which scholars tilt at the errors of their fellows, and Mr. Sargeaunt has no scruples in referring to places where, in his opinion, editors and lexicons are wrong. When I remember my school days, and the way in which the dicta of masters upon points of grammar and translation were regarded as indisputable, it is soothing to compare Mr. Sargeaunt's note on 'Nux' (*Georg.* I. 187) with Mr. Page's note on the same word. Happy are the students of to-day, whether young or old, who can read Mr. Sargeaunt's Introduction, with its lucid explanation of the names of plants and parts of plants, and the signification of the various words for colours before reading the *Georgics*. The note on 'Amellus' (*Georg.* IV.

271 ff.) clears up a passage which used to puzzle me when a boy, and, in fact, most of the book contains information not to be found in the ordinary noted editions of Virgil, or the dictionaries. I would ask Mr. Sargeaunt, when his book goes to a second edition, to increase the value of it by giving his references for passages quoted from other writers; e.g., in his note on 'Castanea,' he mentions that the timber was useful for building, but that some Roman architects objected to its weight. Who were the architects, and why should they have put forward the weight as an objection? Chesnut is not a particularly dense wood; the weight of a cubic foot is 38 lbs. as against 43 lbs. for ash and beech, 36 lbs. for elm, from 27 lbs. to 41 lbs. for various kinds of pine, and 48 lbs. to 58 lbs. for oak. Chesnut, being practically worm-proof, was much used for roofs in the middle ages (there is a fine example in good condition at Cleeve Abbey), though some authorities say that the wood called chesnut was really the timber of *Quercus sessiliflora*. Concerning the line (*Ecl.* II. 51) *cana legam tenera lanugine mala*, Mr. Sargeaunt says that it is difficult to make anything. 'The editors say quinces, but this ignores "cana."' Pliny, however (*N.H.* XV. 14), definitely mentions a woolly apple: *Paene peregrina sunt in uno Italiae agro Veronensi nascentia, quae lanata appellantur. Lanugo ea obducit, struthis quidem Persicisque plurima; iis tamen peculiare nomen dedit, nulla alia commendatione insignibus*. These woolly apples would, therefore, not seem to be a valuable gift, but if quinces be meant, I have myself seen in Persia quinces of exquisite colour and fragrance, which

were covered with a curious silvery, flocculent network, which would have made a gift worthy of any lover. In his note on *Georg. I. 74*, '*laetum siliqua quassante legumen*,' Mr. Sargeaunt would appear to go out of his way to find a recondite meaning when he follows Martyn in seeing a reference to threshing the crop. Surely '*siliqua quassante*' only refers to the dry pod rustling in the wind before picking.

(*Ecl. II. 18*), '*Alba ligustra cadunt*.' I am entirely at one with Mr. Sargeaunt in his detestation of privet. Its only redeeming feature is that it is the food of the larva of one of the most beautiful of our Lepidoptera, *i.e.* the privet hawk moth, but the Romans, as well as Tennyson, seem to have admired the hue of its flowers, *e.g.* *Martial I. 115*, '*puella candidior ligustro*.' On pp. 87 and 89 Mr. Sargeaunt talks of 'the heaviness' of the under-surface of the leaves of both olive and oleaster. Should not this read 'hoariness'? He has made an obvious slip on p. 97, where he says that the capsules of the poppy abound 'in opium or hashish.' The drug hashish is derived from *Cannabis indica*, and has nothing to do with the poppy.

Georg. I. 266: '*Nunc facilis rubea texatur fiscina virga*.'

Mr. Sargeaunt discusses Servius's reading, 'Rubea,' and the reference to Rubi. He also tells us that Pliny says, 'the withies of the bramble with the prickles removed were used to make baskets.' I have been unable to trace this reference, but I did find a passage (*N.H. XVI. 69*) where he says that they were used for tying up vines: '*recisisque aculeis rubi alligant*.' That anyone

should try to make baskets from bramble shoots seems to me incredible, although possibly not more incredible than the use of Butcher's Broom (*Ruscus aculeatus*) for tying up vines, as Mr. Sargeaunt points out in his note on that plant. Wild Butcher's Broom is common in South Devonshire, and in my undergraduate days there used to be plenty of it in Magdalen Walks.

Ulva, Georg. III. 175, et al. Mr. Sargeaunt identifies this plant as *Cladium mariscus*—the fen sedge. His description of the plant certainly suits all the passages which he quotes, but, on the other hand, both Pliny *XVII. 35*, and Columella *IV. 13*, mention it as being used for vine ties, and both lay stress on the fact that the ties made therefrom are soft, and so do not injure the young shoots.

The description of *Cladium mariscus* does not seem to fit these facts, so may not '*ulva*' be used at times for different kinds of sedge, despite Mr. Sargeaunt's dictum? The notes on '*Vitis*' are most informing, and I would beg Mr. Sargeaunt not only to bring out a second edition of his book, but also to bring out an annotated edition of Keightley. He would do it admirably, and the book would be valuable.

In 1530 Sir Thomas Elyot published a book on educational reform, called *The Boke of the Governour*, wherein he remarks, 'Lorde God! howe many gode and clene wittes of children be now a days perrished by ignorant schole-maisters!' So long as schoolmasters exist who can write like Mr. Sargeaunt, this sorrowful complaint will not be heard.

H. P. CHOLMELEY.

DE HERCLE, MEHERCLE, CETERISQUE ID GENUS PARTICULIS.

De Hercle, Mehercle, ceterisque id genus particulis. By Dr. ANDERS GAGNÉR. Greifswald, 1920.

THIS is a thoroughly sound and scientific piece of work, such as we have learned to expect from Sweden: the writer is a Docent in the University of Uppsala. He discusses the origin, prosody, and use of the words *hercle*,

pol, and the compounds *mehercle*, *edepol*, *medius fidius*, *ecastor*, *mecastor*; also *edi*, *medi* (Titinius iii.). The derivation of some of these swearing formulae is notoriously difficult, in Latin as in other languages (*cf.* p. 44, n. 9). But I have no fault to find with Gagnér's derivations: the *me* he regards not as a vocative (for *mī*, Skutsch), but as the accusative—the full expression being, as

Festus said, *ita me Hercules (Castor) iuuēt*. The vocative *hercle* (from an *o*-stem, 'Ηρακλο-) is explained as due to contamination with a form of invocation—*me, Hercule (Castor), iuuā* or *iuuato*. The *e* of *edepol, ecastor, edi* he regards with Persson as a 'particula invocativa' of pronominal origin (*ē* or *ě*), and *enos* of the Arval hymn as not a form of *nos* but two words—this *e* and *nos*. The second syllable of *edepol* and *edi* is treated as voc. sing. of *deus* (*dee, dē*, shortened to *dě*) or *dīus*. In *medius fidius* we have the nom. of this word. Gagnér also enters the lists in favour of the form *Hercles* for *Hercules*; he does not regard it as Plautine, but quotes among other passages *Stich.* 223 (here *Hercules* is surely right), *Most.* 528, *Epid.* 179 as giving it support.

The quantity of *mē* when compounded with *hercle* is uncertain; its shortening would present no difficulty (p. 24). The compound *mehercle* is always trisyllabic in *Plautus* and *Terence* (p. 24).¹ Here Gagnér is right, unless *Most.* 720 is an exception. But in a good many places his tone is overconfident: p. 55 as to the impossibility of *expurigo*; p. 111 as to the statement of Lodge that *edepol*, etc., may have a

special relation to a particular word in the sentence (*Lex. Plaut.* pp. 451, 445); p. 19 as to the quantity *edepōl*, which rests only on two doubtful passages (*Cas.* 326, *Mil.* 1255); p. 139 as to the reading in *Rud.* 1413. We are all liable to mistakes—even the youngest of us; e.g. Gagnér's views on hiatus are too mechanical: in *si adspexerit Truc.* 672 and in *ni hanc Men.* 471 (pp. 17 n., 56) it is unacceptable to me because the two words belong to the same speech-group²: again the scansion *hercle mi régnum Curc.* 211 and *dicere: immo hercle Poen.* 1231 (pp. 52, 58) are not above criticism.³ Some passages in the book might have been abbreviated or omitted with advantage—e.g. the note on *Mil.* 1006 (p. 119).

Probably the most useful part is the classification of all the instances in which these words appear in O.L. dramatic verse (pp. 111-195). Here the textual critic will find the means of controlling emendations by parallel passages—a matter of the utmost importance, if emendations are to be tested by their exact conformity with the usages of *Plautus* and *Terence*, as they should be.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

OPERA HACTENUS INEDITA ROGERI BACONI.

Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. V. Secretum Secretorum cum Glossis et Notulis. Tractatus Brevis et Utilis ad declarandum quedam obscure dicta. Nunc primum edidit ROBERT STEELE. Accedunt Versio Anglicana ex Arabico edita per A. S. FULTON, versio vetusta Anglo-Normanica nunc primum edita. One vol. 8vo. Pp. lxiv+318. Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1920. 28s. net.

MR. STEELE has added to the quickly increasing tale of hitherto unpublished

works of Roger Bacon now being issued from the Press of Bacon's own University an edition of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*, translated from Arabic into Latin, as given in a Bodleian MS. of the thirteenth century, with Bacon's introduction and notes. He has added an introduction and notes of his own, a literal version by Mr. Ismail Ali and Mr. Fulton—very useful as a key to the Latin—and a mediaeval French rendering from a MS. at Paris.

The *Secretum Secretorum* belongs to the apocryphal literature relating to Alexander and Aristotle. The earliest

¹ My note on *Rud.* 1365 should be corrected in this sense. But Gagnér is not aware that when I wrote it (1891) the *disyllabic* scansion held the field, as shown by Fleckeisen's reading of *Ter. Eun.* 67, 411 (based on Bentley), and Schoell's of *Most.* 720. The purpose of my note was to assert (for the first time) the *trisyllabic* scansion; yet Gagnér stones me and Lindsay,

who followed my lead! The word occurs only six times in *Plautus* and *Terence*. To my examples add *Stich.* 250 *Ego illō mehercle, etc.*

² I heartily accept hiatus at this point of the verse, when there is anything like a pause to justify it.

³ Gagnér does not believe in *herclē* (p. 58).

extant forms of it are in Arabic, but it lays claim—though, as Mr. Steele argues, most likely without justification—to a Greek original, and probably existed in Syriac, whence it is said to have been translated into Arabic; no Greek or Syriac version, however, has as yet come to light. It contains instructions given by Aristotle to his pupil on his kingly duties—instructions often based on astrological principles. It had a considerable vogue in the middle ages; and Roger Bacon, always interested in astrology, made it the subject of a commentary. He even, at least once, seems to have interpolated his text; for when at the end of III. 9 (p. 135) we are told that there are not only five planets, five kinds of animal, five principal parts of a plant, five musical tones, and five *dies nobiles*, but *et quinque sunt porte maris*, Mr. Steele is surely right in supposing that the Englishman has added to his author's list the famous Cinque Ports of his own country.

Some of Bacon's remarks are interesting. He will not indeed assert that Plato, Aristotle, Avicenna and such like enjoyed *graciam gratum facientem*, but is convinced that they were granted *magnam graciam gratis datam*. He will not affirm Aristotle's translation into heaven, but neither will he affirm his damnation and that of other heathen sages. The French translator of *Secretum* ventures less far. Good-living pagans, he thinks, will dwell in darkness, but, as in Dante's *Inferno*, exempt from pain. The reference to Averroes' comment on Aristotle's remarks in *De Caelo* I. concerning the sanctity of the number three (*propter cultum Trinitatis*, as Bacon says) should be I. 2 as on p. 268, not I. 3 as on p. 8; and according to the Venice edition of 1574 *Dicit* should be *Dedit*. There are allusions to the comet of 1264 (10. 32) and to a total eclipse of the sun, expected when Bacon wrote (11. 30), which he thinks will come sooner than the astronomers predict. The words *quam qui vellent sapientes in hac scientia* can hardly be right as they stand; perhaps delete *qui*. One would like to be able to identify the great man in France (105. 28)—the greatest after the king—who was to

Bacon's knowledge cured physically and morally by the wonderful medicine called *Gloria Inestimabilis* together with certain ingredients, which if not to be had in England, could be bought at the great French fairs or at Montpellier—then, of course, the principal medical school north of the Alps. Was he not St. Louis' brother, Alphonse of Poitiers, who in fact seems to have recovered from a paralytic affection which in 1252, eighteen years before his death, was held to be incurable?

I may perhaps be allowed to mention some points of contact between this work of Bacon's and the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury. He refers to *Policr.* VIII. 7 on p. 72. 22. He mentions (3. 11) a distinction between *mathesis* and *matesis*, and inveighs with characteristic violence against certain *glomerelli nescientes Grecum*, who make *matēsis* mean legitimate science, *mathēsis* magic or divination, whereas in his own view the exact contrary is the truth. Hugh of St. Victor, who mentions the distinction (*Erud. Did.* II. 4), does not refer to the difference of quantity, but makes *mathesis* = *doctrine* and *matesis* = *divinatio*, so far agreeing with Bacon. John of Salisbury (*Policr.* I. 9), on the other hand, ignores the difference of aspiration, but takes *mathēsis* to mean magic and *mathēsis* science. He thus falls under Bacon's censure along with the 'Greekless glomerels' and their authority, Eberhard's *Graecismus*, and also (as Mr. Steele points out, p. viii) with his own *Opus Tertium*, which agrees with the *Policraticus*. The *Opus Majus* has yet another variant (though Mr. Steele speaks as if it agreed with the *Opus Tertium*); here *mathēsis* = *vera mathematica*, *matēsis* = *falsa mathematica* or *divinatio*. Bacon also changes the 'Greekless glomerels' (60. 29) with the misspelling *exennia* for *xennia*. Both forms—without the superfluous duplication of the *n*—are found in twelfth-century MSS. of the *Policraticus*; but what appears to be Becket's presentation copy has *exennia*. On p. 58. 22 Bacon ascribes the saying *Rex illiteratus est asinus coronatus* to Henry I., as also does William of Malmesbury; John of Salisbury (*Pol.* IV. 6) gives it to an unnamed king of the Romans, and the

Gesta Consulum Andegavensium to Count Fulk II. of Anjou.

Mr. Steele's impeccable accuracy in transcribing MSS. is well known to those who have had occasion to test it; but one may sometimes differ from his judgment as to the text to be preferred. His corrections of *humorum* to *humero-rum* (73. 35) and of *senciet* to *sencient* (125. 6) are needless. In both cases the MS. reading gives a better sense. In the second he has been misled by a mistake of punctuation: there should be a comma after *fient*. P. 144. 5 for *tuam* read *suam*. *Tuam* may indeed have stood in the original form of the Latin translation, since it seems to agree with the Arabic; but a sentence in the Arabic has dropped out in the Latin, and without this sentence *tuam* makes nonsense. There seems no need to correct *corruptibili* (157. 15) to *corporali* as suggested on p. 276. Why does Mr. Steele print the same abbreviation as *repara* (155. 30) and as *repera* (156. 25)?

I turn to other points connected with the text and with Bacon's annotations. In Bacon's *v.l. correpcione sui comparis* for *corrupcione sui corporis* (149. 18) *comparis* seems to be right, though *corrupcione* gives better sense than *correpcione*. The successive sentences, *Noli frequentare*, etc., and *Non temptabis*, etc., at the beginning of III. 19 (p. 152) must surely be alternative versions of the same original. Of Bacon's variants on p. 158. 13, 14, *ipsum* (perhaps his own suggestion) for *ipsa* is an improvement, but not *periculorum* for *miraculorum*. On p. 159. 10 the vulgate *habilitatem* is preferable to *humilitatem* of our MS. On p. 519. 23 Bacon's *v.l. ente* is perhaps better than *etate*; so may be also (in view of *contrariis*, 160. 1) the vulgate

contrariantibus (159. 20) than *incessantibus* of our MS., though possibly *incessantibus* has been corrected to a more ordinary word with a similar meaning. Bacon's *intermediorum* for *inter radiorum* (160. 3), *quoniam* for *que* (160. 4), and (as Mr. Steele says) *insidiacionem* for *insinuationem* (160. 29), seem to be right; and the vulgate *errantium* for *circumstancium* (160. 18). Here too Mr. Steele agrees. The Arabic appears to confirm Bacon's *Homo* (i.e. the planet Saturn) for *ratio* (160. 29); and on the other hand the MS. *Homo* (160. 33) where Bacon gives *hoc est* in his note. In 69. 14 Bacon explains the odd expression *deserit linguam* to mean *facit disertam linguam*. According to the Arabic the rubbing of the gums with aromatic herbs is recommended as loosening or freeing the tongue and clearing the speech. I owe to Dr. Cowley (who kindly examined the Arabic for me) the suggestion that the original reading of the Latin may have been *disserat* ('unlocks' or 'opens'), which Ducange attests as a mediaeval spelling of the late Latin *deserat*.

The story about Hippocrates and the physiognomist (165. 6) really belongs to Socrates. Its transference in Arabic tradition to the father of medicine is explained by Greenhill in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* II. 434, art. Hippocrates. I do not know why Mr. Steele brackets *tenentur homines regem vel.* (52. 16, 17); the words make quite good sense as they stand. The supposed first book of the *Secretum* on the immortality of the soul, printed by Taegius 1516 and given on p. xxiv, is obviously a Renaissance forgery; the reference to the *Axiochus* is by itself sufficient evidence of this.

C. C. J. W.

PHILLIMORE'S SECOND EDITION OF STATIUS' *SILVAE*.

P. Papini Stati Silvae. Recognovit brevique adnotatione instruxit IOANNES S. PHILLIMORE. Editio altera correctior. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xxiv + text (pages not numbered). Oxonii e Typographeo Clarendoniano (published 1920). 3s. 6d.

READERS of the *Classical Review* need no reminder of the existence of the MS. problem concerning the *Silvae*, for it has often been discussed in its pages in notices of editions and, as a separate question, in relation to the literary discoveries of Poggio or the readings re-

corded by Politian in a copy of the *editio princeps* kept in the Corsini collection at Rome. The subject may be tiresome, but it is by no means dead; and Professor Phillimore realises that during the dozen or more years which have elapsed since his first edition (the preface of the second is dated 1917, though publication has been delayed until recently) there have appeared books and articles constituting fresh material to be reckoned with: e.g. not only Klotz's second edition of the *Silvae* and that by Saenger (Petrograd, 1909), but such works as Professor Clark's *Asconius*, Mr. Garrod's *Manili Astronomicum* II., Walser's *Poggius Florentinus, Leben und Werke*, and Sabbadini's *Le Scoperte di Codici*. Consequently the old questions have to be handled again, 'quamquam plerosque iam pertaesum est tam Poggi quam Politiani,' says the editor, who proceeds to usher in his vigorous rewriting of the *praefatio* with the frank declaration: 'Quanto libentius molestissimas dubitatiunculas in malam crucem abire iussissem! Sed pudor est re nondum decertata deficere, quamquam nullo studio in eiusmodi tricas trahor quae lectoribus excusandae esse videantur.'

Professor Phillimore adheres to his opinion expressed in the first edition that Poggio carried off with him the ancient MS. of the *Silvae*, of which he had also secured a transcript by the scribe, who is described by him as 'ignorantissimus omnium viventium'; and that Politian had access to and excerpted the 'Corsinian' readings from this ancient exemplar when it no longer had attached to it the *Punica* of Silius and the *Astronomica* of Manilius. He makes out a good case in his entertaining examination of Thielscher's theory that Politian's words can be understood as applicable to the manuscript in Madrid; and his position may be summarised in his own words:

Unicusne auctor liber Matritensis? contendunt Klotz, Vollmer, Thielscher; his adstipulantur nonnulli quorum me vel magis movet auctoritas. Tamen ἐπ' ἐξω. Paulo probabilius id contendi quam olim non nego, sed et ad alteras partes succurrit nonnihil auxilii; demonstratum esse nego. Atque idcirco exulare non iussi quicquid est lectionum Corsinianarum.

It is obviously of textual importance to believe that there are two avenues leading back to Poggio's lost MS., namely through the *adnotationes Corsinianae* and through the *Matritensis*; yet, even if we do so believe, our difficulties are not ended. There are still such queries to settle as 'how much in the Corsinian marginal notes comes from the old Codex?' and, in reference to the *Matritensis*, 'what was the nationality of the scribe?'

To avoid, however, serving up *crambe repetita*, one must turn to the text. Unfortunately, although inevitably, one has to resign oneself to many *loci desperati*, equally hopeless to-day as they were to Heinsius, Gronovius, and Markland. They are beyond the reach even of that process of bold experiment in textual emendation whereby Professor Phillimore justifies the proposal of previous conjectures of his own now cancelled:

sic enim denique in melius corrigetur vitiosa veterum scriptorum traditio si pingues criticorum irrisiones spernes, si omnem lapidem moveas, si multa vel minus probabilia tentes.

This is a principle of criticism that can easily run riot; but on the whole I should regard the earlier edition as more adventurous and this later one as more restrained.

The text is not inconsiderably altered—at some points by judicious withdrawal of emendations temerarious or otherwise unsatisfactory, at other points by fresh suggestions. One does not read far without encountering change. In the first sentence of Statius' preface *prodierint* has become *profugissent*, a tense in line with Dr. Postgate's *procucurrissent* and Krohn's *provolassent*; and, in the next sentence, the important gap of eleven letters, where Politian detected an *o* unrecorded in the *Matritensis*, now exhibits, instead of the *oportet me huius* of Domitius, the editor's restoration *opus erat hos* (ex Hieron. *Ep.* XLVII. 3). Towards the close of Statius' preface, where the first edition left †*domomum*†, there is now adopted Cartault's proposal *de me vivi*, while in the notes the alternative possibilities '*commodum* vel *idoneum*' are still offered.

I. i. 65: *frangit*, preferred in the note of the first edition, is sensibly dropped: it is too close to *fragor*.

ii. 13: the regular form of the ablative *cesto* replaces *cestu*, and the unattested *nivens* has disappeared from the note on l. 23. At l. 45 the new reading *praepete suspensum* is, to my mind, an attractive emendation by Professor Phillimore for *te potius presum*. At l. 60 *furto*, previously cited from Markland in the note, is now in the text; and this, it may be observed, is only one of many instances where more weight is deservedly given to Markland's authority. At l. 203 I feel the text is improved by the removal of *viduae* of the first edition: it may be that *viduae*, as Dr. Postgate characterised it, is 'ingenious and possible' (C.R. 1906, p. 320), but *nitidae* is a better epithet for *Pisae*.

iii. 70: *†illis ipse antris Anienem†* is changed for the better to *illic ipse antris Anien*, *illic* being Krohn's contribution. In l. 109 *detectus* is replaced by Professor Housman's *detertus*. He is also followed in the change of order in I. v. 37-39, a troublesome passage, where Professor Phillimore has altered his previous text,

quaeque Tyri niveas secat et Sidonia rupes
to
quam tereti vena fucat Sidonia rupes.

II. i. 28: Professor Housman's *crudi* is adopted for *†et diu†* of the first edition. l. 67: *muta domus*, *fateor* is kept as before, but in the note, which no longer records Professor Slater's *mota domu statio*, the editor states his inclination to read *heu mutata domus*. ll. 127-130 have been transformed since the first edition by the adoption from Dr. Postgate of *telae* for *vestes* in l. 127, by the acceptance of the previously obelised *quas vestes* in l. 128, and the adoption, again from Dr. Postgate, of *angustante telas* for *angusta telas* (M) in l. 130. At ll. 198-199 is a passage where 'haeret sensus'—

inde magis sequitur, neque enim magis ille
trahentem
spernit et ignota credit de stirpe nepotum,

and instead of the suggestion of the former note,

inde manum, leviterque trahit: magis ille
trahentem

without alteration of person in the verbs of the next line, an advance in dramatic force is gained by the proposal:

inde monens (neque enim sequitur magis ille
trahentem)
'spernis et ignota credis de stirpe nepotum.'

ii. 18-19: it is questionable whether on *e terris occurrit dulcis amaro lymphamari* it is worth while chronicling Polster's suggestion of *e thermis*: no doubt *balnea* has occurred just before, but surely it is an incredibly matter-of-fact fancy that Statius' *dulcis lymphamari* should be only bath-water!

iii. 3: the new suggestion of *cernua nata* for *incurvata* is decidedly ingenious, and strikes me as more likely than the notion of changing *visu* to *avulsu* in l. 39 or the actual alteration of *secrete* to *sectate* in l. 69. The note on *stagna invida et invida tela*, l. 38, introduces Professor Slater's *stagna invia*, but the text remains unchanged; and this is justifiable, for the repetition is not un-Statian.

v. 28: *bibitique* is commendably withdrawn.

vi. 70: *cardine adultae* now appears as *germen adultae*, accepted from Saenger, whose *unanimum* for *Aonium* is recorded in the note on l. 54. l. 93 contains Professor Housman's emendation of *et ipse* to *flesse*.

vii. 67: *quo fulmen ducis inter arma divi* is no longer regarded as corrupt, but the comment is made: 'excidit certe subsequens [versus] qui sententiam explebat.'

III. i. 128: the better form *Capreae* replaces *Caprae* of the first edition.

iii. 57: in *et saevi Tirynthius horrida regis* the editor has cancelled his suggestion of *aequaevi*. l. 99: for the unsatisfactory *exitus* Saenger's *sensibus* is mentioned as one emendation, and *nec secus* is withdrawn; and at the last line of this poem the form *piaclo*, previously proposed, is withdrawn in favour of the accepted reading *sepulcro*.

v. 104: *Inarimesque lacus* is an improvement on *Aenarumque lacus* in the earlier text (see C.R. 1906, p. 321).

IV. ii. 6: *non surgere*, a conjecture by Ellis, satisfactorily replaces *consur-*

gere (M) of the first edition. l. 54: Professor Phillimore no longer prefers *vittas* to *vultus*, though the latter does repeat the last word of l. 52, which Markland wished to alter to *visus*.

iii. 89: Baehrens' necessary correction of *obluat* to *abluat* is now accepted.

v. 9: Markland's *vernans*, unrecorded in the first edition, now replaces *veris* (M), but is not the most convincing of the additional borrowings. l. 12: as a variant for *statuere* Professor Clark's much more satisfying *studuere* is now recorded. l. 16: *ferbuerat*: Professor Slater's *servierat* is added to the apparatus criticus.

V. i. 6: *Phidiaca vel nata*: the alternatives *-ve animata* and *-ve novata*, which did not carry conviction, are dropped. l. 19: the text given,

nigra domus, quis tum miseris accessus ad auris

is a distinct improvement on that of the earlier edition,

nigra domus questu, miseramque accessus ad aurem.

ii. 60:

haec iterent praecepta senes comitesque paterni

is a change in order accepted from Professor Housman since the first edition. At l. 108 a plausible change is due to the adoption of Markland's correction of *medii bellare togati* to *media bellare*, etc.; and to Markland again is due the much greater force obtained in l. 117 by emending *armatum* to *Martem*, which now properly, I think, stands in the text. In l. 123 Professor Phillimore's new idea of *versantem* for *servantem* is a highly possible metathesis.

iii. 9: *sustinui* is, since the first edition, accepted from Markland for the common reading *extinui*; and in the

next line *ille ego* is taken over from him for *certe ego*, formerly read. ll. 31-32: Professor Phillimore's new suggestion of *Mulciber ignis exhibuit* for *vultibus ignis irrubuit* is not, to my mind, an improvement: artificial as Statius so often is, one would prefer him in writing of his dead father's funeral to be realistic rather than mythological. ll. 88: *nec foeda gavisam Pallade buxum*: the epithet in the first edition was Ellis' *bifida*. l. 127: *Phrygius qua puppe magister*: the epithet *gravidus* has been discreetly ejected.

This selection of alterations may serve to show that the volume is no mere reprint of the first edition, but a book whose living force is due to alert treatment of problems concerned with the text and manuscripts of Statius rather than to any absorbing qualities in the subject-matter of the poet himself. While grateful for the *Index Nominum*, I should like to advocate the conveniences of a bibliography and of numbered pages for the text. For the student, too, I cannot help wishing that it were practicable more commonly than at present to accompany works involving manuscript problems with a few typical reproductions, e.g. in this case a representative portion of the *Matritensis* exhibiting corrections, an undoubted example of Poggio's handwriting, and a specimen of Politian's *lectiones*; but I realise that all this would affect the price. The printing has been executed with great accuracy. I have noted only slight errata, e.g. in the apparatus criticus on the first page of the text the reference should be to *Praef.* p. xxii, not xx; and on II. i. 38 *limine M* should be *lumine M*.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

VIRGILE ET LES ORIGINES D'OSTIE.

Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie. Par JÉRÔME CARCOPINO. 8vo. One vol. Pp. x+818. With 20 plates (including 2 maps), 17 illustrations in text (including 2 maps). Paris: Boccard, 1919.

M. Carcopino's extraordinarily interesting work on *Virgil and the Origins of Ostia* is at once so rich in detail and

so comprehensive in scope that it is impossible to do it justice within the limits of an ordinary review. It is scarcely possible to do more than state its main thesis to the omission of a number of important arguments, which, if not precisely side issues, are at any rate not absolutely vital to the central theory.

The excavations at Ostia have yielded no remains that can be assigned to an earlier date than the fourth century, B.C. (probably 325 is the earliest date admissible.) What then of the old tradition which makes the foundation of Ostia go back to the age of the Kings? The inevitable answer is that the earlier Ostia must have been on a different site which, it is argued, must have lain to the east of the later part. It can scarcely have lain on the right bank where the Etruscan power was supreme and where Caere and Veii had salt-pans at a very early date, nor at the mouth of the river on the left bank owing to the long-continued maritime supremacy of Antium. Of the existence of a primitive Ostia there can, however, be no doubt. It was the centre of a number of primitive cults, notably that of Vulcan, which point to its having been an ancient federal sanctuary, which prior to the Roman occupation can only have been in the hands of the Laurentes.

The Laurentes, however, are not to be regarded as the inhabitants of any city of Laurentum. The existence of such a city has, it is true, been generally assumed, but all attempts to identify its site—and there have been many—have been fanciful and unsupported by solid fact. The truth is that Laurentum never existed as a town. Laurentum is merely the *civitas*, while Lavinium—commonly regarded as its offshoot, with Aeneas as its traditional founder—was the *urbs* its capital. Laurentum is rarely mentioned in ancient texts and never in a single inscription. In the *Aeneid* the name is non-existent: where the word *Laurenti* occurs it is always explicable as the ablative of the adjective *Laurens*. There is no evidence in antiquity of the existence of a city of Laurentum, which cannot be explained on the assumption that Lavinium (or Lauro-Lavinium, as it is often called) was the town of the Laurentes. The Itineraries, it is true, do mention a Laurentum as lying between Lavinium and Ostia, but the Itineraries are late, and their Laurentum is probably no more than the Imperial Villa in the Laurentine territory. Of the site of Lavinium there is no doubt: it has rightly been identified with that of the

modern Pratica. And, further, the topography of the capital of Latinus in the *Aeneid* exactly corresponds with that of Lavinium. As to the foundation of Lavinium by Aeneas, it is to be explained as a second foundation of an already existing city.

But the re-founding of an existing city will hardly satisfy the demands of the legend of Aeneas, and we must search elsewhere for the new Troy, the city of destiny of which Aeneas is the fated founder. That city, says M. Carcopino, is none other than Ostia. It is at the mouth of Tiber that Aeneas makes his first camp. And that camp is more than a mere temporary camp. It has walls, gates, houses, and a palace. It is founded with due ceremony, and is emphatically and essentially an *urbs*. It is there that the omen of the white sow is found, it is there that the place named Troia and the *praedium Troianum* existed. The site is to be placed to the east of the later Ostia, immediately above the sharp bend in the ancient course of the Tiber. Virgil thus dissociates himself from the tradition as given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and generally accepted by Virgilian commentators, which makes Lavinium the new city founded by Aeneas.

The theory is ingenious, and M. Carcopino argues his case extremely well. But there is one crucial point at which the theory halts, if it does not actually break down—namely, the postulated pre-existence of Lavinium as Latinus' capital. It is difficult—despite M. Carcopino's ingenious special pleading—to accept the view that the founding of Lavinium is merely a second founding. The promise of Jupiter to Venus *cernes urbem et promissa Lavini | moenia* (*Aen.* I. 258) is weak beyond all belief, if it refers merely to a second founding, while *mihi moenia Teucri | constituent urbiq̄ue dabit Lavinia nomen* (12. 193) becomes perilously near being meaningless, if we are to suppose that the city was already called Lavinium. And even if we accept the non-existence of Laurentum¹

¹ M. Carcopino is successful in demolishing the existence of a historic Laurentum. It does not, however, necessarily follow that Virgil has not assumed its existence for the purpose of his poem.

and the pre-existence of Lavinium as proved—a view which would be rendered easier by the supposition that the name of the town was originally *Lavinium* (see *Serv. ad A. I. 2*) and changed by Aeneas to *Lavinium*—and assume that the *Aeneid* culminates in a *synoecismus* of Trojan and Laurentian, it is clear that Lavinium and not Troia marks that culmination. In that case the foundation of Troia-Ostia will have value rather as the formal fulfilment of a prophecy than as an important event in the political history of primitive Latium.

But M. Carcopino's theories go far beyond this: he proceeds to argue that Thybris—whom he refuses to identify with Tiberinus or Tiberis—is '*un dieu universel et souverain*,' river god, war-god, fire-god, sun-god in one, identical with the mysterious Vulcan whose worship found its centre at Ostia (and, it may be added, with *Thymbraeus Apollo* as well). Indeed, he goes so far as to summarise his views in the words: 'Virgile a cru retrouver sa religion personnelle dans la religion d'Ostie, et dans le site ostien de la nouvelle Troie les fondements inébranlables de sa patrie.' If this is the case, Virgil has concealed the fact with more than matchless art. The history of Roman religion affords exceptional opportuni-

ties for the craft of 'making bricks without straw,' and, until M. Carcopino produces far more substantial proofs, we must regard his Vulcanus-Thybris as enjoying a terribly unstable throne.

But though we reject his theories as regards the cults of Ostia and cast grave doubts on his views as to the relative importance of Troia-Ostia and Lavinium in the Virgilian scheme, we shall yet none the less find the book indispensable to our Virgilian studies. It throws fresh light on a number of Virgilian problems, notably on the *fines Sicani* (p. 458), the identification of the *Numicus* (p. 488), the scene of the ambush (p. 332), and the locality of Albunea (p. 338)—which with Bonstetten and Probus (*ad G. I. 10*) he identifies with the Zolforata, north-east of Pratica and due north of Ardea. And these are but a few examples. The book is a treasure-house of Virgilian lore. The reader will not always find himself in agreement with M. Carcopino, but he will find full and honest statement of the problems involved, and be stimulated to fresh thought and interest. And last but not least, he will have before him a wealth of topographical detail and a map of the Virgilian sites far superior in convenience to anything hitherto available.

H. E. BUTLER.

THE GREEK ORATORS.

The Greek Orators. By J. F. DOBSON.
Methuen and Co.

THIS book, we are told, is intended not only for Sixth Form boys and University students, but also for general readers, whose interest in the history and literature of Greece is increasing and deserves encouragement. It is a difficult task to give in 300 pages a full, intelligible, and interesting account of such an important side of Greek life, but Professor Dobson has succeeded in giving a very clear and accurate picture of the development of Greek oratory and the characteristics of its chief exponents, which will be especially valuable to those who have not time or opportunity for studying the more

elaborate works of Jebb, Blass, and others. The danger of such books as this is that they may be misused by 'classical' students as a source whence statements on the style of the authors treated may be gleaned at second-hand; and from this point of view it might be suggested that the value of the book would be increased if the author's skilful and scholarly translations of typical passages were to be supplemented by longer citations from the original Greek: the fragment of *Gorgias*, for instance (p. 17), would be much more instructive to students were the original added. Room might possibly be found for such additions by cutting down the lists of the more unimportant speeches of the various orators, which,

though making the book more complete as a work of reference, do not, perhaps, add greatly to the knowledge necessary for those who will find it most useful. The 'general reader' would be assisted by an introductory chapter, explaining the peculiarities and procedure of the assembly and law courts at Athens, which would make it easier to grasp the great differences in the circumstances of a speech by Lysias or Demosthenes, and, let us say, Marshall Hall or Lloyd George. Some such explanatory references are to be found in the book, but they are rather scattered: and is it not misleading to translate *δικασταί* by 'jury'? On the individual orators,

Professor Dobson's judgments are very sound and unprejudiced, and he gives that unduly neglected figure, Aeschines, his due; but possibly Lycurgus is given more space than he deserves, and Lysias less. The quotation from the introduction to the *Herodes* of Antiphon seems unnecessarily long, and an illustration of his narrative style would add to the interest.

Very few slips or misprints are to be observed: on p. 21 (end of § 1) it appears that the word 'the' should be inserted before 'great Athenian people,' and 'dominate' (p. 154) is clearly a slip.

J. B.

GREEK HISTORY: ITS PROBLEMS AND ITS MEANING.

Greek History: Its Problems and Its Meaning. By E. M. WALKER. Small 8vo. Pp. 165. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1921.

THIS booklet contains a reprint of Mr. Walker's article on 'Greek History to B.C. 146' in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and the introductory lecture to his course on the 'Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία of Aristotle. It makes no attempt to array the facts of Greek history in a running narrative, but is content to characterise its succes-

sive ages and to bring into relief its chief determinant factors. Those who have no previous acquaintance with Greek History may be taken out of their depth by this volume; but the more advanced students will find it an admirable instrument for sorting and clarifying their ideas. Mr. Walker has picked out the key problems of Greek History with excellent judgment, and the arguments with which he resolves these problems stand out as clear as the ribs on a Greek mountain side.

M. C.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).

ARCHAEOLOGY.—1921. May 9. Helen McClees, *A Study of Women in Attic Inscriptions* (D. M. Robinson). 'A good introduction, but the subject is meagrely treated, and the bibliography is unsatisfactory.' R. makes many suggestions for fuller treatment.

GEOGRAPHY.—1921. May 9. J. H. Breasted and C. F. Huth, *A Teacher's Manual accompanying the Breasted-Huth Ancient History Maps* (C. K.). 'The descriptions of the maps are very good, and valuable references to books and articles are added.'

HISTORY.—1921. H. J. Bassett, *Macrinus and Diadumenianus* (G. A. Harrer). A typical dissertation for the doctorate.

(The issues of April 11 and May 2 contain long bibliographies of classical articles in non-classical periodicals.)

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLAS- SISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC. (ILBERG).

1916-1920 INCLUSIVE.

(XXXVII./XXXVIII.-XLV./XLVI.)

[Heft 5 of 1920 has not been received.]

ARCHAEOLOGY.—1919. 10. E. Bischoff, *Die griechische Monatsnamen*. Considered from ethnological, philological, and religious standpoints.

ART.—1916. 1. H. Blümner, *Die Darstellung des Sterbens in der griechischen Kunst* (illustrated). Natural death is rarely represented.—1918. 1/2. F. Studniczka, *Das Bildnis Menanders* (illustrated). Discusses the chief extant portraits: the best is the Copenhagen bust (Bernoulli II. 113, 17, etc.).—1920. 1/2. E. Pfuhl, *Gedanken über Wesen und Werden der klassischen Kunst* (illustrated). An

able sketch, taking as text the Rayet head and the votive relief with four deities and dedicator, both at Copenhagen (Arndt Pl. I., Brunn, Pl. 679).

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.—1916. 9. M. Pohlenz, *Kronos und die Titanen*. Kronos was the great pre-Greek vegetation god, dwelling on mountains. The Titans are the other gods of the same culture (not phallic). The mutilation of Ouranos was invented to explain the present stability of nature. Kronos had the task merely because he had a sickle (really an agricultural symbol). Zeus represents the religion of a new race. Kronos and the Titans were degraded by confusion with Ba'alchammân and with the Gigantes.—1917. 3. P. Corsen, *Das Osterfest*. The Easter festival was established at Rome in the second half of the second century, and aimed at replacing Attis worship.—8/9. B. Ankermann, *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Totemismus*. A lucid enquiry. Totemism is not religious: in its origin it is distinct from magic, animism, and the worship of ancestors and gods, but it has often been incorporated with all these, chiefly through racial mixture. Impossible to say whether any elements of totemism lie behind Egyptian or any European religion.—1918. 3. J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*. A brilliant sketch of the interplay of late Greek thought with Christianity, with especial attention to Plotinus, Iamblichus, Julian, and Synesius. Among G.'s points are the effects of economic distress on the pagan cults in the second half of the third century, and the long survival of paganism after the establishment of Christianity.—7/8. O. Gruppe, *Die Anfänge des Zeuskultus*. Zeus and *Dyâus* are identical in name only. The Indians adopted sky-father and earth-mother in Mesopotamia, the Greeks in Greece, both from older populations. Zeus-cult developed in Crete, with sacred caves. Rain-magic led to dramatisation of the god's life-history, the source of all later mysteries. The pre-Greek sky-father was *Potida*, the earth-mother *Da* or *Do*. After-life beliefs entered through moon-worship. The spread of Zeus at the expense of Poseidon after in Homer, was the work of 'Agamemnon.' The trident was at first the lightning.—1919. 9. L. Deubner, *Paian*. The Paean, a Cretan apotropaic dance and song, connected with no god, was adopted at Delphi in the eighth century, and civilised by association with Apollo. At first it was in 5-time (Cretic-Paeonic).—1920. 10. E. Kalinka, *Die Herkunft der griechischen Götter*. Fetichism, so common in Greece, comes from the older population. Two pre-Greek strata can be distinguished: the earlier used the bow, and from it come Apollo, Artemis, Herakles, etc. Only Zeus may perhaps be really Greek.

HISTORY.—1916. 5. O. Viedebantt, *Hannibal und die römische Heeresleitung bei Cannae*. The battle was south of the Aufidus. Paulus must share the responsibility with Varro,

whose strategic plans are explained.—6. V. Gardthausen, *Das alter italischer Schrift und die Gründung von Cumae*. Attacks Montelius' view that Cumae was founded (as Eusebius says) in 1049 B.C., and that the colonists brought with them the art of writing. G. maintains (against Milani and Kretschmer) the derivation of Etruscan script from Cumae.—1917. 3. V. Gardthausen, *Die Scheidung der Octavia und die Hochzeit der Kleopatra*. The double era starting in 36 B.C. does not imply the marriage of Antony and Cleopatra; it is due to the importance of the acquisition of Coele Syria for Egypt's position as a Great Power.—4. A. Schulten, *Viriatius*. A detailed study of V.'s campaigns and genius.—10. S. Hellmann, *Die Asiatische Völkerwanderung*. Asiatic invasions of Europe from 375 A.D., and their permanent effects.—1918. 6. W. Nestle, *Politik und Moral im Altertum*. Examines ancient views of morality in politics from Homer to Plotinus, and approves of Thucydides, who is compared to Machiavelli, Frederic the Great, and Nietzsche.—1920. 1/2. M. Gelzer, *Die römische Gesellschaft zur Zeit Ciceros*. Emphasises the divergences of Roman and modern social organisation.—6/7. R. Laqueur, *Cäsars gallische Statthalterschaft und der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges: I*. Maintains, against Mommsen, that, after Sulla, as before, the consular provinces belonged to the consuls as such. Caesar's command under Lex Vatinia expired March 1st, 55, not March 1st, 54. Much space is given to Cicero, *de provinciis consularibus*.—J. Geffcken, *Stimmungen im untergehenden Weströmerreich*. Especial stress is laid on Salvianus of Marseilles.—9. F. Oertel, *Der Niedergang der hellenistischen Kultur in Ägypten*. A sketch of social and economic changes in Egypt, from Alexander to the Arab conquest, based largely on papyri.

PHILOLOGY, LINGUISTIC, AND METRIC.—1918. 1. H. Werner, *Barbarus*. The word is onomatopoeic, and its essential idea is unintelligibility. W. traces its changes of meaning, and (with Cornu) derives 'bravo' from it.—10. A. Debrunner, *Die Besiedelung des alten Griechenland im Licht der Sprachwissenschaft*. Calls for a scientific classification of pre-Greek words and forms, and their distribution.—1919. 7/8. F. Hartmann, *Aorist und Imperfektum im Griechischen*. H. compares Greek texts with French and Russian translations. The Aorist describes an action in its totality, the Imperfect its beginning, duration, and repetition. Latin usage is a special development.—1920. 4. H. Weller, *Die Urform des Hexameters entdeckt*. Criticises E. Leumann's derivation of the hexameter from an Indo-Scythian verse-form. (9. Leumann replies.)

PALAEOGRAPHY AND PAPYRI.—1916. 8. A. Mentz, *Das Fortwirken der römischen Stenographie*. Traces the history of shorthand from Cicero to the present day, and shows the connexion of some modern German systems with the Tironian.—1917. 5. A. Körte, *Was*

verdankt die klassische Philologie den literarischen Papyrusfunden? An excellent summary.

GREEK LITERATURE.—1916. 2. W. Kroll, *Hellenistisch-römische Gedichtbücher*. Argues that the artistic arrangement of books of poems by the poet is an Alexandrian practice, copied at Rome.—5. M. Sisbourg, *Die Motivierung in der Alkestis des Euripides*. Elaborate but uninteresting.—1917. 2. J. Geffcken, *Studien zum griechischen Epigramm*. A sketch of this form from its origin to early Christian times.—8/9. H. Blümner, *Die Schilderung des Sterbens in der griechischen Dichtkunst*. Little parallelism between art and literature, except that both deal almost exclusively with violent death.—R. Petsch, *‘Die Troerinnen’ einst und jetzt*. A careful study of the *Troades*, and of its descendants and translations, down to Franz Werfel's, produced at Berlin in 1916.—10. G. Raddatz, *Das XXII. Buch der Odyssee*. Vindicates this book against Wilamowitz: it is composed on a scheme of triple grouping. The minor characters are less in the shade than in similar scenes of the *Iliad*.—1918. 7/8. E. Bruhn, *Zur dramatischen Technik des Sophokles*. Mainly an appreciative but critical account of a posthumous work (*‘Die dram. Techn. des Soph.’*) by Ulrich v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's son Tycho. T. v. W. emphasises Sophocles' tendency to sacrifice consistency of plot and psychology to the stage effect of particular scenes, especially his duplication of scenes, in order to produce two distinct effects, one of which would otherwise have swamped the other (especially in *Ajax*, *Trachiniae*, *Antigone*). Bruhn disagrees with much of T. v. W.'s analysis of the *Oed. Tyr.*, and gives his own views; and he criticises the last chapter (on the *Oed. Col.*), which is by the elder Wilamowitz. B. holds that all friendly references to Thebes come from the younger Sophocles' production of the play in 401.—1919. 1/2. E. Bethe, *Zeit und Einheit der Ilias*. Our *Iliad* is a unity, by one good poet: but (like the *Odyssey*) it is not earlier than 600 B.C., and borrows from Hesiod. Most stress is laid on the temple and statue of Athena at Troy, in Book VI.: essential to the fabric of the *Iliad*, and yet implying sixth-century artistic conditions. The writer probably knew the Greek *Ilion*. The *Mênis* was an eighth-century work.—4/5. W. Kranz, *Die Urform der attischen Tragödie und Komödie*. Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, used many fifth-century writers, who still possessed early tragedies. Hence his remarks on early tragedy are not (like his theory of origins—dithyramb and phallika) mere theory. Tragedy, in its earliest traceable form, was a lyric dialogue between the chorus and its leader: the epirrhematic scheme of song alternating with speech (originally in tetrameters) was borrowed from comedy. Comedy began with the parabasis only, a quite undramatic address to the audience.—7/8. M. Pohlenz, *Un mensonge de la science alle-*

mande? A convincing reply to Victor Bérard's attack on August Wolf.—W. Büchner, *Die psychologische Begründung im Philoktetes des Sophokles*. A reply to Tycho v. Wilamowitz, asserting the triviality of the inconsistencies (mostly in the prologue) and vindicating the characterisation.—1920. 4. H. Meyer-Benfey, *Die Elektra des Sophokles und ihre Erneuerung durch Hofmannsthal*. Not illuminating on Sophocles.—6/7. F. Stürmer, *Die Symmetrie in der Icherzählung des Odysseus*. Odysseus' narrative is rigidly symmetrical in arrangement.

LATIN LITERATURE.—1916. 3. W. Schwering (+), *Die sogenannte Kontamination in der lateinischen Komödie*. ‘Contaminatio’ does not mean combination of different plays. Donatus' comments show that Andria, Adelphi, Eunuchus each represents in essentials one Greek play. In Plautus' *Miles* and *Poenulus* the loose plots are the original Greek ones.—K. P. Schulze, *Besass Horaz eine Villa in Tibur?* Yes.—1917. 5. O. Blank, *Die erste Satire des Horaz*. An elaborate analysis.—1918. 10. G. Wissowa, *Aulus Senecus*. Frau Schulze-Smidt's novel *In Moor und Marsch* (1893) contains verse translations of a number of Latin poems ascribed to Aulus Senecus. The authoress (still living) says she found the originals in a MS. commonplace book of 1698 in her grandfather's library. Her brother took the book to India, and died of cholera; and the book was burnt. Wissowa believes this, and thinks the poems were either a humanist's exercises, or perhaps genuine fragments of Septimius Senecus (Baehrens, *F.P.R.*, p. 384). The only Latin lines preserved by Frau S. are ‘Insula perdita gramine vestita natans in aequore maris.’—1919. 1/2. L. Alheit (+), *Charakterdarstellung bei Sallust*. A subtle study of Sallust's methods of presenting individuals and types.—6. H. Blümner (+), *Die Schilderung des Sterbens in der römischen Dichtung*. Violent deaths preponderate, as in Greek.—7/8. R. Heinze, *Horazens Buch der Briefe*. A study of the originality and influence of the *Epistles*.—N. Wecklein, *Zur Ars Poetica des Horaz*. Defends the structure of the poem, and calls attention to Jensen's recovery, from Philodemus *περὶ ποιμάτων*, of information about Horace's model Neoptolemus.—10. E. Wolf, *Die allegorische Vergilerklärung des Cristoforo Landino*. Considered as typical of Renaissance methods.—1920. 3. H. Wagenvoort, *Pantomimus und Tragödie im augusteischen Zeitalter*. The schools of (1) Bathyllus and (2) Pylades must be sharply distinguished. (1) carried on a traditional S. Italian form (of which Hellenistic *magodia* was an independent development): a favourite theme was Cyclops and Galatea. (2) started from the same source, but developed elaborate use of large chorus and orchestra, and dealt sensationally with tragic themes, influencing Roman tragedy. Horace quarrelled with Maecenas because M. liked pantomimes. 4. A. Klotz, *Beiträge zum Verständnis von*

Virgils Hirtengedichten. Virgil does not merely copy Theocritus. He deliberately alters T.'s effects, with results often misunderstood. K. applies his principles especially to III., V., and VIII.

PHILOSOPHY. — 1916. 3. O. Walzel, *Plotins Begriff der ästhetischen Form.* Treated in connexion with later thinkers, including Thomas Aquinas and Benedetto Croce.—6. M. Schneidewin, *Ein Versuch über die Rätsel des Platonischen Parmenides.* The *Parmenides* is not by Plato; it is influenced by Aristotle and by the Megarians.—1917. 3. W. Kroll, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Poseidonios.* Ascribes to Poseidonius' influence most later Greek mysticism, including Neopythagoreanism and the Hermetic system.—1918. 1/2. M. Wundt, *Der Zeitbegriff bei Augustin.* Traces the conception of time, from Pythagoreanism on. Plotinus made time subjective, but confused matters with his world-soul. Augustine first freed time wholly from spatial extension. He was helped by his extreme sensitiveness to sound (characteristically Roman).—E. Howald, *Heraklit und seine antiker Beurteiler.* Traces his influence down to Neoplatonism and the early Fathers.—1918. 4/5. A. Gercke, *Eine Niederlage des Sokrates.* In the *Protagoras* Plato means Socrates to be beaten. S. is here neither the real Socrates nor Plato's mouthpiece, but mainly a portrait of Eukleides: the dialogue is a warning against the dangers of the Socratic method. Its date is c. 390, shortly before the *Gorgias*.—1919. 3. W. Capelle, *Anaxagoras.* Deals with his physical views; these are superficial, if sometimes brilliant, and inferior to predecessors and contemporaries.—4/5. Same concluded. His *voûs* doctrine was more original and important than Tannery or Burnet allow. Zeller's account is still the best. 'Homoeomeria' is an Aristotelian coinage.—1920. 1/2. W. Süss, *Das Problem des Komischen im Altertum.* Interesting but not clearly arranged. Deals especially with Plato *Philebus* 47 D ff. and Aristotle *Poet.* 1449a 32. Süss denies that ἀνῶδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν (Arist. *l.c.*) refers to the production of pain in others. He emphasises the differences between Plato and Aristotle.—3. J. Stenzel, *Platon und Demokritos.* Attempts to define Democritus' influence on Plato. With the Marburg school, S. traces this especially in the logical procedure of the *Sophistes*: but he tries to treat the matter more broadly than Cohn and Hartmann.

CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE. — 1916. 2. K. Heussi, *Nilus der Asket und der Überfall der Mönche am Sinai.* The autobiographical *Εἰς τὴν ἀναλπεσιν τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾷ μοναχῶν* (Migne, *P.G.* 79, 583-694) ascribed (in the title) to Nilus Asceta, has nothing to do with him. Further, the story is deeply influenced by Greek Romance, and it is impossible to say what historical basis it has, if any. Nilus Asceta's genuine works suggest no connection with Sinai, but rather with N.W. Asia

Minor, perhaps Ancyra.—7. E. Bickel, *Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus, und Augustin.* The origins of the ascetic ideal in the gospels, Gnosticism, and Greek philosophy are investigated, and their influence on these three doctors carefully unravelled.—1919. 10. E. Stein, *Die byzantinische Geschichtswissenschaft im letzten halben Jahrhundert.* A detailed critical account of this subject.

TOPOGRAPHY. — 1916. 3. A. Schulten, *Die historische Topographie.* The development of the study is traced from classical times. The first book showing complete appreciation of the subject is the *Italia* of Philip Clüver of Danzig († 1622). Modern historical topography is 'a daughter of the Romantic movement.'

SCIENCE. — 1917. 1. F. Boll, *Astronomische Beobachtungen im Altertum.* Calls attention to an ancient classification of stars by colours, expressed by reference to the planets. The results correspond surprisingly to modern observations. The *Tetrabiblos* of Claudius Ptolemaeus is especially important. This classification is of Babylonian origin, and provides a test for modern identifications of Babylonian star names. The results on the whole support Bezol, Kopff, and Boll himself, against Weidner. The obscure Tikpi-, Lumaschi-, and Maschu-stars (each seven in number) are those corresponding respectively to Jupiter, Mars, and Mercury: there are traces of a fourth list of seven, corresponding to Saturn.—1920. 8. W. Capelle, *Die griechische Erdkunde und Poseidonios.* An enthusiastic account of P.'s contribution to the theories of terrestrial zones, tides, seismology, ethnology, etc., laying great stress on his personal observations and travels. C. quotes few authorities, on the ground that he hopes soon to publish a fuller work.

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT. (APRIL-JUNE, 1921.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—E. Bethe, *Griechische Lyrik* [Leipzig, 1920, Teubner. M. 7] (Seeliger). In the main a successful attempt to reconstruct the personalities of the lyric poets from the surviving fragments of their writings; but reviewer disagrees in many details with B.'s arrangement and interpretation. — G. Schneider, *Platons Dialoge, Laches und Euthyphron* [Leipzig, 1918, Meiner] (Steiner). The mature thought and deep knowledge of S. († Dec. 10, 1917) are reflected throughout in introduction, translation, and notes.—S. Koperberg, *Polybii historiarum liber XXX. quoad fieri potuit restitutus* [Amsterdam, 1919, Campis] (Laqueur). Necessary and useful collection of material; but K. does not pay sufficient attention to the arrangement of the excerpts. Reviewer adds a long discussion of Τύχη in Polybius.—W. A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*, 6 Bd. [Leipzig, 1920, Hinrichs. M. 31.25 + 60%] (Lehmann). MSS., with exception of one of early seventh century, have been thoroughly examined and

a reliable text established; introductory matter already reviewed in *B. Ph. W.*, Jan. 13, 1917.—W. H. Roscher, *Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl und ihr Verhältnis zum Altpythagoreismus* [Leipzig, 1919, Teubner. M.3.20] (Kind), and K. Mras, *Sprachliche und textkritische Bemerkungen zur spätlateinischen Übersetzung der hippokratischen Schrift von der Siebenzahl* [*Wiener Studien*, 1919] (Kind). R. again insists that Hippocrates' cosmology is essentially pre-Pythagorean; but M. shows that the style of the *Περὶ ἐξδοσάδων* points to the period of the early Sophists.—W. A. Heidel, *Hippocratea I.* [*Harvard Studies*, 1914] (Kind). Welcome contributions to Hippocratic research.—O. Schmiedeberg, *Über die Pharmaka in der Ilias und Odyssee* [Strassburg, 1918, Trübner] (Kind). With the aid of Hippocrates S. examines Homer's medicinal herbs and attempts to identify many.—A. Kurfess, *Curae Constantinianae* [Berlin, 1920, Weidmann] (Wellnhofer). Contains three articles, two on Virgil's 4th *Eclogue* and one on Plato's *Timaeus* in Constantine's Speech to the Assembly of the Saints; K. concludes, with Pfäffisch, that the speech is genuine, but much is still problematical.—A. Oehler, *Der Kranz des Meleagros v. Gadara* [Berlin, 1920, Propyläen-Verlag] (Philipp). Text and translation; contains a very full critical discussion of the poets represented in the collection, and is of value even to the specialist.

LATIN LITERATURE.—H. Meusel, *C. Julii Caesaris commentarii de bello Gallico*, 17th ed., vols. II. and III. [Berlin, 1920. M.15 and M.9+60%] (Klotz). In this new edition much useful material for the interpretation of the text is collected, and valuable contributions are made by M. himself. Reviewer discusses many passages and readings, and comments on the omission of all questions of literary history.—G. Krüger, *Die Bibeldichtung zu Ausgang des Altertums* [Giessen, 1919. M.2] (Baehrens). Fascinating description of the development of early Christian poetry, Proba, Juvenius, Cyprian, etc. K. devotes special attention to Avitus.—J. Martin, *Die Vita et Passio Cypriani* [*Histor. Jahrbuch*, 1919] (Baehrens). M. rightly adopts Reitzenstein's view that Pontius' account must be accepted with great reserve owing to its panegyric distortions. Reviewer establishes correct text in some instances with the help of Pontius' *clausulae*.

HISTORY.—R. Laqueur, *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus* [Giessen, 1920. M.33] (Helm). Reviewer concludes a lengthy and detailed discussion by expressing his complete disagreement with L., and refuses to be guided by one whose method of creating difficulties and thereby arriving at the most complicated results is not likely to win any general support.

PHILOSOPHY.—C. Ritter, *Platons Stellung zu den Aufgaben der Naturwissenschaft* [Heidelberg, 1919, Winter] (Nestle). A very useful

guide to Plato's physical and astronomical theories, and to his work and discoveries in the fields of natural science and of mathematics.—K. Deissner, *Paulus und die Mystik seiner Zeit*, 2nd ed. [Leipzig, 1921, Deichert. M.15] (Posselt). Reviewer refers to his criticism of the first edition (*B. Ph. W.*, 1918, 37/38), and only discusses the new matter contained in the second edition; though disagreeing with D. in many particulars, he acknowledges the scientific value of his book.—C. Siegel, *Platon und Sokrates* [Leipzig, 1920, Meiner. M.10] (Seeliger). An attempt, with Xenophon's help, to draw a picture of Socrates' personality, followed by a discussion of his influence on Plato's metaphysical speculations. Reviewer disagrees with S.'s chronology of Plato's writings.—A. v. Aster, *Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* [Berlin, 1920, de Gruyter] (Nestle). A thoroughly practical manual for students, compact, but not too meagre; little originality, but leading opinions reproduced in easily intelligible form. Print very small, paper exceptionally bad, full of misprints.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY.—Chr. Huelsen, *Der kleinere Palast in der Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli* [Heidelberg, *Ak. Wiss.*, 1919] (Gaerthe). With the help of a plan found among the papers of the French architect Clérisseau, H. has succeeded in giving an adequate description of the West Palace ('Academy') in Hadrian's villa.—E. Weigand, *Vorgeschichte des korinthischen Kapitells* [Würzburg, 1920. M.6.50] (Weickert). Seeks to explain the origin of the Corinthian capital by following the earlier development of its chief component parts, and traces it back through the Syro-Phoenicians to Egypt. Reviewer, who expresses approval of W.'s method and agrees in the main with his argument, gives a careful summary of the book, to which he contributes criticisms and additions, and concludes with a brief discussion of Homolle's *L'origine du chapiteau corinthien* (*Rev. Arch.*, 1916).—G. Wilke, *Archäologische Erläuterung zur Germania des Tacitus* [Leipzig, 1921, Kabitzsch. M.12] (G. Wolff). Useful, but one-sided, and must be read with caution; confirms the reliability of Tacitus' historical and archaeological observations; deals more especially with N. and E. Germany.—R. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur* [Wien, 1919, Hölder. M.225] (Praschniker). With wonderful patience H. has succeeded in piecing together almost all the available fragments, and has combined these *disiecta membra* into eleven pediment groups, which reviewer carefully describes, mostly in terms of warm praise. H. also has a detailed chapter on the technique, style, and chronology. Excellently got up, and a worthy addition to the publications of the Austrian Archaeological Institute.—F. Behn, *Kataloge des Röm.-German. Centralmuseums, No. 8, Italische Altertümer vorhellenistischer Zeit* [Mainz, 1920, Wilckens. M.7] (Karo). The Mainz Museum contains a noteworthy series of objects representing almost every period

and district of Ancient Italy; these are well described in this catalogue, with bibliographical prefaces to each section. Reviewer adds a few corrections.—F. Weege, *Etruskische Malerei* [Halle, Niemeyer. M.180] (Karo). Reviewer expresses deep gratitude for this valuable book with its excellent plates, and hopes that the tantalising gaps which had to be left owing to paper shortage will soon be bridged in the promised second volume.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.—P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, 3rd ed. [München, 1920, Beck] (Pfister). General arrangement as in the second edition, but it is revised throughout and has many additions; indispensable to all interested in Greek cults. Reviewer criticises and discusses details of ritual, priesthood, etc.—R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen*, 2nd ed. [Leipzig, 1920, Teubner. M.12] (Gruppe). In the first edition (reviewed *B. Ph. W.*, 1911, 930 ff.) R. dealt too one-sidedly with Hellenistic mysteries derived from Egypt; recent thorough investigations of Mandaeen and Manichaean writings and the assistance of specialists like Andreas, Le Coq, and Lidzbarski have enabled him to give the second edition a broader foundation; a real contribution to our knowledge of the subject.—R. Ganszyniec, *De Agathodaemone* [Soc. des Sciences de Varsovie, 1919] (Gruppe). Not altogether original, but a careful collection and sifting of evidence; should not be overlooked by those interested in ἀγαθοδαίμων.

LINGUISTIC.—J. E. Kalitsunakis, *Mittel- und neugriechische Erklärungen bei Eustathius* [Berlin, 1919, de Gruyter. M.8+100%] (Maidhof). Attempts to sketch from Eustathius' language the ordinary speech of a twelfth-century Greek; the selected words are subjected to a wonderfully thorough morphological and semasiological examination; equally instructive to students of Classical, Byzantine, and Modern Greek. Reviewer contributes many additions.—A. Gagnér, *De hercle mehercle ceterisque id genus*

particulis priscae poesis Latinae scaenicae [Greifswald, 1920] (Klotz). Somewhat prolix and not without blemishes; but it is a complete and handy collection of the expressions under discussion.—A. H. Salonijs, *Vitae Patrum* [Lund. M.42+200%] (Baehrens). A valuable contribution to our knowledge of Late Latin; S. has a correct appreciation of the historical development of language, and philologists in particular will find his book very stimulating. Reviewer criticises in some detail, and contributes many additions and corrections.—G. J. Laing, *The genitive of value in Latin and other constructions with verbs of rating* [Chicago, 1920, University Press] (Meltzer). Examines as completely as possible instances from Plautus to Aulus Gellius and typical examples from the latter to Gregory of Tours; appears to prove his main contention that the genitive of value is a parallel construction to the partitive genitive and the genitive of quality.—F. Brender, *Die rückläufige Ableitung im Lateinischen*, [Lausanne, 1920, La Concorde] (Meltzer). A detailed investigation of regressive derivation, more particularly in Vulgar and Late Latin; B. has obtained some excellent results.

PALAEOGRAPHY AND LEXICOGRAPHY.—W. A. Oldfather, A. S. Pease, and H. V. Canter, *Index verborum quae in Senecae fabulis necnon in Octavia praetexta reperiuntur* [University of Illinois Studies, 1918] (Tolkiehn). An exemplary piece of work; exact and complete.—C. U. Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica* [Paris, 1920, Champion] (Lehmann). Does not pretend to be exhaustive, but will prove a valuable help to theologians, philologists, and historians who are concerned with MSS. in Visigothic script.—H. J. Vogels, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland* [Münster, Aschendorff. M.7] (Pott). V. deserves thanks for his work, which no student in this field should overlook. Reviewer criticises V.'s methods in some particulars.—A. Pott, *De textu evangeliorum in Saeculo Secundo* [Mnemosyne, 1920] (Tolkiehn). Full and convincing justification of his disagreement with v. Soden's critical method in dealing with the text of the New Testament.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

. Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

A Study in the Commerce of Latium from the Early Iron Age through the Sixth Century B.C. By Louise E. W. Adams. Classical Studies, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.: 1921.

Allison (Sir R.) Translations into English Verse, mainly from the Greek Anthology. 7½ × 5¼". Pp. xii+70. London: A. L. Humphreys, 1921. 3s. 6d. net.

American Journal of Philology. Vol. XLII. 1. (No. 165.) January, February, March, 1921. Edited by C. W. E. Miller. 10½" × 6". Pp. 96. Vol. XLII. 2. (No. 166.) April, May, June, 1921. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1921.

Andreades (A. M.) Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσίας Οἰκονομίας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν χρόνων μέχρι τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ βασιλείου. One vol. 10" × 7". Pp. xii+624. Athens: A. Raphtanis, 1918. Drach. 18.

- Aristotle*. Translated into English. Vol. X. *Politica*, by B. Jowett. *Oeconomica*, by E. S. Forster. *Atheniensium Respublica*, by Sir F. G. Kenyon. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Cloth, 15s. net.
- Athenian Political Commissions*. A dissertation by Frederick D. Smith. University of Chicago Libraries, 1920.
- Brenot* (A.) *Sur l'Éphébie Attique*. 10" × 6½". Pp. xx + 50. Paris: E. Champion, 1920. Fr. 9.50.
- Casson* (S.) and *Brooke* (D.) *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*. Vol. II.: *Sculpture and Architectural Fragments*. 7¾" × 5¾". Pp. xii + 460. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. Cloth, 36s. net.
- Classical Philology*. Vol. XVI. 3. July, 1921. University of Chicago Press.
- Crum* (W. E.) *Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*. 11½" × 9". Pp. xii + 150. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Half-cloth, 16s. net.
- Dimsdale* (M. S.) *Happy Days and Other Essays*. 8¼" × 5½". Pp. xvi + 94. Cambridge: Heffer, 1921. Half-cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Donovan* (J.) *Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition, with a Digest of Greek Idioms*. Part I.
- Esposito* (M.) *Textes et Études de Littérature Ancienne et Médiévale*. Fasc. I. 9" × 6". Pp. 64. Florence: Published by Author, 1921.
- Goodell* (T. D.) *Athenian Tragedy: A Study in Popular Art*. 7½" × 5". Pp. 298. Oxford: University Press, 1920. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Harrison* (J. E.) *Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 40. Cambridge University Press, 1921. 3s. 6d. net.
- Heiland* (W. E.) *Agricola: A Study of Agricultural Life in the Graeco-Roman World from the Point of View of Labour*. 10" × 6½". Pp. x + 492. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. Cloth, 47s. 6d. net.
- Herzog* (Dr. R.) *Aus der Geschichte des Bankwesens in Altertum: Terrae Numulariae*. 10" × 7¼". Pp. 42. Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1919. M. 4.
- Hjort* (Dr. J.) *The Unity of Science*. 7¾" × 5¼". Pp. vi + 176. London: Gylndendal, 1921. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Indogermanische Grammatik*. Teil II. *Der Indogermanische Vokalismus*, von Hermann Hirt. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1921. 7s.
- Isaacs* (W. H.) *The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*. 10¼" × 7½". Pp. viii + 88. Oxford: University Press, 1921. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Juret* (A. C.) *Manuel de Phonétique Latine*. 10" × 6½". Pp. 390. Paris: Hachette and Co., 1921. Fr. 75.
- Lindsay* (W. M., F.B.A.) *The Corpus, Épinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries*. 8¾" × 5½". Pp. viii + 122. The Oxford University Press, 1921. 15s. net.
- Lindsay* (W. M.) *The Corpus Glossary*. 9" × 5½". Pp. xvi + 292. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. Cloth, 40s. net.
- Livingstone* (R. W.) and *Freeman* (C. E.) *Caesar's Gallic War*. Books VI. and VII., partly in the original and partly in translation. 7½" × 5". Pp. 160. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Paper boards, 3s. 6d. net.
- Loeb Classical Library: Godley* (A. D.) *Herodotus*. Vol. II. Pp. xviii + 416. *Frazer* (Sir J. G.) *Apollodorus*. Vol. I. Pp. lix + 404. Vol. II. Pp. vi + 546. *Perrin* (B.) *Plutarch's Lives*. Vol. X. Pp. x + 400. *Brownson* (C. L.) *Xenophon Hellenica*. VI. and VII. *Anabasis*. I-III. Pp. vi + 514. *Butler* (H. E.) *Quintilian*. Vol. II. Pp. vi + 532. 6¾" × 4¼". London: Heinemann, 1921. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Martin* (D.) *The Cynegetica of Nemesianus* (Doctors' Thesis). 7¾" × 5¼". Pp. 84. Cornell University Press, 1917.
- Martin* (G.) *Laus Pisonis* (Doctors' Thesis). 7¾" × 5¼". Pp. 98. Cornell University, 1917.
- Palamas* (Kostas). *A Hundred Voices and other Poems*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by A. E. Phourides. 9¾" × 6". Pp. vi + 227. Harvard University Press, 1921. Paper boards, \$2.50.
- Photiades* (P. St.) *Ἑρμηνευτικά καὶ διορθωτικά, and Ἑγγύη πρὸς γάμον*. 9" × 6½". Pp. 156. Athens: P. Sakellarios, 1921. Paper.
- de Pachtère* (F. G.) *La Table Hypothécaire de Veleia*. 10" × 6½". Pp. xx + 120. Paris: E. Champion, 1920.
- Rhoades* (J.) *The Poems of Virgil* (translated). *The World's Classics*. 6" × 3¾". Pp. xii + 424. Oxford: University Press. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Sandys* (Sir J. E.) *A History of Classical Scholarship, from the Sixth Century B.C. to the End of the Middle Ages*. Vol. I. Third edition. 7½" × 5¾". Pp. xxiv + 702. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. Cloth, 20s. net.
- Smith* (J. C.) *A Book of Verse, from Langland to Kipling*. 7½" × 5". Pp. 298. Oxford: University Press, 1921. Paper boards.
- Songs of the Groves* (Records of the Ancient World). 5" × 8". Pp. xx + 144. Steyning: The Vine Press, 1921. Paper boards, 7s. 6d. net.
- Van Groningen* (B. A.) *De Papyro Oxyrhynchita*, 1380. 6¾" × 5¾". Pp. 84. Leenwarden (Holland): B. A. van Groningen, 1921. 3s.
- Wells* (H. G.) *The New Teaching of History*. With a reply to some recent criticisms of *The Outline of History*. 9" × 5½". Pp. 35. London: Cassell and Co., 1921. Paper, 1s. net.
- Wells* (H. G.) *The Salvaging of Civilisation*: 8" × 5½". Pp. 202. London: Cassell, 1921. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Texts for Students*, No. 26. *The Hymn of Cleanthes*. Translated by E. H. Blakeney. 7" × 5". Pp. 16. London: S.P.C.K., 1921. 6d. net.
- The Odyssey*. Translated by F. Caulfield. 7¾" × 5¼". Pp. xii + 412. London: G. Bell, 1921. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1921

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

THE death of Dr. Jackson reminds us how a great personality links the generations. When the first volume of this *Review* appeared in 1887, Henry Jackson had already published his work on *Plato's Later Theory of Ideas*. He was already recognised as a worthy inheritor of the Trinity tradition of sound learning, of which Thompson, the Master, who had lately passed away, was also representative. Jackson's influence, of course, is not to be measured either by the volume of his published work or by the part he played, important as it was, in University and College politics. He devised, we believe, the system of personal College teaching, as distinct from formal lecturing, which has been the chief source of strength of Cambridge Classics. His method was Socratic, and it was his character that made him for so many years the best known and best beloved of Cambridge teachers. Friendship and the pursuit of truth were his two chief occupations, and he conceived a University as above all a place in which the truth is diligently sought in the company and by the help of friends.

When the *Review* was started, it may interest our readers to hear, the Editors expressed a hope that they could notice 'within three months of their appearance' all English publications that were not 'unmistakable cram-books or of a merely elementary nature' on the language, life, and literature of Greece and Rome, down to 800 A.D. in the Western, and 1453 A.D. in the Eastern Empire, 'without regard to the distinction commonly made between sacred and profane literature.' They promised also to notice the more important foreign books and articles, to publish occasional verses and short notes and *adversaria*; and, further, *hoped*, 'at least until our pages are fully occupied in the ways above described,' to insert short original articles. But these, they added, would

be generally less elaborate than those admitted in existing philological journals, and would be sometimes adapted to the needs of younger scholars. We commend this reminiscence of a time when the *Review* had 344 pages allotted it, instead of our present 192, to those contributors who are puzzled by the crassness of an editor who rejects, or holds back, or returns for drastic cutting, a contribution which runs into several thousand words.

We are delighted to hear that the *Bacchae* has been successfully produced at University College, by members of the University of London, in Greek. The theatre is, or ought to be, the laboratory of the critic who essays to study the technique of ancient drama, as of modern. Even the cinematograph may do something—if it be properly used—to spread in this distracted age some sense of the chief merit of the ancient tragedies, namely their formal strength and beauty. The *Oresteia* film, which was seen by many members of the Classical Association at Cambridge, can now be hired, together with the music, from Messrs. Gaumont, Ltd., of Denman Street, Piccadilly Circus, for the use of schools and universities, or other audiences.

Dr. E. A. Sonnenschein writes to us as follows, from 4, Sion Hill Place, Bath:

I venture to ask you to insert this letter in the next number of the *Classical Review*. The origin of the step which I am taking, not without hesitation, was a letter from Professor Kroll, of Breslau, which was read by Dr. Leaf at the recent General Meeting of the Classical Association in Cambridge, as follows: 'Our position is deteriorating daily. Universities will perish entirely; at least, classical scholarship. Could not anything be done for us? I am near to despairing.' Several members of the Association expressed their sympathy to me after the meeting, and after some further enquiry I have decided to write to you to say

that I am opening a fund for the relief of classical teachers in German and Austrian Universities, and that any contributions sent to me at the above address will be welcomed. . . . As to the distribution of the fund, I suggest that donations may be ear-marked for the benefit of

particular persons known to the donors as needing relief; and that any donations not so ear-marked go to the relief of others known to me and to the Friends' Emergency and War Victims Committee (27, Chancery Lane) as in distress and deserving help.

VERSION.

NAPOLEON. There are three sorts of people in the world—the low people, the middle people, and the high people. The low people and the high people are alike in one thing: they have no scruples, no morality. The low are beneath morality, the high above it. I am not afraid of either of them; for the low are unscrupulous without knowledge, so that they make an idol of me; whilst the high are unscrupulous without purpose, so that they go down before my will. Look you: I shall go over all the mobs and all the courts of Europe as a plough goes over a field. It is the middle people who are dangerous: they have both knowledge and purpose. But they too have their weak point. They are full of scruples, chained hand and foot by their morality and respectability.

LADY. Then you will beat the English; for all shopkeepers are middle people.

NAPOLEON. No, because the English are a race apart. No Englishman is too low to have scruples: no Englishman is high enough to be free from their tyranny. But every Englishman is born with a certain miraculous power that makes him master of the world. When he wants a thing, he never tells himself that he wants it. He waits patiently until there comes into his mind, no one knows how, a burning conviction that it is his moral and religious duty to conquer those who have got the thing he wants. Then he becomes irresistible.—*The Man of Destiny*, BERNARD SHAW.

MILES. Omne in tres greges, opinor, hominum divisumst pecus:

Sorsum summi, sorsum medii, sorsum vivunt infimi. [et summi pares, Nisi quod edepol uno in hoc sunt infimi Quod scelesti sunt utrique, sine pudore, sine metu. [fimos

Aio summos superiores, inferiores in-Esse, quam quos quicquam pudeat aut metuant famam malam.

Equidem neutros flocci facio neque timendos censeo:

Nil hi sapiunt, nil illi audent: qui nil sapiunt mihi favent;

Qui nil audent pessum miseros ego premam miseris modis.

Ego sum vomer: ego plebeios ubi sunt cunque et divites, [lamentariis.

Quasi sint glebae inertes, scindam sulcis Medios timeo: medii sapiunt, idem se audacter gerunt:

Verum inesse credo vitium: ne scelesti sint timent. [tollent quidem.

Ita pudore praepediuntur; digitum ne

MULIER. Ergo Athenienses, mi vir, facile vinces: scilicet

Medii sunt caupones omnes.

MILES. Potin ut taceas, ego loquar? Quasi non sorsum Atheniense segregatum sit genus. [sentiat:

Nemo inferior vivit illic, quin pudorem Nemo superior, tyranno quin volens huic pareat.

Idem Athenienses omnes quandam habent divinitus [quos velint.

Insitam potestatem, unde facile superent Si quid cupide cupiunt, cupere se id cupitum nesciunt: [venit

Opperiuntur otiosi, donec in mentem —Unde veniat vero ignorant omnes, ita caecumst iter— [hoc sibi

Fixa firma falsa opinio, imperare unum Iusque fasque, ut istos vincant qui, quod ipsi sibi petant, [superabiles.

Id potiti sint: tum demum fiunt in-

J. B. POYNTON.

CLASSICAL OPINION ON THE REPORT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMITTEE.

The Report may be obtained from all book-sellers, or directly from H.M. Stationery Office, or at the following addresses: Imperial House, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2; 28, Abingdon Street, London, S.W. 1; 37, Peter Street, Manchester; 1, St. Andrew's Crescent, Cardiff; 23, Forth Street, Edinburgh; or from E. Ponsonby, Ltd., 116, Grafton Street, Dublin. Price 2s. net.

THE interest shown in this Report, which is of such moment to all who are interested in the Classics, and in particular to those who teach them, has been both stimulating and encouraging. A debate is to be held by the Liverpool Branch of the Classical Association, and it is expected that other branches will follow suit. Our purpose in this editorial is to summarise as fairly and as succinctly as possible the correspondence which we have received on this subject rather than to express our own opinion.

The problem which will first present itself to teachers of Classics is that of Time, the iron bond which restricts all curricula to a shadow of the ideal. And we must here emphasise the importance of studying also the reports of the Committees on Natural Science and Modern Languages in Education. It is the idealistic hope of the Prime Minister's Committee that the points of agreement between the three recommendations should be carried out, but this would, we think, be alike too modest and too unpractical when we consider the actual demands made by the advocates of Natural Science and Modern Languages. The former demand that 'Natural Science should be included in the general course of education of all up to the age of about sixteen.' With this general point of view the Classical Report has sympathy, but it feels bound to deprecate compulsion in *examinations*. However, the attitude of Science is by no means irreconcilable with Classical interests, and we cannot feel that the two recommendations are mutually destructive. The case of the Modern Language Report is different and more difficult. With their contention that English should come first linguistically and

French second we are in complete agreement; but they go on to say that it is unnecessary, in their opinion, for Latin to hold the next place in Secondary Schools, while it is our demand that it should normally do so.

Unless this point can be settled and the advocates of Modern Studies brought into line, Latin in the Secondary Schools is in grave danger of disappearing. It is distressing to find that the humanities are so apathetic on this question of Classical grounding, while Science is on the whole sympathetic, and this point is touched on by one or two of our correspondents.

We wish, before going on to quote from the letters we have received, to emphasise two points: First, that the issue is mainly in the Provided Secondary Schools. It is there that the hope and danger of the future lie. Our second point is the importance of the supply of teachers. It is essential that this should be maintained, and under the Modern Studies Report it seems to us that this maintenance will be impossible. And we are in agreement with the following interesting letter from the Headmaster of the Grammar School, Newbury, Mr. Sharwood Smith:

My main criticism is that the Report is not revolutionary enough. There is too much standing on the ancient ways. Now whether such conservatism will keep Greek (for it is in Greek that I am mainly interested) alive in the big public schools I do not know; it certainly will not in the grammar schools.

The fact is that Greek and Latin, but particularly the former, decayed because they deserved to decay as they were taught then. The teaching had become sheer automatism. It was exactly that in my day at Cambridge. Since then it has revived, and I curse my fate that I was up in the dead days. The times have been, and still are, that when the brains are out the man and the system alike *must* die. It was not Greek and Latin that were at fault, but the teachers. They taught as they thought, automatically, and there is a good deal of this machine-made teaching still doing its deadly work. *The* problem before the Committee was to get the teachers, and it seems to me they have not faced that. In other words, it is mainly a question for the Universities. Methods don't matter if we can secure the teacher, because one may be sure that the live teacher will not neglect to make the subject live too.

How, for instance, can the average boy or girl understand a Greek play unless they act it or see it acted? I know what a difference it has made to me at Newbury. We have acted a Greek play for the last nine years every year, and I can realise that hundreds of conjectural emendations can be thrown on the rubbish heap because they are psychologically untrue. The authors of these never envisaged the 'play' as a thing acted—done—a drama. And I know that the man or woman in the street will come to see a Greek play and enjoy it, and so, as a result, will see the value of Greek for the young!

A lady engaged a cook the other day, and said to her, 'I want you to come next Wednesday.' 'Very sorry, ma'am, I can't come that afternoon, because I want to see the *Bacchae* at the Grammar School. I always go to the Greek play.' An absolutely true story! The result is we always have a fair number who are keen on Greek in this school, and we have not done badly in open scholarships in classics.

But the trouble is now that the best teachers won't take up classics because it is so 'blown on,' thanks to the automatism. The only chance of saving Greek is a 'revolution' in the methods of teaching, and you have to get the teachers first. But how to get them out of the school? Well, the only way I can see is for a devoted band of missionaries to go out into the schools and give lectures and readings with lantern slides, etc., on art, archaeology, the drama, etc. It is distinctly a case for the missionary. And the missionary must come from the University. The only question to my mind is whether the Universities have men in sufficient numbers.

And now I find I have practically not touched the Report, so that my letter is useless. Well, what shall I say? As a historical document the report seems to me of high value, but in its recommendations there is far too much compromise and tiresome balancing of opinion.

The following letter from Professor Granger, of Nottingham, is an instructive defence of the direct method of teaching, though we think the points made in his last paragraph open to dispute:

After tendering sincere thanks to the Prime Minister's Committee, I may be allowed to offer one or two suggestions.

It is a dangerous and (I know) an untrue concession to the enemies of the classics to say (p. 7): 'Classical scholars, after many years of study can seldom talk, or even write, the classical languages fluently.' At the summer schools held under Dr. Rouse's direction, an hour or two's practice has unsealed the lips of persons who would not always aspire to the name of scholar, and yet begin almost at once to speak Latin freely. The report in discussing the Direct Method omits this valuable and important fact. It may be imagined with what feelings those who, like myself, owe so much to Dr. Rouse, listened when a French scholar addressed the Classical Association at its recent meeting in Cambridge in his own language

rather than in Latin; because, I charitably presume, our still surviving insular pronunciation would have rendered his Latin unintelligible to us! There might at least have been one paper in Latin, and one in Greek.

What is the remedy? I miss in the report any reference to Matthew Arnold's suggestion ('Reports on Elementary Schools,' p. 149) that persons who are not going very far in Latin should begin with selections from the Latin Vulgate. The corresponding method is used in the best Hebrew and other Oriental grammars. The advantage of such a procedure is that the familiar subject-matter renders it unnecessary, after a little practice, to interpose an English rendering. But Latin was not unrepresented for me at Cambridge. I enjoyed the hospitality of a not undistinguished college, and the Latin grace before and after meat was, I venture to say, understood without translation by everyone present. For the moment they thought in Latin. It would be the same with the *Paternoster*. I draw the inference that every classical student who reads a text and understands without translation is thinking in Latin or Greek as the case may be. Hence I have adapted Dr. Rouse's method to my own needs. I sometimes take a class of students imperfectly equipped as a rule with Latin, who are reading for Intermediate Arts (London). After they have read a little on the traditional lines, I have gradually introduced Latin phrases of a simple character (grammatical terms are mainly almost Latin words), and then have questioned and been answered in the actual vocabulary of the author read. In this way my class made such rapid progress that not one of the examinees failed in Latin, on one occasion. But the experiment aroused such opposition, that the failures on what may be called classical lines were preferred to success on the lines of the renaissance so contemptuously treated in the report (*op. cit.* p. 7). By the way, the Direct Method does not claim to be 'modern.'

A classical teacher, therefore, who does not speak Latin, loses half his labour, because he refuses to put his pride in his pocket and risk howlers in talking Latin to his class. Reading, writing, speaking, and thinking Latin (or Greek) form parts of one indivisible process. Speaking is indispensable if we are to give full scope to the constructive, and still more the creative imagination. The nearness of the Vulgate and the Greek N.T. to the vernacular renders them unequalled as exercises for speaking. Only in this way can we enter fully into the oral and rhetorical character of nearly all the classical tradition.

That the Report is not regarded so severely by all teachers is shown by the following letter from Mr. Cooke, Headmaster of the Northampton Town and County School:

I should particularly like to express my sympathy with pp. 168 to 176—*i.e.*, 'Classical Studies in the New Secondary Schools.' As a Classical Master who has taught for a con-

siderable period in Schools of the type referred to, I should like to say that the methods and aims expounded in these pages seem to me to be an excellent guide to those in charge of the Classics in such Schools. I may say that I have myself worked on very similar lines for nearly twenty years, and with a certain amount of success. From personal experience I can fully endorse p. 111 ('The Method of Preparation for Advanced Work'). This system of teaching will be adhered to in this School, and I am confident that it will keep Latin, as it is now, very much alive, and prevent the disappearance of Greek from our curriculum.

Mr. E. H. Blakeney, of Winchester College, suggests that the classical curriculum in schools is unduly restricted:

Not only (he writes) are classical studies confined to certain principal authors, but these authors are studied intensively in fragments rather than extensively in the mass. Of the five hours allotted to Latin in the week, he would like to see only two devoted to intensive study, with a view to grammar and diction, and the remaining three spent in rapid reading. By these means it would be possible, he thinks, to obtain a general conspectus of whole authors, and also to extend the studies to others less known but important authors. He suggests, to our surprise, Polybius, Athenaeus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Early Fathers.

As a corollary to this he would banish composition for all but the very few, with the exception of Latin Prose, to which a minimum of time would be allotted.

Mr. Blakeney's point is an interesting one if his main argument is sound, but we think it goes very much too far. Language must be the staple of classical teaching in schools, and of the five hours we should like not more than one to be given to rapid reading. We are also of opinion that composition is in many ways the best and the most interesting method of acquiring a sound knowledge of the language.

Professor Cruickshank, of Durham, has forwarded the following comments:

The importance of 'the Classics in Education' is that it is a unanimous utterance by men of weight. I cannot but be pleased to see that many of its recommendations about Greek are identical with what I wrote in a pamphlet on 'The Future of Greek' in 1917. I should like to lay stress on the following points: (1) The Report recommends an early introduction to Homer and Herodotus, making light of the dialect (p. 154). 'Where the school organisation permits' (in the new Secondary Schools) 'we should encourage the experiment of taking non-specialists straight on to Homer or Herodotus' (p. 176). If continuous composition is not required of pass pupils, it is clear that one great objection to Ionic Greek is removed. (2) The need of Early English teaching in

'formal grammar' (pp. 112-132). (3) Remarkable results are often obtained in Greek by students who begin the study late (p. 181). Compare here the interesting experiments at Eton and Wellington (p. 122). (4) For the great majority of pupils composition should be a subordinate aim (p. 142). (5) The premature study of Greek plays is a mistake (p. 154). (6) The supply of Classical teachers in Secondary Schools, and to that extent the future of our classical education, depend on the modern Universities (p. 185). (7) Greek can profitably be taught at Preparatory Schools during the last year, when there is a tendency for the abler boys to 'mark time' (p. 85).

I may call attention to the opinion expressed by many witnesses that the standard of classical scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge is in some respects too high (p. 100), and to the able vindication of the study of Ancient History (pp. 102, 104, 156), also to the acute criticism of too early specialisation in History (p. 103).

On p. 109 there is an omission: Durham University awards three classical scholarships yearly. 'University College,' referred to in Appendix E, is only one of the five Durham Colleges.

Miss Skeel, University Reader in History at Westfield College, London, sends us a note on the value of Latin in Historical Studies, and points the moral that the modern humanities cannot afford to throw the Classics to the wolves:

THE STUDY OF LATIN SIDE BY SIDE WITH HISTORY IN THE UPPER FORMS OF SCHOOLS.

The Draft Regulations for Secondary Schools issued by the Board of Education on July 5, 1921, provide a fourth kind of Advanced Course—viz., D. The civilisation (i.) of Greece or Rome, and (ii.) of England or another country of Western Europe in modern times, as embodied in their language, literature, and history. This change will be welcomed by those who have deplored the injurious effects of the 1918 Regulations upon the teaching of Classics in schools, and not least by those who are specially interested in the teaching of History. Few can doubt the value of Latin to the serious student of History. Without such knowledge any research into Classical and Mediaeval History is impossible, and the understanding of documents of later date is seriously hampered. Boys and girls who take Advanced Courses in schools will not, of course, necessarily proceed to an Arts Course in a University, but without some knowledge of Latin their historical reading will lose much of its value. They will not be able to read a Latin inscription on a tomb, or a brass, or a seal, or a coin. If their interest in History is strong enough, they may in later years pick up Latin for the purpose of reading historical documents, but such late learning is seldom satisfactory. It is to be hoped that

many schools will offer Advanced Courses of the D type; if so, the study of both Classics and History will assuredly benefit.

The Prime Minister's Report on the Position of Classics in the Educational System of the United Kingdom deals (p. 76) with the question of the reading of mediaeval Latin in schools. Many classical teachers will probably concur in the view that a student should be brought into contact with the literature of the best period of any language that he takes, whether ancient or modern. But many History teachers will, I think, hold that even a slight acquaintance with later Latin gives a pupil a sense that Latin is not a dead language. It makes him realise, as nothing else can, at once the resemblances and the differences between ancient and mediaeval civilisation. The reading of some later Latin by pupils whose chief interest is in History is likely to make them more, not less, interested in classical Latin. It is therefore to be hoped that more History teachers in schools will experiment, as some are already doing, in the use of suitable extracts from mediaeval chroniclers.

We are particularly glad to hear about Advanced Course D, and we hope the Board of Education will develop further the policy of freedom.

Miss Strudwick, Headmistress of the City of London School for Girls, recurs again to the essential question of the supply of teachers, and it must be admitted that the figures she quotes are discouraging. It is, however, cheering to hear that late beginners have on the whole been so successful:

A few words may be useful on the subject of the Report in relation to Girls' Schools.

The statistics given on p. 45 of the position of Classics in Girls' Schools are, I imagine, neither more nor less cheering than those who have to do with girls' education expected them to be.

In the light, however, of the Committee's recommendation that 'steps should be taken to secure that all teachers of Latin should have a knowledge of Greek,' the fact that out of a total of 100,498 girls, only 240 learn Greek up to the stage of the First Examination, and only 211 continue the study after that stage, makes the present prospect of securing this all-essential Greek background for women teachers of Latin, to say the least of it, not very hopeful. Further, the table in Appendix F, giving the number of Entrance Scholarships and Exhibitions in Classics at the Women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge as 8, 9, and 7 respectively for the years 1917, 1918, and 1919, holds out little hope of an adequate supply of Classical teachers for girls' schools in the immediate future.

In girls' schools there has been very little of the 'entrenchment in privilege' to which Dr. Mackail alludes. Classics have from the beginning taken an equal, or perhaps inferior, rank in relation to other subjects, and the position of Latin has been seriously weakened by its exclusion from the Main Subjects of the

Modern Studies Advanced Course. Hence, for the suggestion in the Report that advanced work in any combination of subjects should be substituted for three mutually exclusive Advanced Courses, girls' schools can have nothing but the warmest welcome.

The proposal that Greek should be a universal alternative to Latin is not, I think, one which is likely to help Greek to any practical extent, at any rate for the present. What is chiefly needed is the building up of a tradition inside the schools themselves, the creation of an atmosphere low down in the school which is favourable to Greek as well as to Latin. Greek as well as Roman legends in the lowest forms, an outline course of Greek as well as Roman History in the Middle School, a judicious use of translations (as advocated) and an abundance of apparatus such as that suggested on pp. 162-167 of the Report would do much to make natural and attractive the later study of both languages.

The reinstatement of formal grammar in elementary schools would lighten the linguistic difficulty of the Classics for girls, whose comparatively short period of training in Classics makes a background of grammar essential to progress.

With what is said of the appeal of Greek and the success of 'late beginners' of it in girls' schools, I cordially agree. It is rarely begun before the Matriculation year, and quite remarkable results have been achieved by an intensive course of two or three years taken by girls with a bent towards Classics. Such courses have laid the foundation for scholarly work at the Universities, besides awakening in non-specialists a lasting appreciation of the beauty of Greek literature.

Miss Archibald, Headmistress of the High School, St. Albans, sends us an illuminating account of the experiments which have been carried out with alternative Greek and Latin in her school:

AN EXPERIMENT IN SCHOOL CLASSICS.

The experiment of making Greek a Middle School subject alternative to Latin was undertaken with the double object of strengthening the Classics in the School and of saving Greek, which had practically ceased to exist owing to recent changes in University regulations. Hitherto the School curriculum had been planned so that, after French had been studied for three years, Latin was taken as the second language when the Lower IV. was reached (average age twelve and a half).

According to the new plan, when girls enter the Lower IV. they may begin *either* Latin *or* Greek—*i.e.*, the School curriculum now provides French as the first language and one ancient language (Latin *or* Greek) as the second. The Lower IV. as a whole takes as its History work for the year Greek and Roman History, taught in broad outline rather than in detail.

There will thus be in future throughout the

School a Latin and a Greek division in each Form from the Lower IV. to Upper V. When Form VI. is reached, it is proposed to give those who have been learning Greek extensively a chance of learning Latin intensively, and *vice versa*. A four years' course in Latin or Greek will now be possible before the First Examination is taken. In this School, one of moderate size, there should be, in a year or two, about a hundred girls learning Greek. From a utilitarian point of view the plan is well suited to First Examination regulations.

One interesting point in the experiment, as tried here, is the testimony of the Science Mistress that in the Science room the 'Grecians' outshine the 'Latinists.' Comparisons made from time to time of the work of the Greek and Latin divisions would seem to indicate that Greek presents no greater difficulty than Latin as a Middle School subject, and the eager manner in which girls of twelve or thirteen, of their own accord, bring to school, for translation, copies of the Greek poems which occasionally appear in *The Times* would seem to indicate a living interest in the subject.

In the present very crowded state of Secun-

dary School curricula, a policy of Latin as the one line of defence for the humanities must eventually involve the disappearance of Greek. It is, of course, impossible at this early stage to form any conclusions as to the results, psychological or otherwise, of making Greek a Middle School subject alternative to Latin, but so far one effect may be noted. When Greek was a compulsory subject for University preliminaries, our Greek was practically limited to the work done by a very few girls at the top of the School and covered little more than the requirements of the Cambridge Previous Examination. Under the present circumstances there is not only a larger number learning Greek, but with the longer time at our disposal the language may be studied more effectively. At the same time Latin is not neglected, and there are two gateways into the field of Classics instead of one.

We invite further communications on this subject. In our next issue we hope to be able to publish some comments from the Headmaster of Rugby.

THE BERLIN SAPPHO AGAIN.

II.

MR. E. LOBEL's brilliant identification¹ of the third-century papyrus known as *Oxyrh. Pap.* 424, now at Graz University, and labelled I. 1926, with the seventh-century vellum fragment numbered P. 5006 in the Berlin Museum, has necessitated a supplement to the paper published in this *Review* in August 1916. If the papyrus were not so small, the identification would be of great importance to players—and watchers—of the gap-filling game, since it is now for the first time possible to apply the tracing-test to two copies of the same poem. Unfortunately, several common letters, and, what is more important, many common pairs of letters, are not exemplified; and the restorer has too often to fall back on the general character of the hand.

Through the kindness of Dr. F. Eichler I have been able to use a photograph of the Graz fragment (P). The Berlin fragment (V) will be found in the *Berliner Klassikertexte*, 5. 2. 10; a facsimile of it is given by Wharton in his *Sappho* of 1895. It was upon this facsimile that I based the conjectural restoration which appeared in *C.R.* 1909, p. 104. P consists of

13 mutilated lines, of which the first five correspond with the last five of V. In these five lines I would now suggest ἦτορ] rather than ἦπαρ], and ἀλλὰ] rather than the ὅπρε], that is ἔπρε], which I gave *exempli gratia*. These conjectures fit both MSS. The same is true of καρδὶ]αν and τῶ]μον. The remaining line is puzzling. Grenfell and Hunt read]αυ as the end of a short line. Dr. Bietoslawek, who has kindly answered several queries with the actual papyrus before him, agrees, adding that there is no trace of letters after the υ. If the identification of the two MSS. is right, we have these alternatives. We must either suppose P to have had a variant, or that the doubtful α is really the ε of δίακειται, all trace of the last three letters having been rubbed away. This disappearance of ται, in view of the very damaged condition of the papyrus hereabouts, is not so unlikely as it might seem. The traces of the supposed α have been thought to be the apex and a detached piece of the right-hand down-stroke. On comparing the epsilons extant in P, I think that the detached piece may well be part of the horizontal stroke of ε and that the apex is not inconsistent with an ε like that in φρένας below. In restoring the new lines I have supposed them to be part of the same poem, an assumption which is, of course, to be justified only in the resultant unity of the restored stanzas. The initial gaps are wider in the new stanzas than in the old, and therefore their restoration must be regarded as more purely conjectural; but I hope my readers will agree that on the whole it comes out as at least something which Sappho might have written.

The stanzas are apparently the last four of a letter to her wayward brother

¹ *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 4th Quarter, 1920, kindly brought to my notice by Mr. C. E. Sayle.

Charaxus, like the Ode to the Nereids, *Oxyrh. Pap.* 7, and the other fragment mentioning the notorious Doricha, *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1231. i. i. 9. Compare Hdt. 2. 135, Strab. 17. 808, Ath. 13. 596. I now suggest the following restoration:

- [. . .] δώσῃν.
 [αἰ κλ]ύτων μέν τ' ἐπ[πότεαι πεδ'
 ἄνδρων]
 [κωὺ κ]άλων καῖσλων, ἐ[νέπεις δὲ
 χαίρην]
 [τοῖς φι]λοῖς, λύπης τέ μ[ε σοὶ γένε-
 σθαι]
 5 [φαῖς ἔ]μ' ὄνειδος
 [ῆτορ] οἰδήσαις, ἐπὶ τα[ῦτ' ἀρέσκεο]
 [καρδι]᾽αν· ἄσαιο· τὸ γὰρ ν[όημα]
 [τῶ]μον οὐκ οὔτω μ[αλάκως χολᾷ
 παί-]
 [δων] διακῆται·
 10 [ἀλλὰ] μὴ δόαζε· [γέροντας ὄρνις]
 [οὐκ ἄγρη βρδ]χίς · συνήμ['] ἔγω σε]
 [οἶ πρὶν ἐσπο]λῆς κακότητο[s, οἶω]
 [δ' ἀντετέθ]μεν
 [δαίωι. σὺ δ' ὦ]ν ἀτέραις με[μῆλων]
 15 [λω<ι>όνων τίθ]ῃ φρένας· εὐ[κολον
 γὰρ]
 [νῶν τράφοις]α τοῖς μάκα[ρας σάφ'
 οἶδ' ἔ-]
 [μοι παρέοντας.]
 [. . . .]α[

Lines 6-10, letters underlined occur also in P (in l. 10 *only* in P) 8 V ουκ' οὐτω : P κου 9 see above 11-17 only in P 15 P εύ High points in ll. 3, 4, 7 (αν'), 9, 10, 11, 15, low in 6, 7 (άσαιο.), elision in ll. 2, 5, crasis in l. 3, some accents.

The following translation is as literal as may be: 'If you hover about the notable rather than the good and noble, and bid your friends go their ways, and grieve me in your swelling pride by saying that I, forsooth, am become a reproach to you, at such things as these you may rejoice your heart. Feed your fill. For as for me, I am not so softly disposed to the anger of a child. But make no mistake in this; the snare never catches the old bird; I know what was the depth of your knavery before, and of what sort is the foe I am opposed to. Be you better advised then, and change your heart; for well

I know that being of a gentle disposition I have the Gods on my side.'

It will be seen that besides the two alterations mentioned above I have made a few slight changes in order to bring the first two stanzas into conformity with the pointing of V. The low point at οἰδήσαις was apparently intended to prevent its being taken with ἐπὶ ταῦτα. In l. 7 an alternative is to suppose the high and low points to have been accidentally reversed, the low point being really intended to prevent καρδίαν being taken with ἄσαιο, and to read ἐπὶ ταῦτα τάρπεις (aor. pass. partcp. of τέρπω) καρδίαν ἄσαιο. I add a few notes. In l. 20 cf. the proverb γέρων πίθηκος οὐχ ἀλίσκεται πάγῃ, *Paroem. Gr.* Leutsch 2. 343, and for proverb-like sayings in Lesbian poetry Sappho 47, Alcaeus 107 and *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1234. 2. i. b and 1360. 2, and two anonymous proverbs which, judging from their metre and sentiment, I should ascribe to Alcaeus, *Paroem. Gr.* 1. 31 (cf. 2. 61)

ἀντὶ κᾶκω κύνος ὕν ἀπαιτής,¹

'You ask for a pig in place of a bad dog,' a reference perhaps to the Mytilenaeen tyrants (cf. the Fable of King Log); and *Ibid.* 2. 669 (cf. 525)

φεύγων τέφραν εἰς ἀνθρακίαν πέτεν,²

'Fleeing the ashes he's fallen into the coals,' which also might well have a political intention. For the form βρόχης cf. δοκίς the diminutive of δοκός, and *Et. Mag.* 216. 48 Βύκχης · ὄνομα Αἰολικόν [*Alc.* 35] · παρὰ τὸ Βάκχος Βάκχης καὶ Βύκχης · ὡς ἵππος ἱππίς · καὶ οἶκος οἰκίς · καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ Α εἰς Τ ὡς βάθος βύθος;³ on the strength of which, in *Alc.* 41

πίνωμεν · τί τὰ λύχ'ν ὀμμένομεν ; δάκτυλος ἀμέρα.
 καδ' δ' ἄερρε κυλίχνας μεγάλας αἱ τὰ ποικίλα (or ποικίλλας)

I should prefer, instead of the accepted αῖτα [or αῦτα] ποικίλαις which involves a strange word-order, αῦτ' ἀπ' οἰκίδος 'from the cupboard or cellar.' In l. 12 ἐσπόλης is Aeolic for ἐστάλης, cf. Hoffmann *Gr. Dial.* 2 p. 246. With the sentiment of ll. 15-16 cf. *Sa.* 72

¹ MSS. κακοῦ, κακῆς, and ἀπαιτεῖς.

² MSS. τέφραν φεύγων and ἔπεισεν.

³ MS. βυθίς.

. . . ἀλλὰ τις οὐκ ἔμμι παλιγκOTOS
 ὄργαν, ἀλλ' ἀβάκην τὰν φρέν' ἔχω . . . ,

where I follow Ursinus (MSS. παλιγκότων ὄργάνων); for Neue's παλιγκότων ὄργαν is unlikely without τῶν, and to take ὄργαν as genitive plural with Weir-Smyth gives Sappho a Latin descriptive genitive. A similar note of self-revelation occurs in the famous ἔγω δὲ φίλημ' ἀβροσύναν κτλ. (fr. 79). Lines 14-15

are not altogether satisfactory; for they give the active τίθη where one would expect a middle. For examples of this licence, however, see Kühner-Gerth *Gram. der Gr. Sprache* II. 1. p. 110. Here there can at least be no ambiguity.

My thanks are due to the director and staff of Graz University.

J. M. EDMONDS.

ON HOMERIC TECHNIQUE.

I.

HOMER naturally does not care about rhyme or use it for any distinct purpose except in a very few cases. But neither does he make any great effort to avoid it: there is much more rhyme in him than in the tragedians.

Verrall considers rhyme to be characteristic of drunkenness, and this is borne out by Homer, ξ 464, where the jingle of ἐφέηκε, ἀνῆκε, προέηκεν is produced by wine. So Aristotle, *de Div. per Somnium* II. 11, says that οἱ ἐμμανεῖς repeat jingles such as Ἀφροδίτην φροδίτην, καὶ οὕτω συνεύρουσιν εἰς τὸ πρόσω.

Of deliberate rhyme there is of course also the famous ἀναντα κάταντα πάραντα τε of Ψ 116, and there is deliberate intent too in νεκῶν ἀμένηνα κάρηνα, which curious phrase gives the idea of senseless ineffectuality very largely by the jingle, though partly by the arrangement of ν and κ. Another line where I think a different effect is aimed at by rhyme is γ 272, τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὄνδε δόμενδε, a line which dances in triumph with its echoing ἐθέλ- and its rhymed ending. That ὄνδε δόμενδε ends half a dozen other lines without any special meaning proves nothing: that is the way of poets; a particular arrangement of letters may mean nothing in one line and everything in another. Thus Dante ends the fifth canto of *Paradiso* with the curious couplet:

E cosí chiusa chiusa mi rispose
 Nel modo che il seguente canto canta.

Here he just plays with the words for the fun of the thing. That does not prevent him from playing on words with

profoundest meaning in the opening of the last canto, 'figlia del tuo figlio,' etc.

Of rhyme like this in the last two feet there are over a hundred instances in the *Odessey*, πρώτῃσι θύρῃσι, οἶο δόμοιο, and the like; at ζ 208 two consecutive lines have such endings. The third foot often enough also rhymes with the sixth, as in the Latin pentameter, but there is no appearance of any intention about it anywhere.

II.

Everybody quotes *ad nauseam* the famous line in which the stone of Sisyphus comes thundering down, but the way in which Sisyphus struggles to push it up hill is technically at least as interesting: λᾶν ἄνω ὤθεσκε. Observe the repeated ἄν and the astonishing open vowels in the second foot, both of which devices give the effect of fruitless effort; Eustathius notices the vowels. Virgil uses open vowels for the same purpose, 'ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossan.' So again in X 199, ὥς δ' ἐν ὀνείρῳ οὐ δύναται, the vowel is purposely left open at the end of the second foot, and the peculiar rhythm is intentional; it makes one's feet stick in reading it exactly as they do in a dream; the next line is added to reiterate this feeling. Virgil uses a strange rhythm for the same purpose, *Aen.* XII. 910. In the previous line ποτὶ πτόλιος πέτετ' αἰεὶ imitates a bird's flying by the jingling of π and τ: cf. ἀποπταμένη πεπόνηται of the flutter-flutter of the disembodied soul, περὶ πτερὰ πυκνά, and so on. A very extraordinary instance of μίμησις is ι 484, 541, ἐκλύσθη δὲ θάλασσα κατερχομένης ὑπὸ

πέτρης: the last half of the line always seems to me to express admirably the hurtling fall of the rock, the first half undoubtedly expresses the splash; this is truly ὑστερον πρότερον Ὀμηρικῶς. So Beethoven in the Pastoral Symphony makes the lightning flash follow the thunder, but the reason there is that one can imitate thunder easily enough in music, whereas the lightning would not be intelligible as such unless the thunder had prepared the mind to recognise it.

But there is simply no end to such μίμησις in Homer; perhaps the finest of all is σκέπτειτ' δίστων τε ροίζον καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων, Π 361. How the oxen low in μυκηθμοῦ (μοο) τ' ἤκουσα (σοο) βοῶν—but these things are perhaps an old story. A greater triumph is the expression of emotion by rhythm, as in Virgil's 'aude, hospes, contemnere opes' or Milton's 'and what is else not to be overcome.' Homer does this also: two separate spondees at the opening of a line are rare with him, but see how he uses them in Ω 486, μνήσαι πατρός σοιο, 489, τῶν μὲν πολλῶν, 500, τὸν σὺ πρῶην κτείνας. I trust I am not deceiving myself in seeing a peculiarly pathetic effect here; to my mind μνήσαι πατρός σοιο, which would have done just as well in every other respect, would have ruined that first line.

III.

There is a peculiarity about the fifth foot of the hexameter which has not, I think, been noticed. Homer avoids shortening the heavier long vowels in the last syllable of this foot. He constantly has endings like ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, ἰμείρεται αἰῆς, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοί; there are six such in the first fifty lines of the *Odyssey*; all these are instances of shortening a diphthong which is indeed long but still is shorter than vowels like η or ω, as is shown by the accentuation and other considerations; again ἦ and ῶ, etc., in turn are shorter than ῆ and ῷ, etc. Let us call these three classes A, B, and C. I give the results of an examination of the *Odyssey*.

In Class A, as I have said, it is easy to find cases of such shortening; when we proceed to Class B, it is not at all so easy. Feminine adjectives and participles, α 340, μεμνημένη αἰέ, δ 804, κ 279, ν 314, φ 411, χ 240, ψ 14. Noun, ο 546, ποθὴ ἔσται, where πόθος may have been the original, though one cannot see why it should be corrupted, and ξ 59, δίκη ἐστίν. I think the adjectives and participles are so much commoner because they are modelled on similar masculine words—e.g. τετιμένη ἦτορ on τετιμένος

ἦτορ, and Homer was not going to be stopped from using a formula by any scruple about such a minute point of metre. At δ 422 he has δλοῶτατος δόμη, obviously for euphony. But why, then, does he say χαριεστάτη ἦβη at κ 279 and Ω 348? The answer is that though all modern texts make him say so, he really said χαριέστατος: this reading is preserved by several MSS. at κ 279, and clearly ought to be restored, being the more difficult and so very liable to corruption, and we can then hardly avoid restoring it also in Ω. (*Apropos* of these comparative and superlative adjectives, I think it has not been observed that the few instances in prose are confined to words where the positive is a compound and has only two terminations: this is what we might expect, but the curious thing is that this is not the case with the four Homeric examples. Also εὐσκεπαστότατον in Thuc. V. 71 is presumably feminine.)

To go back to Class B at the end of the fifth foot, we occasionally find monosyllables such as δή, που, πη, πω shortened in this position. Duals, σ 45, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω, χ 380. Genitives, α 417, Τάφου ἐστίν, and perhaps a dozen others. Also εἴ, ἐμοί, ἐγώ now and then. Other instances are ζ 253, ἐβῆ αὐτῇ, η 224, λίποι αἰῶν, ι 42 and 549, κλοι αἰσῆς, κ 190, ὀπη ἡῶς, ν 109, θύραι εἰσίν, ξ 224, φίλαι ἦσαν, ρ 366, πάλαι ἐτη, ω 483, βασιλευέτω αἰέ.

I do not lay claim to absolute exactness, and may have missed some instances, but the general principle is quite plain. Homer avoids shortening these syllables at the end of the fifth foot, though he does not object to such shortening at all in Class A.

When we go to Class C, the objection is much more strongly marked. I believe that the only instances of such shortening in this class are ζ 232 and ψ 159, ἀργυρῷ ἀνὴρ, θ 169 and 209, πέλει ἀνὴρ, κ 32 and υ 297, τῷ ἄλλω, and λ 128, φαιδίμω ὦμω, repeated at ψ 275. For τ 113, παρέχει or παρέχῃ ἰχθύς, is certainly corrupt, the first syllable of the dactyl being more incredible than the last. Whether we read the indicative or subjunctive there makes no difference, for we shall presently see that the diphthong εῖ is apparently as long for Homer as ῆ itself, or nearly so.

Set now against these the following shortenings in the first foot from one single book: α 49, δυσμόρῳ δς, ι 54, Φημίφ δς, 192, παρτιθεῖ εὐτ' ἄν, 231, ξεῖν' ἐπεὶ ἄρ, 276, ἀψ ἔτω ἐς, 440, πασσάλω ἀγκρεμάσασα. That is enough to show that the avoidance of such lengthening in the fifth foot is not due to accident.

Let us next consider the second syllable of a dactyl in the fifth foot. The only instances I have got down for Classes B and C, and I do not think there are many omitted, are the following:

α 401, βασιλεύσει Ἀχαιῶν, λ 449, ἔξει ἀριθμῷ, ο 17, περιβάλλει ἅπαντας. Thus εῖ is shortened oftener in the second than in the third syllable, and yet not so often as ω: θ 278, κύκλω ἅπαντη, κ 45, ἀσκή ἔνεστιν, λ 77, τύμβω ἑρετμόν, μ 351, νήσω ἐρήμῳ, τ 196, αὐτῷ ἔποντο, 393, λευκῷ ὀδόντι, repeated at τ 465 and φ 219, finally ψ 79, οἰκτίστῳ ὀλέθρῳ. These are extremely few instances, and this observation confirms the correctness of

αἱ χαριεστέραι in reading λυγρόν δλεθρον for μυγρῶ δλεθρῷ at γ 87, ο 268; Hermann, too, was clearly wrong in defending ἀποδώσει ξέδνα against ἀποδώσιν at θ 318. Some other instances are ε 140, οὐ πη ἔγωγε, 417, πους ἐφεύρω, θ 324, οἰκοι ἐκάστη, 491, ἄλλου ἀκούσας, κ 303, αὐτοῦ ἔδειξε, μ 390, αὐτῇ ἀκούσαι, ρ 103, ἐξ οὗ Ὀδυσσεύς, τ 572, καταθήσω ἀεθλον. The general principle is again quite plain, but it is strange that Class C should here be even better represented than Class B.

For the first foot, on the contrary, we have in α all these: α 2, πλάγχθη ἐπέε, 12, οἰκοι ἔσαν, 50, νήσφ ἐν, 57, θέλγει δπως, 62, Τροίη ἐν, 86, νύμφη εὐπλοκάμῃ—but I need not go further.

IV.

About the origin of the hexameter I know as much as other people and care less, but it seems impossible to deny that, as used by the Greek poets, it consists of two phrases of three bars each. According to the usual practice of such combinations of phrases into a line, it is the second phrase in which lightness and neatness is especially sought.¹ ἀψ δ' εἰς Διγύπτιοις is all very well for the first half of a line, but would be intolerable for the second. Hence the rules for the second phrase are far more precise and exigent than for the first. But there is a principle of rhythm which applies to both, because it applies to all three bar rhythms. The strongest metrical accent falls upon the first, a subordinate accent upon the third, the weakest or none at all upon the second. This is seen also in a bar of three notes; it is an acknowledged rule in music that in such a bar, unless the time be very

¹ "A desire to keep the end of the line *regular* as well as light; an instinct which asserts itself at the end of the Latin hexameter and pentameter and in other metrical forms."—E. Harrison, *C.Q.* VIII. 210.

NOTE ON EUMENIDES 41-2.

... αἵματι
στάζοντα χεῖρας καὶ νεοσπαδῆς¹ ξίφος
ἔχοντ' ...

THE chief difficulty of this passage has been cleared up when it is realised, with Verrall and Blass, that the blood with which Orestes drips is not that of Clytaemnestra, but of the victim slain for his purification. The epithet νεοσπαδῆς still awaits explanation; νεοστὶ ἐσπασμένον, the interpretation of the Scholiast, is certainly correct, but how could a sword be seen to be new-drawn? The passage in Apollonius Rhodius, which describes the purification of Jason and Medea (*Arg.* IV. 688-715), suggests a solution. As the pair, who evidently follow strictly the prescribed ritual, seat themselves silently on the hearth, Jason plants in the earth the sword with which he has slain the son of

quick, there is a subordinate beat upon the third note. Anyone with a feeling for rhythm who will observe how he reads such a line as:

ἔνδρα μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα πολύτροπον δς μάλα πολλὰ,

will find, I believe, that he lays rather more stress upon the first syllables of Μοῦσα and πολλὰ than upon those of ἔννεπε and δς μάλα, and the more heed he pays to the proper quantities of the syllables the more will this be so, because the time taken will be longer. Certainly such is my own experience. So it is, too, with such a line as: 'For the flesh of my body is molten, the limbs thereof molten as lead,' where the first *molten* has a stronger accent than the second.

I have sometimes wondered whether this rule in music and poetry is due in its turn to the pulsation of the blood in the arteries, for the sphygmograph traces a line in which there is a strong upward beat first, then a downward curve, then a sort of kick-up or secondary beat towards the close of the cycle.

Hence it follows that the fifth foot is a weak or light foot in comparison with its neighbours. Hence the facts set out above, and also that very acute and remarkable observation of Mr. Drewitt's (*C.Q.* II. 101) that over-lengthening is avoided by Homer in the first syllable of the fifth foot. He does not give any statistics: I have examined the second book of the *Odyssey*, and find 22 such over-lengthenings in the second foot, 26 in the third, 21 in the fourth, and only 10 in the fifth. It is a surprising fact, however, that shortening of a vowel before a mute and liquid is commoner after the second syllable of the fifth foot than in that position in any other foot; in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of the *Odyssey* I note the following cases: first foot 2, second 2, third 18, fourth 1, fifth 23. This is due, I think, to the nature of such words as προσήυδα, which are so much more conveniently placed at the end of a line.

ARTHUR PLATT.

Aietes. The sword must be brought, for it too must be purified; it is always prominent in the vase paintings which represent the scene at Delphi, and is held unsheathed in the hand over which blood was poured. But the homicide, stealing armed and unexpected into the house of the purifier and debarred from explaining his position in words, would do well to give a prompt demonstration of pacific intentions. The planting of the guilty weapon in the earth was doubtless part of the regular procedure; it would be removed at the moment when the homicide was about to receive the blood. Hence, if the priestess sees the hands of the stranger dripping with blood, she can reasonably conclude that the sword has just been plucked from the earth.

I am unable to produce any other Greek example of the purification of blood-guilty objects; but their trial for homicide at Athens is familiar, and belongs to the same order of ideas.

H. L. LORIMER.

¹ νεοσπαδῆς M., νεοσπαθῆς Fl. Fa. V.

EURIPIDES, *MEDEA*, LL. 560-561.

EARLE long ago remarked that in Jason's words,

καὶ μὴ σπανίζοιμεσθα, γινώσκων ὅτι
πένητα φεύγει πᾶς τις ἐκποδῶν φίλος

the word φίλος at the end was weak and seemed to introduce an unnecessary restriction. He therefore suggested (*Classical Review*, vol. x, p. 3):

πένητα φεύγειν πᾶς τις ἐκποδῶν φιλεῖ.

Would it not be simpler to read

πένητα φεύγει πᾶς τις ἐκποδῶν φίλον,

as being closer to the reading of the MSS.? The nominative φίλος can easily be explained by its following so soon after πᾶς τις, with which a scribe would tend to construe it. The conception of the 'poor friend' who is a burden on others is well known, and the suggestion receives some support from Eur. *El.* 1131:

πένητας οὐδεὶς βούλεται κτᾶσθαι φίλους.

G. R. DRIVER.

ARISTOPHANES, *ACHARNIANS*, ll. 68, ff.

καὶ δὴτ' ἐτρυχόμεσθα διὰ Καῦστρίων
πεδίων ὁδοιπλανοῦντες ἐσκηνημένοι,
ἐφ' ἄρμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακείμενοι,
ἀπολλύμενοι.

68 διὰ Bergk. παρὰ τῶν R. διὰ τῶν vulg.

So the Oxford editors. Recent editors and commentators (with the exception of Van Leeuwen) have preferred the plural form Καῦστρίων πεδίων to Dindorf's παρὰ Καῦστριον πεδίων or Blaydes' παρὰ Καῦστριον πόταμον, but none of them appears to have observed the justification for their preference. The road to Susa indeed passed through *two* 'plains of the Cayster' within two hundred miles of the Aegean, and the two alternative branches by which it led from Ephesus to the Anatolian plateau actually parted in one Καῦστριον πεδίων and reunited in another. If he took the Hermus Valley way, the traveller from Ephesus mounted the valley of the Cayster and dropped down over the watershed to Sardis by the route described in Herodotus V. 100. Thence, by a road coinciding in part with the Royal Road of the Persian kings, and in part with the modern railway, he travelled to the valley of the East Phrygian Cayster, which extended from Akroenus to Philomelium. If he chose the more southerly branch, along the Maeander Valley, he diverged at once from the Cayster Valley and travelled by Celaenae and Metropolis to Ipsus, where he entered the valley of the East Phrygian Cayster. At this point the two branches merged into the main highway through Phrygia Paroreios. Ipsus was identical with, or close to, the πόλις οἰκουμένη, called by Xenophon Καῦστρον πεδίων (*Anabasis* I. 2. 11). At this well-known road-junction Cyrus met the Cilician Epyaxa. Both the Hermus Valley and the Maeander Valley routes, and especially the latter,

were tolerably familiar to the contemporaries of Aristophanes. It was by the Maeander road that Alcibiades was travelling in 404 B.C., when he was murdered just before reaching the valley of the East Phrygian Cayster, and Ramsay finds an indication of the use of this road as early as the sixth century in a fragment of Hipponax (*Historical Geography*, p. 37; cf. p. 30, where 'Maeander' is a slip for 'Hermus,' and p. 35 f.). Rivers in Anatolia have a way of forcing themselves on the traveller's attention, and the double occurrence of the name 'Cayster' must have struck many a Greek ambassador and trader. Van Leeuwen's note, '*Caystri pedium urbis Phrygiae nomen apud Xen. I. 2 § 11 hinc est alienum*,' is true only if we alter the text. If we are to understand the reading of the MSS. Xenophon's reference is very pertinent.

W. M. CALDER.

ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ, 'INVENTORY,' IN HERODOTUS AND THUCYDIDES.

IN the *Class. Review* for August, 1914, in a short article on the expedition of Xerxes to Delphi, I suggested that the word ἀποδείξεις was sometimes used in the special sense of 'inventory,' and, as such, belonged to the technical language of military or legal phraseology. The Persian expedition was sent for the purpose of taking an inventory of the treasures of Delphi.¹ This process of inventory taking was, I suggested, a recognised military method of ensuring the neutrality of the party furnishing the inventory. If that party infringed its neutrality, everything set down in the list was seized by those who held the inventory. If, on the other hand, it maintained neutrality, it had the right to claim compensation, at the conclusion of hostilities, for anything that had been damaged or seized by the party to whom the inventory was furnished. An arrangement of this nature was explained in detail by Archidamus to the Plataeans in the third year of the Peloponnesian war.² If abstention from the war is desired, he says to them, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔσθε μὴδὲ μεθ' ἐτέρων, δέχεσθε δὲ ἀμφοτέρους φίλους, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ μηδετέρους. The Plataeans reply that their wives and children are in the charge of the Athenians, who might, therefore, not confirm their neutrality. Archidamus, to remove their apprehensions, tells them to hand themselves over to the care of the Spartans and carry out the following requirements:

1. To make a list of their landed properties—*γῆς ὅρους ἀποδείξατε*.

2. To make a list of their plantations and any other properties that can be catalogued—*δένδρα ἀριθμῶν τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ ἄλλα εἰ τι δυνατόν ἐς ἀριθμὸν ἔλθῃν (ἀποδείξατε)*.

3. To depart wheresoever they please until the end of the war—*αὐτοὶ δὲ μεταχωρήσατε ὅποι βούλεσθε, ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ*.

¹ This view was first proposed by Mr. J. A. R. Munro, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford.

² *Thucydides* II. 72.

He on his part undertakes :

1. To keep the listed property as a deposit—*ἔξομεν παρακαταθήκην*.

2. To pay compensation for use and depreciation of the occupied property—*ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ φορὰν φέροντες ἢ ἂν ὑμῖν μέλλῃ ἱκανῇ ἔσσεσθαι*.

3. To hand over everything again when hostilities have come to an end—*ἐπειδὴν δὲ παρέλθῃ, ἀποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἃ ἂν παραλάβωμεν*.

It seems, then, that the word *ἀπόδειξις*, which occurs in noun or verb form prominently in the Herodotean account of the Delphian expedition and in this passage of Thucydides, has a specialised meaning.

Further light is thrown upon the particular transaction which involved an *ἀπόδειξις* by a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* (12, 4). Sulla was preparing a large and important campaign. At the outset he approached Delphi as Xerxes had done. But in Sulla's time Delphian neutrality or partiality counted probably for less than it did in the days of Xerxes. Nevertheless Sulla is taking no risks. He hopes to control the shrine and at the same time, like Xerxes, he wishes to have the Delphian funds and properties as a financial reserve in case of trouble. He writes, therefore, to the Amphiktyons at Delphi, telling them to send the treasures of Delphi to him, and he sends Kaphis the Phokian to verify the amounts of such treasures — *ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύουσιν εἰς Δελφοῦς ὅτι τὰ χρήματα τοῦ θεοῦ βέλτιον εἴη κομισθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν· ἢ γὰρ φυλάξειν ἀσφαλέστερον ἢ καὶ ἀποχρησάμενος ἀποδώσειν οὐκ ἐλάττω*. He, on his part, undertakes to refund no less than he receives, assuming that he draws upon the Delphian moneys, at the conclusion of hostilities.

The duties of Kaphis must clearly have been to superintend the *ἀπόδειξις* of what was handed over.

Further interesting evidence as to this specialised meaning of *ἀπόδειξις* is found in the post-classical usage of the word itself. Ducange, in his *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* gives one meaning of *ἀπόδειξις* as 'securitas, cautio de suscepta pecunia.' From Murray's *English Dictionary* (s.v. 'policy') it appears that the English word 'policy,' meaning a 'contract for insurance,' is derived from the mediaeval Latin *apódissa* or *apódixa*, a receipt or security for money paid, itself derived from the Greek *ἀπόδειξις*. The modern Greek usage of *ἀπόδειξις* in the spoken language has almost exclusively the meaning of 'receipt.'

Delphi thus took out a policy of insurance with Xerxes, as Plataea might have done with Archidamus. With Sulla there was less of a *quid pro quo*; Delphi had everything to lose. Sulla's system of insurance was cynically one-sided.

S. CASSON.

ON SOME PASSAGES IN PLATO'S LAWS.

Laws II. 653D ὁρᾷν ἃ (δὴ Schanz) χρὴ πότερον ἀληθῆς . . . ὁ λόγος ὑμνεῖται τὰ νῦν, ἢ πῶς. For ἃ we might read α, i.e. πρῶτον; this is supported by the πρῶτον in 654A *infra*.

II. 663D, E λυσιτελέστερον . . . ποτε καὶ δυνάμενον μᾶλλον ποιεῖν μὴ βίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐκόντας . . . τὰ δίκαια; Stephanus proposed the insertion of *πειθεῖν* before *ποιεῖν*, and, however inelegant this may sound, something of the kind seems to be indispensable. I suggest, therefore, as an amendment, that *πείσαι* might be inserted after *καὶ*. The loss of *πείσαι* after *ποτε καὶ* would be another easy instance of the 'haplography' so frequent in the *Laws* (IEICAI=TEKAI).

III. 693A διαπεφορημένα καὶ συμπεφορημένα κακῶς ἐσπαρμένα κατοικεῖται. It is scarcely surprising that Cobet took objection to *ἐσπαρμένα* and advocated its exclusion. But since it is hardly credible that anyone would be tempted to import the word, I regard it as more likely to be a corruption and suggest in its place *ἐφθαρμένα*: for the association of this with *κακῶς* cp. *κακῶς οὕτως εἶναι διεφθαρμένα*, 692D.

711C καὶ πῶς οἰόμεθα ταχὺ συνακολουθήσειν κτλ. Since we clearly need here an answer that implies assent on the part of Clinias, the form *καὶ πῶς* . . .; cannot be tolerated. We might adopt Badham's *καὶ πῶς* <οὐκ> or *καὶ πάντως*, but the corruption would be more easily accounted for by *καὶ ἴσως*. In 712A there is another case where *πῶς* (for which Susemihl conjectured *καλῶς*) might plausibly be supplanted by *ἴσως*.

V. 739E ἀθανασίας ἐγγύτατα καὶ ἡ μία δευτέρως. Although Burnet passes over it in silence, the phrase *ἡ μία δευτέρως* has given pause to others, notably Schanz and Ritter. But, so far as I know, nobody has yet seen that the true reading must be *τιμῆα δευτέρως*, 'second in order of merit': the polities are being assigned their places in the scale of value (*τιμῆ*), see 739A *ad fin.* One may compare 728D δευτερον ἐτάχθη *τιμῇ* κτλ.; and, for the adverb, *αἰσχρὸν αὐ καὶ καλὸν δευτέρως* κτλ. 841B.

740E ἀπαντῶσαι <αλ> δύνανται ποιεῖν ὁ λέγομεν. So Burnet, adopting Winckelmann's insertion of *αλ*. Various other proposals have been made, but has anyone ever thought of *αλ πάντως αὐ*? Since the relative has reference to a number of different antecedents, *πάντως* would seem an appropriate word.

747D μὴδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς λανθανέτω περὶ τόπων ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἄλλοι τιγὲς διαφέροντες ἄλλων τόπων κτλ. The negative in *ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν* cannot conceivably be right, although Burnet—while mentioning Ast's excision—lets it stand in his text. Since intrusions of *οὐκ* are certainly rare, if not unknown, in the *Laws*, I prefer to see here a corruption: the original was, I suspect, *ὡς φύσει εἰσὶν*—'some places have a natural superiority over others.' The loss of the two final letters of *φύσει* (another case of "haplography," that fertile cause of trouble) was the origin of the blunder. Moreover, while the sentence sounds false with *οὐκ εἰσὶν*, and feeble with a bald *εἰσὶν*, with *φύσει* it gains both truth and force.

VII. 772D, E ὅποτε τις . . . κατὰ νοῦν ἐαυτῷ . . . ἐξηρηκέναι πιστεύει, γαμεῖτω κτλ. So the text runs, but it is obvious that an object is required for the infinitive. Are we to be left to supply it mentally, or is it not more probable that we should read *πιστεύει* <γάμον> *γαμεῖτω* κτλ.?

774C τὸ . . . μὴτ' ἐκδιδόντι διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν γηράσκειν τοὺς πένθητας. Neither *γηράσκειν* nor *διδάσκειν* (a marginal substitute) seems to yield

a tolerable sense. Here again, as so often, marriage lands us in difficulties! I am inclined to think that the original word may have been the comparatively rare *γαμίσκειν*, for which cp. Arist. *Pol.* 4. 1335^a20.

802B *ὅτι δ' ἂν ἐνδεὲς . . . τὸ δ' ἐπανερρόμενον ἐπιρρυθμίζειν*. Of the emendations recorded by Burnet, Ast's *ἐπανορθούμενον* seems the most attractive; but in view of *ἐνδεὲς* it may be worth while to consider whether it is not more probable that the original was *τὸ δὲ πληρούμενον*. For *αν=λη* see Burnet's footnote to 780b 6; cp. also *Gorg.* 496E.

IX. 864A *τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου δόξαν, ὕπερ ἂν ἔσσεσθαι τούτων ἡγήσονται κτλ.* What is to be made of *τούτων*? What sense has it or what construction? We might content ourselves with Hermann's *τοῦτό γ'* if only *ἔσσεσθαι* did not sound so inept and weak. The truth only dawns on us when we read on some fifteen lines and light on the words *καὶ οὕτως τῆς ἀληθοῦς περὶ τὸ ἀρίστον ἔφεσις*. The inference is, surely, irresistible that *ἔσσεσθαι τούτων* has usurped the room of *ἐφέσσεσθαι τούτων*.

January, 1921.

R. G. BURY.

WHAT WAS THE GREEK HYACINTH?

rubefactaque sanguine tellus
purpureum viridi genuit de caespite florem,
qui prius Oebalio fuerat de vulnere natus,
littera communis mediis pueroque viroque
inscripta est foliis, haec nominis, illa querellae.

WHENEVER this question arises, the names of four flowers are brought forward — Iris, Corn-flag, Martagon Lily, and *Delphinium Ajacis*. Some are even bold enough to bring forward Linnæus' genus *Hyacinth*, though he himself never claimed to get nearer than *Hyacinthus non scriptus*—a contradiction in terms.

A new claimant to the honour of the name of Hyacinth has a difficult task, that of gaining a hearing from two classes of judges—the botanists who have forgotten their classics, and the classical scholars who never knew any botany.

Both classes will surely agree that 'the discovery of some plant with marks which can be taken for the Greek letters AI generated the myth of the youth Hyacinthus.' We have such a flower at our doors almost; let the Oxford Fritillaries speak for themselves in May. Even Persephone herself, were she to visit the Christchurch meadows, would think the flowers her own, so like are they to their Southern kindred.

The chequering found in the *F. Mele-*

agris type of Fritillaries is in the form of square spots all over, or partially over the flower-leaves; they are kept in line between the parallel veins, and have a general likeness to square writing on papyrus: it is not difficult to trace in it the letters required.

Is there any other flower of so woe-begone an aspect! In some counties it is called Weeping Widow, for six drops of nectar hang, like tear-drops, inside the pensive bell. The colours of the Southern forms are of an even more sombre shade than ours. There is generally but one flower on each plant, and it is but of short duration, soon scorched and withered by the hot sun—an obvious type of untimely death. Finally, the dull red, as of bloodshed, suggests death by violence.

The character of colour, though elusive, is next in importance to that of markings. To quote from the late Professor R. S. Poole: 'The colour of the flower hyacinth is determined by that of the jacynth, one of the few precious stones of the ancients which can be determined beyond doubt.' The colours of the gem¹ are orange-red, brown and purple: the true colour of the Oriental jacinth was that of the Tyrian dye yielded by the murex, *πορφύρα*, described as of the colour of clotted blood. The colour of the flower and the gem alike is described as *πορφύρεος*. The classic gems in the British Museum labelled jacinth vary in colour from a dark opaque brown to various shades of deep red; some show a flame-like gleam, some have a deep ruby tint.

It may now be well to clear the way to the botanical aspect of the question by giving a list of species, a selection from the fine collection of Fritillaries in the Kew Herbarium; the geographical distribution is copied from it and from standard Floras of the regions in question. They are all of the *Meleagris* type; with few exceptions, the flowers are solitary:

F. Messanensis, purple, very distinct lines and squares. Laconia, Crete, Italy, Sicily.

F. Acropetala, wine purple, 'a compromise between *F. Meleagris* and *F. pyrenaica*.' Asia Minor, Syria, Lycia.

¹ The jacinth contains 70 per cent. of zircon.

F. pyrenaica, dark purple-brown, with chequered varieties.

F. pyrenaica var. *nigra*. From the Pyrenees to Greece, Peloponnese.

F. pyrenaica var. *Graeca* (Sibthorp's plant was found on Parnassus; the figure shows a poor specimen, not like the *Graeca* of the Herbarium).

F. tenella, purple, very distinct 'letters.' Albania, Montenegro, Zacynthus, Apennines.

Most of them affect mountain stations. Compare Sappho's ἐν οὐρεσιν.

Species are linked by varieties in a bewildering way, and the chequering obstinately recurs.

It should be observed that the mention of a locality does not exclude all others. Turkish rule has not made things easy for the scientific explorer.

Daremberg and Saglio, under *Hyacinthia*, say that the flower did not seem to have any place in the games; also that the games were introduced into Greece from abroad.

Some such account as the following would include the requirements of the case, and would keep within the bounds of probability: 'A flower of melancholy aspect, blood-red in colour, and apparently covered with writing, gave rise to a story of early death by violence, somewhat on the lines of the Adonis legend, and like it, possibly of Semitic origin' (Deimling's view of the *Hyacinth* legend). As it came westward to Greece proper, and then to Italy, the successive poets who handed it on might either just accept the flower as part of the scene, or they may have identified it with some flower in their own country which had the necessary marks. The species and varieties of *Fritillaria* with their intermediates, stretching in geographical area from Syria to the Pyrenees (not necessarily in abundance), lend themselves to the latter supposition. It would be an extreme view of classical colour-blindness to consider that the poets meant blue by the terms *suave rubens*, *ferrugineus*, and πορφύρεος.

CONSTANCE GARLICK.

ZEUS MEILICHIOS, ZEUS AGAMEMNON, AND ZANES.

THERE is a curious and supposedly corrupt passage in Macrobius which I

believe to be quite possibly sound, and to throw a ray of light on an obscure point in Greek terminology. It runs thus:¹ *ueteres autem nullum animal sacrum in finibus suis esse patiebantur, sed abigebant ad fines deorum, quibus sacrum esset, animas uero sacratorum hominum, quos zanas Graeci uocant, dis debitas aestimabant.* Although the subject under discussion is purely Roman—the meaning of *sacer*—the 'ancients' here named are at least as much Greek as Latin; for the sacred animals cf. e.g. Aesch. *P.V.* 666. The difficulty lies in the word *zanas*, which Eysenhardt marks corrupt, and various scholars have tried to emend, with poor success, to judge by the attempts known to me. Can anything be made out of the word as it stands, assuming it to be what it looks like, the plural of *Zeus*?

Certainly it does not mean that the Greeks thought the souls of *sacrati homines* (? *φαρμακοί*) to be replicas of the great sky-god. Nothing is clearer, so far as normal Greek worship is concerned, than that *Zeus* is Olympian and nothing but Olympian—a god of the living, and not of the dead. This visible world is the 'realm of *Zeus*,' and it is a more or less vague 'someone else' who looks after the departed.² A bold poet of religious genius³ may call him 'another *Zeus*,' and a late syncretiser⁴ declare, that the two are one; but for the normal man in classical times, *χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν*.

But the very greatness and majesty of *Zeus*, lifting him high above the realm of departmental gods such as *Ares*, gave him a certain vagueness which some of the best minds of Greece turned to high account. For just as to the great writers of Hebrew the name *Yahweh*, from being the appellation of a tribal god on a par with *Chemosh* or *Rimmon*, came to signify the One God of their lofty faith, so to monotheistic Greeks the name of *Zeus* became almost a synonym for God, and St. Paul found

¹ *Sat.* III. 7/6.

² Pind. *Ol.* II. 64 ff., τὰ δ' ἐν τᾷδε Διὸς ἀρχῇ | ἀλιτρά κατὰ γὰς δικάζει τις ἐχθρῇ | λόγον φράσαις ἀνάγκα.

³ Aesch. *Súp.* 231, Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν.

⁴ 'Orpheus,' *ap. Macr.* I. 18/18; oracle, *ibid.* 20.

himself able to use for his own purposes a philosophic hymn in his praise.¹

The inferior minds, however, were as incapable of this monotheism in Greece as in Judaea, if not more so, and I am inclined to think that for them the great name became quite early a convenient semi-adjectival word filling a gap in their vocabulary. For rich as Greek is, it is noteworthy that it has no exact equivalent of one common Latin adjective, namely, *diuos*.

That this is so is shown firstly by the fluctuating translations of the term in the later authors. Dio Cassius, holding no doubt, as Servius did long after him, that it means *deified*, renders it ἥρωας in more than one passage;² elsewhere we get θεῖος; and so on, indicating that no very satisfactory equivalent was to be had, even for the late use of the word of beatified members of the Imperial house. When we take the earlier use (as *diua Angerona*, the *famuli diui*, etc.) it becomes still harder to say what the Greek for it should be. δαίμων is perhaps the nearest, but that has the disadvantage of being stubbornly substantival — *eniautos daimon*, with all respect to the ingenious author of the phrase, is as odd Greek as *numen Rumina* would be Latin—while its corresponding adjective is put out of court by its special and peculiar use. θεῖος is too closely connected with θεός, and consequently much too clear-cut and definite.³ δῖος was a book-word.

As a rule this mattered little, for roughly speaking, and with the reserve which must attend all generalities, the Greeks worshipped clear-cut figures,

gods or heroes, of supposedly known form and character; while the Italians, until they became Hellenised, paid their cult to *numina* of known function but personality so shadowy that about all that one could say definitely of them was that they were *diui*—not human.

But, just as Italian religion was beginning to develop more definite figures of gods when the intellectual conquest of Greece fossilised it, so Greek polytheism showed here and there traces of polydaimonism, whether relics of a former stage or intrusions from a lower worship, or simply the product of the superstition of the more backward parts of the population. Now in speaking of these vague figures, if an adjective were wanted, *diuos* would be the very thing if it existed in Greek. I am inclined to hold that the word *Zeús* filled this want.⁴

If this be true, we can explain the very old names of two *numina*, the rather important Zeus Meilichios, and the insignificant Zeus Agamemnon. Of the so-called Zeus of Crete I have nothing to say in this context. He is pretty clearly a vegetation-deity, dying and rising again after the well-known formula; but it can be held, at least plausibly, that the Greeks called him Zeus simply because they found him worshipped locally as the supreme god, just as they applied that name not only to the Latin Iuppiter but to the Egyptian Amun and the Scythian Papaïos. But Meilichios is apparently pure Greek in name and cult; he is worshipped from Attica to Pompei;⁵ and he is without a doubt chthonian. Zeus Agamemnon again seems to be nothing but a hero, the Agamemnon of Homer, who, *pace* certain theorists, has nothing divine about him, beyond his pedigree. Now if *Zeús* can mean *diuos*, the difficulty

¹ Act. 17, 28; the *τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν* are presumably Kleantes and Aratos.

² E.g. Dio Ll. 20/6, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, i.e. *diuom Iulium eum uocans*; Servius and the interpolator on *Aen.* XII. 138, cf. V. 45. The latter passage definitely refers to the *diui imperatores*.

³ It should be noted that I am speaking of the meaning, not the derivation, of *diuos*. Etymologically, it has been pretty conclusively proved, so far as I can judge, that it and *deus* are the same word. But, apart from the fact that it can be adjectival, I hold that it differs from *deus* by being vaguer in sense. Wissowa (*Rel. u. Kult.*², p. 343) goes, I think, a little too far in saying that the words are 'schlechthin der Bedeutung nach identisch,' though, of course, they are often used loosely as synonyms.

⁴ It might be suggested that such a use of the name is a survival of a very ancient period, before it was definitely attached to a high god. This is possible; but as we know the cult of Zeus to be very old, and know little of the antiquity of the other cults, I prefer the theory in the text.

⁵ To the references in Farnell, *C.G.S.*, end of chapter on Zeus (Vol. I.), add Conway, *Ital. Dial.* XXXIX. 7, *ant kaila* (?) *iunéis meelikieis*, i.e. *usque ad cellam Iouis Milichii*. Of the history of this distant branch of the cult nothing seems to be known.

disappears at once. This also explains why we hear so little of these gentry. Our literature represents what the highest minds thought, with but few exceptions; and to them Zeus, if they believed in him at all, was at least the great sky-god, at most something very much higher. With the worship of minor chthonian powers went the attitude of mind which found this meaning of the ancient name not an enrichment but an emptying of content.

We may now return to the passage in Macrobius. Reading *Zanas* we translate 'souls of men made over to the gods, whom the Greeks call non-humans.' *θεοί* they certainly were not, nor *θεῖοι*, for that is a laudatory word; nor *ἥρωες*, for they were not yet dead; nor *δαίμονες*, for they were human in origin; but like the Roman *sacri* they belonged, to their cost, to the non-human world, their own race having cast them out.

Incidentally, I believe that we can now make sense of a sort out of the 'Pythagorean' epitaph on Zeus of Crete, *ὧδε θανὼν κείται Ζᾶν δν Δία κικλήσκουσιν*.¹ On the ordinary interpretation it simply means 'Here lies Zeus, whom they call Zeus.' But I suggest that it signifies 'Here lies in death the Zan—the non-human creature—whom they call Zeus'; a quite possible remark, it seems to me, to come from a follower of that strange mixture of esoteric philosophy and old wives' fables which bears the name of Pythagoras.

H. J. ROSE.

ADNOTATIONES VARIAE.

Aesch. *Eum.* 1007:

*ἵτε καὶ σφαγίων τῶνδ' ὑπὸ σεμνῶν
κατὰ γῆς σύμεναι, τὸ μὲν ἀττηρὸν
χώρας κατέχειν.*

Paley takes *ἵτε καὶ* . . . *κατέχειν* as 'go and restrain.' Verrall, 'let these sacrifices also speed you. . . . Emprison there . . .,' objecting to the coupling of the imperative and imperative infinitive by *καί*. Where such an infinitive follows an imperative he holds that both are distinct (e.g. Plat. *Rep.* 580b *ἴθι* . . .

¹ Porph. *de uita Pythagorae*, 17.

κρῖναι: Aristoph. *Ach.* 1000 *ἀκούετε* . . . *πίνειν*) or disjoined or joined by *δέ* (e.g. *Od.* 16. 150 *κίε, μηδὲ* . . . *πλάζεσθαι*).

But Aristoph. *Eg.* 1187 *ἔχε καὶ πιεῖν* would be most naturally translated 'take and drink'; and this seems to be the view of the editors of the Oxford text, who put no comma after *ἔχε* (i.e. *ἔχε, καὶ πιεῖν*: 'come, drink also' . . .). If this is so, it affords some confirmation for Paley's rendering of the *Eumenides* passage.

Eurip. *Orest.* 384:

σῶσόν μ'· ἀφίξει δ' αὐτὸς ἐς καιρὸν κακῶν.

So generally punctuated, e.g. Murray, Weil. But what does *ἐς καιρὸν κακῶν* mean? 'At the crisis of my misfortunes'? This is harsh: also *ἐς καιρὸν* and other adverbial usages of *καιρός* do not seem to be used with a genitive. Would it not be better to punctuate thus?

σῶσόν μ' (ἀφίξει δ' αὐτὸς ἐς καιρὸν) κακῶν.

(Cf. *σωθῆναι κακῶν* in line 779 of the same play.) Neither punctuation throws much light on *αὐτός* ('ipse quem speravimus,' Murray), but Soph. *Aj.* 1168 *ἐς αὐτὸν καιρὸν* lends support to Schaefer's suggested emendation, *αὐτόν*.

Is line 397 (*σοφόν τοι τὸ σαφές, οὐ τὸ μὴ σαφές*) the source of Dionysus' obscure summing up in Aristoph. *Frogs* 1434 *ὁ μὲν σοφῶς γὰρ εἶπεν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος σαφῶς*? It is the sort of quibbling paronomasia that Aristophanes would delight in pillorying.

Thuc. VI. 4. 2:

πρὶν δὲ ἀναστῆναι, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκίσαι, Πάμμυλον πέμψαντες Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσι.

'But before their expulsion, a hundred years after their settling (them), they sent,' etc. Or, reading *οἰκῆσαι* with A.B.E.F.M., 'after settling there.'

All the editors take *αὐτούς* as the subject of the infinitive, and call attention to the fact that *αὐτοί* would be more regular since, taken this way, the subjects of *οἰκίσαι* (*οἰκῆσαι*) and *κτίζουσι* are the same. If *οἰκίσαι* is read, then *Μεγαρέας* is understood as its object (so e.g. Marchant). Would it not be simpler to take *αὐτούς*, meaning the town of Hyblaeon Megara (cf. § 1 above, *Μεγαρέας ᾤκισαν τοὺς Ἰβλαίους κληθέντας*) as the object of *οἰκίσαι*?

Although that to which αὐτοὺς refers, viz. Μεγαρέας τοὺς Ἰβλαίους, occurs in the sentence not immediately preceding, yet the sense of the reference is carried on in the immediately preceding sentence by the participle οἰκήσαντες.

Eupolis, fr. 355 (Kock):

ταὐτὸν ποιεῖ τό τ' Ἀττικὸν τῷ ζῆλα συγκεραννύς.

The word ζῆλα, found in various forms (*Etym. mag.*, ζήλας: Choerob., Herodian., ζελᾶς: Photius, ζεῖλα (*sic*): Hesych., ζίλαι), is explained by the lexicographers as a Thracian word for 'wine': e.g. Hesych. ὁ οἶνος παρὰ Θραξί. Kock apparently accepts this, and quotes Miklosich. *Lexic. Sloven. vet. dial.* 50 'zelen ὄμφαξ, uva immatura,' mentioning also a Polish word 'zielony' = green.

Now both the grammarians and the lexicographers remark upon the loss of an iota, thus intimating (Photius indeed stating) that the real form was ζείλας, or the like, i.e. ζέσλας. This points to VYAS, fermentation (Gk. ζέω; Eng. yeast, etc.); but the fermentation in question was presumably not that of the juice of the grape, but of that of barley. ζείλας = beer, cf. ζῦθος.

Plato, *Gorg.* 482c, d:

ἔφη γάρ που Γοργίαν ἐρωτῶμενον ὑπὸ σοῦ . . . εἰ διδάξει . . . αἰσχυνθῆναι . . . καὶ φάναι διδάξειν . . . καὶ σοῦ καταγέλαν (κατεγέλα, *Vind.* 21), ὥς γε μοι δοκεῖν ὀρθῶς, τότε.

'Polus said that Gorgias, when asked by you (Socrates) whether he (Gorgias) would teach, was shamed into saying he would, and that he (Polus) then laughed justifiably at you (Socrates).' Or, reading κατεγέλα, 'into saying he would: and he (Polus) then laughed,' etc.

Why should Polus, or anyone else, laugh at Socrates at this juncture? It was obviously Gorgias at whom he laughed. The whole point of the passage is this: Gorgias was shamed into making a concession damaging to his own case, and Polus at the time (τότε) laughed at him for doing so. But now (νῦν δὲ πάλιν) Polus has made a similarly damaging concession (αὐτὸς ταὐτὸν τοῦτο ἔπαθεν, and above, ταὐτὸν παθόντος Πῶλον πάθος ὅπερ Γοργίου κατηγορεῖ), and the laugh, Callicles suggests, should be against him (οὐκ ἄγαμαι Πῶλον ὅτι σοι συνεχώρησεν τὸ ἀδικεῖν αἰσχίον εἶναι

τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι). Read, therefore, καὶ τοῦτου κατεγέλα, τοῦτου referring to Gorgias. Haplography will reduce τοῦτου to του, and thence the change to σου is easy.

MAURICE PLATNAUER.

QUINTILIAN I. 9 AND THE 'CHRIA' IN ANCIENT EDUCATION.

'A "CHRIA" is so called because it is particularly useful for life,' as Homer is called 'poet,' 'κατ' ἐξοχὴν.' So the rhetoricians inform us. Yet I doubt whether many English people know the meaning of the word; and I trust it is not insulting to add Liddell and Scott's definition, 'a pregnant sentence, maxim, remark, borrowed from some other author and worked out by certain rules.'

The derivation of the rhetoricians cannot be accepted. As Rutherford¹ says, this word means rather 'an apposite remark,' something suitable, πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. This is shown by the χρεῖαι of Machon, of which some 300 lines have been preserved by Athenaeus. Whatever else these are, they are certainly not, morally speaking, 'useful for life.' They are sayings of various Hetaerae, who were quick (εὐθικτος) at repartee. But it is mainly in connexion with the great philosophers that we find the word used in earlier times. Hecaton, for instance, collected thirteen books of their χρεῖαι.² Zeno of Citium recorded those of Crates.³ One may fairly conjecture that such collections were found valuable in philosophical propaganda, and served to lighten and illustrate the διαλέξεις.⁴ And if so, and if, as I should certainly hold, early Christian preaching followed the lines of other propagandism, philosophical and Jewish, may we not say that the collection of χρεῖαι best known to us is that little treatise commonly called Q, which was worked up into the First and Third Gospels, and has been the ab-

¹ A chapter in the *History of Annotation*, p. 28.

² Diog. Laert. VI. 32.

³ *Ibid.* 91.

⁴ Quite possibly the derivation from 'usefulness' was evolved from this use in philosophical preaching.

sorbing theme of theologians for the last generation?

When the 'Chria' was adopted by the educationists—still as a rule maintaining its philosophical character—its primary use was to be written out or learnt by heart in the school of the 'grammatistes' or 'literator'.¹ Thence it passed on to the higher schools—whether 'rhetor' or 'grammaticus' or both was a moot point—and was 'worked out by certain rules.' These are given us by the 'progymnasmatis.' Let us take Aphthonius. His example is: 'Isocrates said that the roots of παιδεία were bitter, but the fruit sweet.'

We divide our exercise into seven heads: (1) Isocrates. We shall speak of his work and virtues in general, but more particularly of his services to education. (2) We paraphrase the saying. (3) We give, and this is the kernel of the whole, the αἰτία or justification. In this case we dwell on the severe discipline of parents, paedagogi, and teachers, and show ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου that to avoid this is to forgo learning. (4) We take a παραβολή, or analogy, from nature—the labour of the sower and tiller and the richness of the harvest. (5) An example (παράδειγμα) from history—the perseverance of Demosthenes. (6) 'The testimony of the ancients.' Does not Hesiod speak of the rough path of virtue, whose summit is easy? Finally, (7) the epilogue.

Besides this there is another way of treating the 'Chria' mentioned by some writers. This is the κλίσσις, of which Theon gives us a full account:

If you take the 'Chria,' 'Isocrates said that gifted (εὐφνής) pupils are children of the gods,' you can turn round the opening sentence so as to bring it into any case; you can put it 'the saying of Isocrates is well known,' or 'it occurred to Isocrates to say,' or 'they say that Isocrates said,' and finally 'O Isocrates, you said.' [This is harmless enough, though the stress laid on it seems childish. But there is worse to follow.] For you must also make the unhappy boy 'decline' the 'Chria' in *numbers* as well as *cases*, and declare that 'two Isocrateses said two gifted disciples were children of the gods.' And so with the plural.

Our authors note that a 'Chria' may often be 'practical'—i.e. record some apposite action, and their favourite example is: 'Crates (or Diogenes) seeing an unruly youth (or a greedy [ὀψό-

φαγον] boy) beat his paedagogus.' Further, they distinguish regularly the 'Chria' from the γνωμή. This last only differs in that it is ἀπρόσωπος²—i.e. not attached to any particular person. If we turn the 'Chria' about παιδεία into a γνωμή, we shall omit the first heading on Isocrates. Otherwise the treatment will be the same. Though no doubt the distinction often became something merely formal and wooden, it has some reality in it. For it is essential to the 'Chria' that it reflects the character and mentality of the speaker, and is not merely said at large. And doubtless good teachers insisted on this point, as indeed Aphthonius does to some extent.

We are now in a position to consider the remarks of Quintilian (I. 9) on the subject, on some of which commentators and translators have gone wildly astray, through not observing the Greek parallels.

'Sententiae quoque et Chriae et ethologiae(?) subiectis dictorum rationibus apud grammaticos scribantur, quia initium ex lectione ducunt: quorum omnium similis est ratio, forma diversa, quia sententia universalis est vox, ethologia personis continetur. Chriarum plura genera traduntur,' etc.

Quintilian, it should be premised, is suggesting a compromise between the Greek practice, in which most or all of the 'progymnasmata' were regarded as rhetorical, and the Roman, in which the 'grammaticus' attempted them all. He has already suggested as suitable to the latter (1) the Aesopic fable, (2) easy paraphrase from any verse that is being read in class. The words 'sententiae—scribantur' mean then 'maxims, etc., are suitable exercises for the middle school, including a statement of the reasons (αἰτίαι)³ for them.' As we have seen, this αἰτία was the kernel of the 'maxim' and 'Chria' exercises. And

² While the 'Chria' ἀναφέρεται εἰς τινα πρόσωπα. This, of course, is the 'personis continetur' of Q. It is curious, however, that he applies this only to the 'ethology' or 'aetiology,' and not to the 'Chria.' I believe we should read for 'personis continetur' Chriarum 'personis continetur' <ut et> Chria, harum.

³ I am sure that no one who studies Q.'s use of 'ratio' will find any objection to this rendering, in the fact that he uses it in the same sentence in the rather different sense of 'general principle.'

¹ Seneca, *Ep.* 33 § 7, ideo pueri et sententias ediscendas damus, et has quas Graeci Chrias vocant, quia complecti illas puerilis animus potest, qui plus adhuc non capit. Vide also Quin. I. 1, 36.

I think we may expand his meaning as follows: 'Apud grammaticum,'¹ they should be just written out or learnt by heart. 'Apud rhetora,' the elaborate treatment of Aphthonius may be used. 'Apud grammaticum,' the 'ratio' is as much as the pupils can manage.²

But what are these so-called 'ethologies'? The word never appears in the progymnasmata. Three explanations have been given: (1) A sketch of a type of character³—a sort of elementary Theophrastus. This is clearly quite incompatible both with 'dictorum' and 'personis continetur.' (2) A speech in character—i.e. an 'ethopoeia' or 'prosopopoeia'; but this is the very thing which Quintilian wishes to exclude from the middle school.⁴ (3) A sketch of the character of some celebrated individual. This will suit 'personis continetur,' but must be strained to fit 'dictorum.' My solution is a simple one. I go back to the MSS. No MS., so far as I know, has 'ethologia,' which is a correction of Regius. The preponderating evidence is for 'aetiologia.' I submit that this is an entirely natural term for an exercise which consisted mainly in giving the αἰτία of a saying.⁵

¹ Q. never mentions the 'grammatistes,' but says a good deal in chapter 1 on that stage of teaching. This no doubt, because in his clientèle the almost invariable practice was to employ home teaching. In the second stage practice varied, and the famous discussion on the relative merits of home and school teaching in chapter 2 entirely applies to this stage. No one presumably employed a private 'rhetor.'

² We should perhaps include some element of the μαρτύρια τῶν παλαίων. In the *Class. Rev.* (May-June, 1919) I pointed out that the words 'quia initium ex lectione ducunt' must imply that the exercises were in many cases rather suggested by and illustrated from the reading than actually taken from it. Most of the 'Chriae' we know did not come from the poets, who alone were read in the Roman 'grammatical' schools.

³ Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 95, 65, where 'ethologia' is said to be the name given by Posidonius to the 'descriptio cuiusque virtutis.'

⁴ Q. II. 1, 2.

⁵ Although αἰτιολογία does not appear amongst the 'progymnasmata' it is regularly given as a 'figure'—i.e. when we add a reason for what has been stated. Thus Cic. *De Or.* III. 202 we have among the figures 'ad propositum subiecta ratio,' which Q. IX. 3, 94 identifies with αἰτιολογία. So Auct. ap. Halm, *Rhet. Lat.* p. 73, αἰτιολογία 'est cum causam alicuius rei et rationem subicimus.' I think these passages confirm both

If I am asked how then did it differ from the 'Chria,' I answer that the difference was so vague that the term died out. It may have consisted in the form in which the theme was set, or it may have been the more general term, 'Chria' being originally restricted to sayings of philosophical origin.

Quintilian goes on to note some formal varieties of 'Chriae,' especially the 'active kind.'⁶ He, too, gives the example of the 'chastised pedagogue,' but with a slight difference, which marks, I think, his mental outlook. The unruly or greedy boy of the Greek parallels becomes with him an 'indoctus puer.' Quintilian, as we know, had a strong aversion to flogging, and a profound belief in the natural willingness of boys to learn—a willingness which, if lost, is lost only through mishandling. Thus instinctively he slips into an expression which implies that not only the misbehaving boy, but the dunce also, is a disgrace to his teachers.⁷ He

the reading 'aetiologia' and the rendering which I have given of 'subiectis dictorum rationibus.'

I shall add that a full consideration of the word would require a discussion of 'aetiologia' in Sen. *Ep.* 95, 65, and 'ethologia' in Suet. *De Gramm.* 4. But exigencies of space forbid, and I can only say that the first seems to me to support my contention and the second not to weaken it.

⁶ He speaks, however, rather tentatively 'in . . . factis esse Chriam putant.' He then notes another variety, 'quod eodem nomine appellare non audent, sed dicunt χρεῖωδες ut Milo quem vitulum assueverunt ferre, taurum ferebat.' This last Theon rightly diagnoses as the παθητική form of the 'practical' Chria, the ordinary one being ἐνεργητική, for the moral lies in what happens to the person rather than what he does. Theon's doctrine is clearly more developed than Q.'s, and this I take as evidence that his date is not so early as some have thought possible.

⁷ So great was the influence of Q. in the early Middle Ages that I should be inclined to ascribe to this 'Chria' a practice noted by Rashdall (*Univ. of Europe* II., p. 610), as in use in the School of Rheims in the thirteenth (?) century. There it was laid down that the headmaster should examine the classes weekly, and if they did badly, 'verberabit pueros sed magistros magis.' The authors of this practice, which must have added greatly to the excitement and perhaps on the balance to the happiness of schoolboy life, could not rise to Q.'s view of the folly of chastising boys, but accepted willingly the idea of the guilt of the teacher. It may be noted here that it is a complete error to

then concludes with words which also have been generally mistranslated: 'in his omnibus et declinatio per eosdem ducitur casus, et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est.' The 'declinatio' is evidently the *κλίσις* mentioned above, and the words 'et tam . . . ratio est' mean that the 'practical' *Chria* is just as susceptible of the *αἰτία* treatment as the 'logical.'

What was the value of this 'the useful thing par excellence'?¹ The *κλίσις* treatment was certainly childish, and perhaps the whole method may have tended to priggishness. The particular example about *παιδεία*, associated as it obviously is with the rod, is undoubtedly unctuous, and savours of 'You know it hurts me more than it does you, my boy.' I noticed in an earlier article,² that the saying appears in that splendid piece of oratory, the Twelfth Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. There, too, the writer clearly connects it with corporal punishment.³ But apart from these considerations the method of development seems to me admirable and a rebuke to the slipshod methods of teaching composition current in our own schools, and the probability that in the hands of pedants it became mechanical does not detract from its excellence. In

fact the whole system of 'progymnas-mata,' in which the 'Chria' and *gnome*⁴ appear as one out of some dozen, was thought out with a care and insight from which modern teachers have much to learn.

Though one out of many, the 'Chria' stands out historically in two ways. In the first place, anyone who reads between the lines of ancient educational literature will see running through the whole the conflict between the philosophical and rhetorical ideals, the one exemplified by Philo and Plutarch, the other by Quintilian. It bears a close analogy to the modern conflict between religious and secular education. And it is in the 'Chria' that the philosopher had his fling. By tradition the subjects were mainly philosophical, and the lesson which it taught that the poets or 'ancients' were to be regarded as a vehicle for illustrating moral thoughts is also philosophical. It is a doctrine strongly urged in Plutarch's 'quomodo deceat audire poetas,' and stands in marked contrast to the broader and more literary view urged in Quintilian I. 8.

The other point is this: while our oratory of the Bar, the Senate, and the platform doubtless owes much to ancient eloquence and perhaps more than we think to rhetorical schools, it has no continuous descent from them. But there is one form of oratory, and that the most widespread, whose lineage is unbroken—I mean that of the pulpit. We can trace it back from modern to mediaeval, from mediaeval to patristic preaching, and how closely this last was connected with rhetoric, Augustine⁵ himself tells us. Thought of as a discourse on a given *topic*, the sermon is nearer to another of the 'progymnas-mata,' the *Κοινὸς Τόπος*, and it is not without reason that it is regularly called a 'common-place' in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. But in its dominant form of a discourse developing a *text*, it is the 'Chria.' We find this form certainly as early as Origen. I do not suggest that this is

suppose that Q.'s influence on education only begins with Poggio's discovery of the complete text in 1416.

¹ I may note here that the 'Chria' continued to be found useful in one country at any rate till modern times. Goethe says (*Wahrheit und Dichtung* I.), 'in rhetorischen Dingen, Chriren und dergleichen, that es mir niemand zuvor.' He adds that his father used to give him money rewards for his success therein.

² *Class. Rev.*, May-June, 1919. I did not then note a point, which I do not myself think fanciful, because I esteem so highly the richness of thought in this author. In v. 11 he does not use the phrase 'bitter root,' but in v. 15 he continues, 'lest any root of bitterness . . . trouble you; lest there be any profane person as Esau, who . . . sold his birthright.' It is true that the phrase 'root of bitterness' is used in allusion to Deut. xxix. 18, but is it not also an allusion to the 'Chria'? And may not the thought be 'The severe discipline of our parents and teachers was the mark of our sonship. We used to be told it had "a bitter root," but the true root of bitterness is the ἀπαίδευτος who has forfeited his sonship'?

³ So much so that our versions translate *παιδεία* by 'chastening.' The 'disciplina' of the *Vulgate* is better.

⁴ In the following remarks I include the 'gnome' under the 'Chria.'

⁵ *De Doctrina Christiana*, Book IV.

its sole or even main parentage.¹ But I can hardly doubt that familiarity with this favourite school exercise did much to recommend this form of discourse to the Christian rhetoricians.

F. H. COLSON.

ROMAN BURIAL.

PROFESSOR ROSE is still of opinion that the original place of Roman burial was often the house (*Class. Rev.* XXXIV. p. 144). It may therefore be worth while to add a few supplementary considerations to the very weighty arguments put forward by Dr. Warde Fowler against this view (*Class. Rev.* XI. pp. 33 ff.).

Firstly with regard to *suggrundarium*, Fulgentius is not a first-rate authority, nor is his account of the burial of infants in niches under the eaves free from obscurity. At the same time his tale is too strange to be fiction, and analogies confirm the possibility that Roman infants may have been buried in or below the structure of the house. Examples of the burial of children beneath houses during the Bronze Age have been recorded in Aegina (Stais, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1895, p. 227), Crete (*B.S.A.* VI. p. 77), and Melos (*B.S.A.* XVII. pp. 6-9). At Phylakopí in Melos a series of these burials was found beneath the first city. All were of children, older indeed than forty days, but none possessed of a complete set of second teeth. The bodies had been inserted in *pithoi* in a contracted position, with the head to the mouth of the jar, which was then covered with a basin. The *pithoi* were placed in depressions scooped in the natural rock beneath the foundations of the houses. But no adult skeleton was found so buried, and the citizens of Phylakopí, throughout the occupation of the site, followed the normal practice of burying adults in cemeteries outside the settlement. The burial of infants, possibly with a view to facilitating their rebirth, within or beneath the structure of houses does

not imply the similar burial of adults, but rather the contrary.

Secondly, it will be remembered that the sole positive evidence in favour of the burial below the house consists of two passages in Servius and one in Isidore of Seville. Warde Fowler has pointed out that neither of these scholars is an infallible authority for prehistoric practice. One may perhaps go further and suggest that Servius or Varro, if he be Servius' authority, came to adopt their view, not upon the evidence of tradition, but as the result of deduction from a mistaken premise. *Sciendum quia etiam domi suae sepeliebantur; unde orta est consuetudo ut dii penates colantur in domibus*, writes Servius ad *Aen.* V. 64. Ad *Aen.* VI. 152 he repeats and corrects himself: *apud maiores, ut supra diximus, omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur. Unde etiam umbras larvas vocamus. Nam dii penates alii sunt*. It looks as though Servius or Varro, in common with many of their respective contemporaries, not to speak of later scholars, had confused notions as to the classification of *lares*, *penates*, *lemures* and *larvae*, but tended to regard them all as in origin ancestral ghosts. If *lares* and *penates* were ancestral ghosts, the theory that people had once been buried under their houses was a plausible explanation of certain features of their worship. But in fact they were not originally ancestral ghosts. (See Warde Fowler, 'The Origin of the Lar Familiaris,' *Roman Essays and Interpretations*, pp. 56 ff.)

Thirdly, the argument that the ritual of the Lemuria supports the theory (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 307 note) is not very convincing. The Attic popular superstition alluded to in the *Heroes* of Aristophanes (Diog. Laert. 8. 34; Suidas, Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα), which recognised the presence of ghosts at meal-times or the ritual of the third day of the Anthesteria, might be quoted with equal force to prove that Athenians buried their dead beneath their houses. But in fact they did not.

Fourthly, all the archaeological evidence is against the normal burial of adults within the existing walls of the city. Both the *Terra mara* and the *Villa nova* cemeteries lay outside the settlements of the living. Whence and

¹ I have seen it ascribed to the traditions of the synagogue. Luke iv. 18-27 has something of this character, but no other discourse in the New Testament.

why did the Romans adopt a method of burial opposed both to their own practice in historical times and to the universal practice of the Mediterranean world in prehistoric times? The law of the XII. Tables it is true implies the necessity for legislation, but that has been explained by the growth of the city which had brought former cemeteries within its new boundaries. I understand that the recent investigations at Mycenae are likely to provide an illustration of the process. When the city was enlarged and the great walls were built, what had been a cemetery without the settlement was brought within its boundaries. The royal graves were fenced off in a sacred enclosure; the graves of lesser folk were in some cases built over. The same may have happened in Rome, and Roman houses may have existed beneath the foundations of which lay a grave. But in such cases the interment preceded the house-building. To believe upon the present evidence that the Romans ever possessed or adopted the practice of burying their dead beneath already existing houses demands a robuster faith than I possess.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

QUAESTIONES ROMANAE.

(Notes on WARDE FOWLER'S *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*).

(a) WHY are beans taboo?

The explanation may be found in the Greek word for bean. *κύαμος* is tentatively referred to the same root as *κύανος*-, but neither etymology nor common-sense support the derivation. It is one of the class of nouns in *-αμος* formed from verbs in *-εω*: such as *ἄρταμος*, a cook, from *ἀρτέομαι*, to prepare meat for table; *ὄρχαμος*, a dancer, from *ὀρχέομαι*; and *ποταμός* from *ποτέω* seen in the Hippocratean *πότημα*, a draught.

So *κύαμος* derives from *κύνεω*, to be pregnant, and the meaning given by Pollux, 'the swelling of the breasts with milk,' traces back to its original sense. *κύαμος*, bean, is properly 'the thing big with life'; and anyone who has watched the rapid and mysterious pushing forth

of the young bean from the parent womb will understand why the bean was a symbol of sexual fertility, why the Pythagoreans who abstained from living food also abstained from a vegetable which in its growth has almost the vitality of the animal kingdom, and why vampire ghosts seeking the blood of men were as easily deceived by beans as were the giants by Jack's miraculous stalk.

(b) Why are the pontifices so called?

The connexion between the building of bridges and the exercise of priestly functions has always been obscure. The bridges across the Tiber were not peculiarly sacred, and pontifices are found in communities possessing neither river nor bridge. The explanation may be found in the primary meaning of the word *pons*. *Pons* is a passage, a path: especially a passage constructed for a special purpose and of a temporary nature: that it should have water beneath is not essential, and the passage by which voters passed at the Comitia was called a *pons*. So *porta* and *portus* alike mean 'an entrance.' Now the making of passages must have been one of the chief duties of the ancient priest. The land on which his people were settled was protected from the dangers of the hostile powers without by an invisible boundary line, renewed and strengthened every year by a solemn *lustratio* with sprinkling of holy water and shedding of victims' blood. The boundary is no less real because it is invisible, and only a priest can make the passages through the ring fence whereby dealings with the outer world are possible. Such *pontes* in the early community work correspond to the *portae* of the city state, and it may be noticed that in the ritual of the *lustratio* at Iguvium it is at the three gates, the weak points in the sacred as in the physical barrier, that the chief sacrifices were offered.

(c) What were the Lares?

The Lares and Penates are usually thought of as the protecting guardians of the house. But it is doubtful if this was their original character.

Both among the Greeks and the Romans gods are of two kinds. There

is the single divinity, alive, strong and benevolent, the god of the conquerors; and there are the group-divinities, spirits of the dead, malignant and defeated, whom it is yet policy to appease.

The group-divinities of Rome are the Lemures, the Lares, the Manes, the Penates; the first two Etruscan, the second two Latin words. As to the character of the Lemures there is no doubt. They were 'Larvae nocturnae et terrificationes imaginum et bestiarum': and they were appeased by offerings of beans. The Manes are exactly described by the adjective *inmanis*. They were creatures vaguely huge and therefore terrifying: you could not see where they began and where they ceased—a fairly accurate description of what we call a ghost. It was hoped, of course, that the name Manes would reverse their character. The methods pursued with the Lemures and Manes are methods of fear. A bolder course is to welcome such unpleasant visitors as honoured guests and to make them part of the family. This was, I believe, what was done with the Lares and Penates. The latter were given a new name and put in charge of the larder; the former were taken out of the class of group-divinities and a benevolent Lar Familiaris created in their place. But that the Lares were not originally kindly spirits may be inferred from their name. It is agreed that it is an Etruscan word, and we know the sinister character of the Etruscan religion. Moreover, we cannot separate *lar* from the adjectival noun *larua* (sc. *imago*) formed from it. If the Larvae were malignant spirits of the same kind as the Lemures, then the Lares also must originally have belonged to this class.

F. A. WRIGHT.

NOTES ON LUCRETIUS.

I. 357. Haud ulla fieri ratione uideres.
denique cur alias aliis praestare uidemus . . .

FOR '*fieri*,' the variant '*ualeret*' has the respectable authority of Q and the Gottorpien fragment.

It may perhaps be suggested that this represents an original '*ualeret*' in place of '*uideres*,' in a sense similar to '*posset*' (cf. I. 603, for example).

'*Ualeret*' might then be due to accommodation to the neighbouring '*corpora*,' while '*uideres*' would be the second stage of a corruption due to '*uidemus*' at the end of the following line.

II. 381.

Perfacile est animi ratione exsoluere nobis. . .

If '*animi*' be thought unsound, '*simili*' would seem preferable to '*tali*' or '*parili*,' since it might be lost through the copyist's eye straying to '*dissimili*' in the preceding line. As instances of this type of corruption may be cited—e.g. II. 251-2, III. 852-3 (if Merrill's '*nil*' be adopted in 853), III. 886-7, V. 393-4 ('*inter se*' and '*interea*'), V. 585-6, V. 775-6.

'*Animi*' might then be supplied as a stopgap from a reminiscence of I. 425, I. 448, etc.

III. 1. O tenebris tantis, O. }
— tenebris tantis, Q. }
E tenebris tantis, *Itali.* }

Q seems to give the truest testimony, namely a blank syllable. I think that the rhetorical force of the opening of this invocation would be considerably strengthened were we to fill the gap with < *Te*, >,—striking the leading note in the very first word, giving a powerful epanalepsis with '*te sequor*' (3), and a four-word alliteration to launch the passage under way. The initial T might well have been left to be illuminated, and thus accidentally omitted.

III. 617. certis regionibus omnibus haeret.

'*pedibus . . . manibus . . . sedibus . . . regionibus omnibus*' in two consecutive lines would surely have sounded uncouth even to Lucretius' ear; moreover, it seems only possible to extract a workable sense by the violent expedient of supposing '*omnibus*' to be a masculine dative.

Surely we should hesitate to credit any competent author with such a harshness. IV. 420 suggests '*omnis obhaeret*' as, at any rate, a conceivable remedy.

R. J. SHACKLE.

VIRGIL, AENEID VI. 545.

discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris.

Is it possible that in the phrase *explebo numerum* there is a tinge of the meaning of *numerus* in the sense of 'the common throng' as we have it in Horace, *Epistles* I. 2. 27, *nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati*? Deiphobus obviously means that he will return to his place among the shades; by speaking with Aeneas and the Sibyl he has been singled out from them, but now he will 'fill up the common throng (by rejoining it) and will lapse again into insignificance. It is a tinge of meaning continued, in typically Virgilian style, by the words *reddarque tenebris*.

R. B. A.

VERGIL AND THE MESSENIACA
OF RHIANUS.

It has been satisfactorily demonstrated that the Messeniaca of Rhianus is summarised in Pausanias IV. 17. 6-24. 1.¹ In these chapters there are one or two points which suggest that Vergil may have been influenced to some extent by Rhianus.

Couat remarks that the night raid on the Corinthians, like the raid in *Aeneid* IX.,² is imitated from the raid on the camp of Rhesus in *Iliad* X. One or two details are common to Vergil and Pausanias, which are not found in Homer. Odysseus and Diomedes find the Thracians sleeping with their weapons and horses beside them. Diomedes kills thirteen men, of whom Rhesus is the only one named. No spoils are taken except the horses of Rhesus. In Pausanias and Vergil alike, the raid is made on men sleeping in disorder. The Latins killed by Nisus and Euryalus have fallen asleep after a drunken revel. Similarly, on one occasion, Pausanias narrates that Aristomenes, when taken prisoner, killed his captors, who had been made drunk by a maiden. Vergil names several of the slain leaders, as does Pausanias, and in both cases spoils are taken.

Pausanias' description of the taking of Ira has many details which remind us of the taking of Troy in *Aeneid* II. Both cities are surprised by night, the walls being left unguarded; there is confused fighting in the streets, and both the Messenians and the Trojans defend themselves desperately; both Aristomenes and Aeneas, though knowing that the cause is already lost, encourage the citizens to resist. Still more striking is the resemblance between the part played by Theoclus the seer, and Panthus the priest of Apollo.³ Theoclus warns Aristomenes that Ira is doomed, and bids Aristomenes save himself. The hero accordingly takes the secret treasure on which the fortunes of Messene depend, and buries it on Mount Ithome. So Panthus warns Aeneas and delivers to him the Penates. Though Vergil does not actually reproduce any passage in Pausanias there is a marked likeness in tone between the warnings of Theoclus and the speech of Panthus. Again, Hector's charge to Aeneas to flee bears a strong resemblance to that of Theoclus to Aristomenes.⁴

It cannot be claimed with certainty that Vergil imitated Rhianus; but, in view of the fact that he was in the habit of borrowing freely from his predecessors, it is not impossible that some details of treatment were suggested or supplied by the Messeniaca.

M. MARJORIE CRUMP.

QUINTILIAN, 9. 4. 101.

minus gravis erit spondeus praecedentibus et pyrrhichio ut 'iudici Iuniani.'

THUS the cod. Bambergensis. The Ambrosianus reads *praecedenti* (followed by an erasure). . . . It is clear that the name of a metrical foot has fallen out. But whatever that foot may be there are grave difficulties, if with Halm we read *iudici*, since the phrase (1) contains no pyrrhic, and (2) is identical in rhythm with *ausus est confiteri*, which Quintilian has praised for its rhythm a few sections back (94). Halm suggests that *cretico* has dropped out before *et*, while Meister adopts Spalding's suggestion and supplies *iambo*. But the first syllable of *Iuniani* is long and not short as they appear to suppose. If, however, we read *iudicii*, the normal spelling in post-Augustan Latin (see Brambach, *Hilffb. für lat. Rechtschreibung*, 1882, p. 10), it is easy to restore the passage by reading *praecedentibus pyrrhichio et palimbacchio* (or, if it be preferred, *palimbacchio et pyrrhichio*, starting from the final spondee and working back). The corruption of the text is easily explained by the similarity of the termination *-chio*. It is hard for the less sensitive English ear to judge of the truth of Quintilian's criticism, though the rhythm is clearly less weighty than that of the example which immediately precedes, *illud scimus, ubicunque sunt, esse pro nobis*. But in any case it is difficult to attach a very high importance to Quintilian's detailed remarks on rhythm, since they are palpably perfunctory and confused.

H. E. BUTLER.

LIVY, 1. 32. 12.

fieri solitum ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut sanguineam praeustam ad fines eorum ferret et . . . diceret . . . id ubi dixisset, hastam in eorum fines emittebat.

IN this passage where Livy describes the ancient rite of declaring war, the words *sanguineam praeustam* have been regarded with suspicion. Two objections may not without justice be brought against the reading: (1) in place of *sanguineam* we naturally expect a word answering to *ferratam*; (2) the phrase implies that the *hasta ferrata* was not *sanguinea*. Too much importance should not be attached to the first objection as Livy is probably paraphrasing an ancient formula in which the niceties of style may well have been disregarded. With regard to the second objection it has been assumed that the *hasta praeusta* was stained with blood, while the *hasta ferrata* was not so stained on the ground that it was obviously a weapon of war, whereas the *hasta praeusta* was an obsolete weapon which might conceivably be regarded as having no such significance. But it is obvious that the throwing of the *hasta praeusta* is more primitive than the use of the *hasta ferrata*: consequently it is probable that, when the *hasta ferrata* took its place, a conservative people like the Romans would have continued to stain the spear-point as of old to avoid any breach with the earlier ritual. These difficulties can be

¹ Auguste Couat, *La Poésie Alexandrine sous les trois premiers Ptolemées*.

² *Aen.* IX. 314-366.

³ *Aen.* II. 318-335.

⁴ Cf. Paus. IV. 20. 1. *Aen.* II. 324-327. Paus. IV. 21. 7. *Aen.* II. 289-292. Also Venus' words, *Aen.* II. 617-619.

got over by the adoption of Madvig's transposition *præustam sanguineam*, when *sanguineam* may be taken as referring to both types of spear (cp. Professor Foster's translation in the Loeb series). But the question may legitimately be raised whether *sanguineam* does mean 'stained with blood' at all. If it refers to the material of the *hasta præusta*, all difficulties as to its position disappear. Turnebus, in two passages of his *Adversaria*, refers to the possibility of its referring to the material, and suggests that it was made of the *sanguineae virgae* or *sanguinei frutices* mentioned by Pliny (16. 74, 176 and 19, 180; 24. 73.). Again the *virga sanguinea* was used for the scourging of *parricidae* (Modestinus, *Dig.* 48. tit. 9, 1, 9.). The question arises as to what this plant may be. The answer is not far to seek. Macrobius (3. 20. 3) quotes a list of *infelices arbores* from Tarquitiu Priscus, containing the name *sanguinem*. This name survives to-day in Italian, since the cornel is still called *sanguine*. Now the cornel was, as is well known, used for shafts (cp. *Georg.* 2. 447 and the bleeding cornel-thicket that sprang up from the shafts in the body of the dead Polydorus in *Aen.* 3. 23 ff.). Its name and colour would further have symbolic value. Against this view it may be urged that the spear thus thrown was as a matter of fact stained with blood: cp. Amm. Marc. 19. 2. 6. and Dio Cass. 71. 33. But both authorities are late and *sanguineus*, as referring to the tree, would easily give rise to misconception. It is not even necessary to suppose that Livy understood the ancient formula. It is not, of course, contended that this interpretation is conclusive, but it is one which has, perhaps, been too confidently rejected.

My friend and colleague Mr. M. Cary further points out that the view that the name Sanguinetu on the shores of Trasimene preserves the memory of the slaughter of the Romans in Hannibal's great victory becomes very dubious in view of the use of *sanguine*=cornel. It should mean no more than the 'cornel thicket.'

H. E. BUTLER.

THE STABULARIUS.

THERE are two titles in Justinian's *Digest* (IV. 9 and XLVII. 5) dealing with the liability of *nautae*, *caupones*, and *stabularii* for loss of what had been entrusted to their care. In English translations these persons are invariably described as 'shipowners,' 'inn-keepers,' and 'stable-keepers.' The word *nautae* is thus used in a wide sense as signifying carriers by sea. It has never yet been suggested that the term *stabularius* may also have been used in a somewhat wide sense as signifying, in legal phraseology, a 'common carrier.' In countries where the law is founded upon that of Rome, it might be important to know whether there is any

reasonable ground or any authority for such a suggestion. Hack vehicles were not unknown in ancient Rome; one may perhaps suppose that they were owned by *stabularii*. Some classical scholar may perhaps be able and willing to throw some light on this point, and oblige

AN INQUIRER.

LABIENUS AND THE STATUS OF THE PICENE TOWN CINGULUM.

A LABIENUS of Cingulum is mentioned by Silius Italicus among the Romans who fell at the battle of Cannae: (X. 34-35) '*celsis Labienum Cingula saxa | miserunt muris.*' This allusion, combined with Caesar's statement that Cingulum was built or rebuilt by his lieutenant Titus Labienus has generally been regarded as sufficient reason for assigning the Labieni to the Picene town of that name. The form of the *nomen* in *ienus*, it has also been pointed out, is especially characteristic of Picenum and Umbria.¹ It is worthy of note that a passage in Cicero's oration *Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo*² confirms the Picene origin of the Labieni. The consul Cicero is defending the aged senator Rabirius from the charge, brought by the tribune Labienus, of having murdered Saturninus in 100 B.C. Cicero asks Labienus what his family and neighbours did in the situation in which Rabirius found himself thirty-seven years before: (22) '*quid? pater quicum? quid? propinqui vestri, equites Romani? quid? omnis praefectura, regio, vicinitas vestra? quid? ager Picenus universus utrum tribunicium furorem an consularem auctoritatem secutus est?*' It is natural to identify Cingulum with the *praefectura* in

¹ Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, 105. The peculiar form of this *nomen*, unusual among magistrates of the Republic, doubtless explains the persistence, in spite of frequent corrections, of references to Labienus under the *nomen* Attius. See, for instance, the indices of the Clarendon and Teubner texts of Caesar. The error which dates from the Renaissance was probably due originally to a misunderstanding of *Bell. Hisp.* 31, where Labienus and Attius Varus are mentioned together without a connecting word.

² On this trial see Ed. Meyer's recent discussion in *Caesar's Monarchie und das Principat des Pompeius* (1917), 543-557.

Picenum with which Cicero associates the Labieni, and the context of Caesar's statement about Cingulum provides confirmation for this identification: (B.C. I. 15) 'Auximo Caesar progressus omnem agrum Picenum percurrit. Cunctae earum regionum *praefecturae* libentissimis animis eum recipiunt exercitumque eius omnibus rebus iuvant. *Etiā Cingulo* quod oppidum Labienus constituerat suaque pecunia exaedificaverat, ad eum legati veniunt quaeque imperaverit se cupidissime facturos pollicentur.' In the light of the passage quoted from Cicero *etiam* here seems to imply the inclusion of Cingulum among the *praefecturae* that welcomed Caesar.¹ If we are right in inferring that Cingulum was a *praefectura*, Labienus could not have founded here a municipality where there had formerly been only a small village,² for, although the old name *praefectura* was retained by many communities long after the acquisition of full citizenship made it a compara-

tively meaningless title, no new *praefecturae* were created after the Social War.³ He must rather have rebuilt a town that had been entirely destroyed by some disaster. Caesar's use of *constituere* to indicate a complete reconstruction (an idea suggested also by *ex-aedificare*) is paralleled by Augustus's use in the Monumentum Ancyranum (19) of *facere* for monuments that he had entirely rebuilt instead of *reficere* which he employed for monuments that he had restored in part.

Since the above note was written there has come to my notice Professor Frank's identification of Labienus with the person attacked by Catullus in *Carmina* 94, 105, 114, 115, poems that are usually thought to refer to Mamurra (*Amer. Jour. Phil.*, 1919, 407-408). If, as seems likely, they really refer to Labienus, the *Firmano saltu* of *Carmen* 114 indicates nothing more than a grant of land to Labienus at Firmum. He cannot have been a native of that city, for Cicero associates him with a *praefectura* in Picenum, a status that Firmum, a former Latin colony, could never have had. L. R. TAYLOR.

¹ On the *praefecturae* in Picenum see Frank, *Klio*, 1911, 373-376.

² Cf. Mommsen, *CIL*. IX., p. 541; Huelsen, *s.v.* Cingulum, Pauly-Wissowa. There is no evidence for Huelsen's statement that Cingulum was founded by Labienus in 63, the year of his tribunate.

³ Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III. 797.

REVIEWS

ORPHEUS, EINE RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNG.

Orpheus, eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Von OTTO KERN. Mit einem Beitrag von JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI. Pp. 69. Two plates. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920. M. 5.

THIS pamphlet contains three essays by Dr. Kern: (1) *Die Sage*, (2) *Zur Theogonie*, (3) *Das Kind in den Mysterien*; and a short paper by Dr. Strzygowski, *Orpheus und verwandte iranische Bilder*.

In the first essay Dr. Kern questions the common assumption of the high antiquity of the Orpheus legend, and proposes to examine the figure of Orpheus in the light of the literature ascribed to him and of the early literary evidence. The review of this material leads to the conclusion that there is

very little to support the Thracian origin of Orpheus. Dr. Kern accepts the etymological connexion of the name Orpheus with ὄρφανός (*orbus*, Hesych. ὄρφοβάται· ἐπίτροποι ὄρφανῶν), and Fick's contrast between Thamyras, the singer who frequents the πανήγυρις (θάμυρις· πανήγυρις, σύνοδος, Hesych.), and Orpheus, the singer who remains in solitude. The loneliness of Orpheus reflects the character of the cult-society of which he was the projection. *Die ganze Orpheusgestalt ist eine verhältnismässig junge Schöpfung und zwar die Schöpfung einer Kultgemeinschaft, die einsame Pfade wandelte.* Similarly a single Bakis or Sibyl was evolved out of the many Σίβυλλαι καὶ Βάκιδες (*Ar. Probl.* 30, 1). Thus Cicero's statement (*de nat. deor.* I. 38): *Orpheum poetam*

docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse, is harmonised with the enumeration by Suidas of many poets bearing the name. Eumolpos, Keryx and Krokon are similar projections of the Eumolpidae, Kerykes, Krokonidae.

Dr. Kern then reviews the characteristics of this abstract figure, and accounts for them on the above hypothesis. The connexion with Thrace, which first appears in the second half of the fifth century, is explained by the adoption of the Thracian religion of Dionysus by the 'Solitary' sect. The death of the Greek Apolline singer at the hands of the wild Bassarides was like the martyrdom of a Christian missionary. The tearing to pieces reflects the rending of Zagreus. The creation of the figure of Orpheus dates from the sixth century or somewhat earlier. In Attica the Orphic movement was vigorous, but went on independently of Eleusis. The *Frogs*, 1032, and *Rhesus*, 943, refer to the foundation, not of the Eleusinian, but of the Orphic mysteries.

This essay contains many interesting observations. I leave the theory to more competent critics. That the content of every divine, semi-divine, or heroic figure is, either wholly or in part, a projection from the mind of the group which carries on the cult appears to me an obvious fact. The only question in any particular case is whether there was, or was not, a single important historic person to serve as a core round which the projection could crystallise; or, it may be, a series of unimportant persons who 'represented' or 'embodied' the projection, as the father of a family now impersonates Father Christmas. This latter possibility is often ignored by Euhemerists.

In the essay on the Orphic Theogony, Dr. Kern emphasises the contrast between the Hesiodic type of Theogony,

which is confined to the origin of the world and of the gods, and the Orphic type, which is rather a *Ἱερὸς Λόγος* (the title *θεογονία* for any Orphic poem does not occur before the Neo-Platonists), and throws the emphasis on the origin of man, original sin, redemption, and eschatology. Dr. Kern, who hopes soon to conclude his long-desired critical edition of the Orphic fragments, believes that the 'Rhapsodic Theogony' used by the Neo-Platonists was a great Orphic Bible, the work of many centuries, but dating back in its essential features to the sixth or seventh century, and known in its earlier forms to Xenophanes, Empedocles, Aeschylus, Aristophanes,¹ Plato, etc.

The third essay is a note on the Playing Child of the mysteries. Dr. Kern calls attention to the inscription on an Eleusinian thymiaterion, published by Skias (*Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 1895, σ. 102, ἀρ. 16): *-νιος Μαραθώνιος Διονύσω Παραπαίζοντ[ε]*, where he takes *παρα-* to imply Zagreus playing *near* the Titans or other gods.

Strzygowski connects the representation of Orpheus surrounded by animals with similar figures of the Good Shepherd type, which show traces of the influence of Iranian Mazdaism. Especially interesting is an ivory at Florence, in which Adam, grasping a tree, is naming the animals. At the foot the four rivers of Paradise appear.

F. M. C.

¹ I am struck by a resemblance, which has not, I think, been noticed, between the fragment (Abel 76): *θῆρες τ' οἰωνοὶ τε βροτῶν τ' ἀλιτήρια φύλα*, | *ἄχθεα γῆς, εἶδωλα τετυγμένα, μηδαμὰ μηδὲν* | *εἰδότες κτλ.*, and the opening of the (Orphic) Parabasis of the *Birds* (685): *ἄγε δὴ φύσιν ἄνδρες ἀμανρόβιοι, φυλλῶν γενεῇ προσόμοιοι*, | *ὀλιγοδρανέες, πλάσματα πηλοῦ, σκιοειδέα φύλ' ἀμετηνά, κτλ.* In each case men are abused for their ignorance, before being enlightened.

THE ELDER EDDA AND ANCIENT SCANDINAVIAN DRAMA.

The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama. By BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS, O.B.E., Litt. D. One vol. Pp. xi+216. Cambridge University Press, 1920. 21s.

THIS is not the place for a discussion of the main thesis which Miss Phillpotts

attempts to prove—the derivation of the subjects of the Eddic poems and of many features in their treatment from primitive ritual drama; but it may be permissible to express a warm appreciation of the learning and fine judgment shown in the argument, which in its lucidity and fairness is a model of

what arguments on difficult points in literary history ought to be. It is the more important to insist on this, because the supposed parallelism between the development of Scandinavian and that of Greek poetry, which is all that calls for notice here, is not so satisfactorily made out as most other points in the book. It is not quite clear what theory of the origins of Greek Tragedy Miss Phillpotts assumes: sometimes she writes as if it began among the tombs, sometimes as if the suggestions of Professor Murray and Miss Harrison were proved truths. It is only on a very superficial view that Greek tragic plots can be said to show 'the same features of unhappy divisions and bride-snatchings within the family' as the Northern; a more careful examination will reveal differences much stronger than the resemblances, and a large amount of material which cannot be brought into relation with such a statement at all; and it is therefore not easy to agree with Miss Phillpotts that 'the Northern analogy makes it difficult not to accept the view of those who would trace the origin of Greek Tragedy to a ritual Year-Drama.' It is, moreover, very doubtful whether there are really in Greek Tragedy such 'traces of the resurrection of the hero' as the analogy requires; and though Greek legend presents good evidence of periodical ritual slayings, with supposed magical effect, such ritual does not stand in that relation to tragedy in Greece which it appears to have borne in the North. The argument from analogy is a very frail thing at best in literary history, and cannot be accepted until both sets of facts are presented in an equally careful analysis.

Perhaps the most striking resemblance which Miss Phillpotts brings out between the two literatures is that between the influence of the Northern Heroic Saga and that of Homer upon the subjects presented to them in popular legend—an influence shown probably in the elimination of much that was crude and grotesque, and the presentation of a story better suited for more refined audiences. There may be also a true analogy between the exclusion of Thor from the finer heroic story and that of Heracles (as a rule) from Homer: in both languages the aristocratic epic eschewed some of the subjects appropriate to popular drama. But the interesting comparison (p. 135) of the exploits of Thor with those of Heracles is followed by a paragraph resting on the very risky assumption of a close original connexion between the satyric drama and the *κῶμος* from which Comedy arose. (Some such suggestion was made by Dieterich, but the evidence is all against it.) Consequently the statement that Heracles 'was the mythical leader of a *κῶμος*, a festal procession,' and so was analogous to Thor 'in what we may call the satyric drama of the North' is misleading. But in relation to the main theme of the book such matters are but trifles.

It should be added that a classical scholar may find, at many points in Miss Phillpotts' account of primitive Northern Drama, interesting if not very important resemblances to features of the earliest Greek Tragedy and Comedy.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

THE FRAGMENTS OF EURIPIDES.

The Macedonian Tetralogy of Euripides. Discussed and edited by RICHARD JOHNSON WALKER. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 139. 12s. 6d. net.

Euripidean Fragments. Emended by RICHARD JOHNSON WALKER. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 52. Burns, Oates, and Washbourne. 7s. 6d. net.

THE former of these two books is an attempt to reconstruct the main out-

lines of an assumed tetralogy of Euripides on the basis of the existing fragments. Such proceedings are necessarily hazardous; the evidence, which is apt to be ambiguous or inconclusive, requires scrupulous care in the weighing, and the investigator will frequently be faced with the disappointment of a negative result. In short, there is hardly any region where it is so necessary to tread warily. Mr. Walker's

tetralogy comprises the *Alcmena*, *Temenus*, *Temenides* (a title which he prefers to the alternative *Temenidae*), and *Archelaus*. The subject-matter is taken to have been the foundation and subsequent history of the Macedonian dynasty up to and including the reign of that Archelaus to whose court Euripides withdrew in the year 408-7. In regard to the first three plays I propose to say little, although it is startling to find it suggested that the well-known allusion in the *Rudens* to Euripides' *Alcmena* really means that the wind was as heavy as the coffin which contained Alcmena's stone statue (p. 68). Mr. Walker's main concern is with what he calls 'the quasi-satyrical *Archelaus*,' maintaining that the title-rôle belonged to Euripides' patron and not to the son of Temenus, whom current opinion favours. As reconstructed by Mr. Walker, it was certainly an extraordinary play. The Chorus consisted of the ghosts of twelve Macedonian kings, whose spirits had been invoked by their descendant for consultation and advice; Heracles, as was natural in a 'quasi-satyrical' play, provided suitable comic relief; and the whole performance was intended as a manifesto to newly-liberated Egypt, claiming equality and friendship for a monarchy which traced its descent from the Egyptian Epaphus. Mr. Walker even goes so far as to conjecture a reproduction at Canopus shortly after the original presentation at Aegae. After this we are hardly surprised to read of an Egyptian flavour suggestive of the *Book of the Dead* (p. 66), or to meet a conjecture (p. 132) that Euripides was acquainted with a Greek version of the *Psalms*. Now, whatever one may think of these suggestions, the main contention that Euripides composed a play introducing historical personages, although it seems to conflict with the statement of the grammarian Diomedes that he refused to write a tragedy about his patron, would be of no little interest if it could be established. Unfortunately, the evidence quoted is insufficient to warrant the conclusion. Olympiodorus refers to Euripides (fr. 1120) as an authority for Xerxes' bridging of the Hellespont.

This must mean, as we are bidden to infer (p. 19), that the anonymous lines quoted by Plut. *Mor.* 110D were written by Euripides. But, if so, these lines can only come from the *Archelaus*, because (1) we know the titles of all the Euripidean tragedies, and no other of them is appropriate to the requirements of the case; and (2) the unknown titles belonged to the class of 'non-dramatic satyr-plays,' which early passed into oblivion and were not recognised by the Alexandrian critics. The 'non-dramatic satyr-plays' will be unfamiliar to students; but Mr. Walker infers their existence from two obscure and corrupt passages. These are schol. Aristid. p. 402, 25 Dind., where Mr. Walker reads ἀπταίστοις γράμμασι as meaning 'pieces without set-back,' descriptive of unalloyed happiness, and Asclepiades ap. schol. *Ar. Ran.* 1344, where he elicits the words τῶν ἰδ' ἀθέτων, 'fourteen *inutilia*,' in preference to Dobree's τῶν δια<σω>θέντων. It is to be feared that this reasoning is more ingenious than convincing.

Space does not permit me to discuss Mr. Walker's arguments in detail, and on the main question a few words must suffice. The lines quoted by Plutarch are altogether unlike Euripides, and some previous critics have held the view that they are not tragic at all. Moreover, Mr. Walker takes no account of what is perhaps the most probable solution, that Olympiodorus or his authority made a mistake, and intended to refer to the *Persae*. Errors of mistaken attribution as between the tragic poets are common enough (see my *Fragments of Sophocles*, p. xx); and few will agree with the contention that Olympiodorus had studied the text of the *Archelaus* at first hand.

Although it is difficult to accept his conclusions, Mr. Walker's candour deserves all praise: he puts all his cards on the table, and is quite well aware that he is conjecturing from incomplete data (p. 58). But it must frankly be said that he will fail to secure the adherence of his readers, because none of them will be so sanguine as he is himself.

The remainder of Mr. Walker's book is connected with the companion volume

of emendations of Euripidean fragments, in which the emendations of the tetralogy are repeated. An independent study in a province like this is always of service to subsequent workers, for, even if the immediate results are inconsiderable, the necessity of healing or defence is made clear. Some of Mr. Walker's less ambitious proposals, such as *μή ἡμέρα* for *ἀλλ' ἡμέρα* in fr. 101 and *τοὶ* for *τό* in fr. 643, are deserving of favourable consideration. But while it should in fairness be remembered that these comments were written at a distance from any reference library, it is regrettable that their author did not seek an opportunity of revising them later. Had it been otherwise, some of the notes would assuredly have been cancelled or modified. Such are the objection to the absence of the article with *πλούτος* in fr. 96, which is actually idiomatic (Soph. *O.C.* 782, fr. 188; Eur. *Phoen.* 495, etc.); the preference of *συνηρετμῆι* to *συνηρετεῖ*, notwithstanding Lobeck on *Αἰ.* 1329; and the strange remark on fr. 90 that in Pollux 'the barbarous *ὡς ὅταν φῆ* is

surely impossible.' As if quotations were not regularly so introduced by all kinds of writers, as I have pointed out in *A.J.P.* XXXIII. 431. In the same note he butts against received opinion by saying: 'It remains to be proved that *ἦνρον* and the like are tragic.' An awkward slip is made in quoting fr. 885: Aristophanes has *ἀρουραίας* (not *θαλασσίας*). Again, did Mr. Walker examine the context in Achilles before writing his note on fr. 861?

It must regretfully be added that many of the alterations are altogether unacceptable, and several of them occur in passages which do not seem to have been deeply corrupted: thus 248 *οὐκ ἔστι πενίας ἱερὸν αἰσχίστης θεοῦ* becomes *οὐχ ἔν τι πενίας πτερόν, αἰεὶ σχιστὴ δ' ἔφν*; 733 *πάντες · τὸ γὰρ χρεὼν μεῖζον ἢ τὸ μὴ χρεὼν* becomes *πάντες, ὅ τ' ἄρ' Ἀχέρων μεῖζον ἢ τόλμ' ἢ χερῶν*; and 864 *παίζω · μεταβολὰς γὰρ πόνων αἰεὶ φιλῶ* becomes *παίζω μετάβολ', ὡς γρῦ πονεῖν αἰεὶ φιλῶ*. These examples have not been sought out; they are genuinely characteristic.

A. C. PEARSON.

THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE *AENEID*.

The Sixth Book of the Aeneid. Edited by H. E. BUTLER, M.A., Professor of Latin in the University of London. Pp. viii+288. Oxford: Blackwell, 1920. 12s. 6d.

THIS is the first attempt, and an attempt long overdue, to bring within reach of English students at least some of the new knowledge of Vergil acquired in the last twenty years and contained, for example, in Norden's great treatise on this book; and in Heinze's thoughtful study of *Vergils Epische Technik*. Besides these two there have been the epoch-making essays of Skutsch upon the *Eclogues* and earlier poems; Sabbadini's *Disegno primitivo dell' Eneide* (1900) and much scattered work of the new Vergilian school in this country which found an inspiring leader in Dr. Warde Fowler.

As such an attempt, Professor Butler's book will receive a cordial welcome, both for the knowledge which it presents

and not less for the stimulus it will give to the study of the *Aeneid*. He describes his own purpose modestly thus:

'It is to be hoped that this edition may serve to throw fresh light on some of the many problems of the Sixth *Aeneid*, and that it may be found to contain a considerable amount of information not hitherto accessible in English editions. A formal commentary is, no doubt, a dry way of presenting one's views. But it is in many respects the most convenient form for practical use.'

And this is the point of view from which it is fair to judge the result. It is a courageous effort to meet an urgent need, not professing to be a finished monument of scholarship. For however strongly Professor Butler's readers may dissent from his views on particular passages, and whatever gaps they may find in his knowledge of Vergil, they will none the less accept his book with gratitude as containing the fruit of much fine study, and as an indispensable companion to everyone now teaching Latin in this country.

Among examples of Professor Butler's best work, I would put first his general treatment of the *Geography of the Underworld*, *aeris in campis latis* (e.g. on ll. 887 and 439), where he stoutly and (so far as I may judge) rightly rejects Norden's attempt to follow the interpretation of some of the ancient scholars quoted by Servius, identifying Vergil's Underworld with the mystical division of the Heavenly Spheres. 'It cannot be too strongly insisted that the Heavenly Spheres are not reached by going underground' (p. 180). My only regret is that to this Professor Butler has added no account of the suggestion made a few years ago, I believe by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson—though I may be accusing him falsely¹—that the idea of *largior aether* and *solem suum* may have been suggested to Vergil by the curious effect on the eyesight of passing by torchlight through a passage of such rock as that in the road-tunnel between Naples and Pozzuoli. When one comes out, all the colours are different, and rather fainter—if I may trust a recollection nearly thirty years old—but everything is cleaner, and, as it were, stark-naked.

Typically good notes on smaller points are those on *Cybele* (784), *deus* (749), *praepes* (16), *armentum* (38), and on ambiguous oracles (84). The note on the Mistletoe (205) and on *aura* in the preceding line, on *Cerberus* (417) and on the *Manes* (743), all show wide reading and careful judgment. So, too, the notes on *Misenus* (149) and *Palinurus* (338)² and on the well-known difficulty of the two lines 716-7:

¹ I have sought in vain for the source from which I reported it in a speech published in *J. Rom. Stud.* III. p. 329.

² Confirmation of Professor Butler's point of view on these episodes may be found in my lecture on the *Growth of the Underworld* (*New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, p. 112). Most of this paper was published in 1913 in *Essays Presented to William Ridgeway*, to which Professor Butler refers, unless I am mistaken, only on the question of the Ivory Gate, and then so briefly as in effect to mis-state my point.

I regard that passage (893-8) as a way of suggesting, but not of stating, to the reader that Vergil's account was even in his eyes surrounded by mystery. I cannot for a moment agree with Professor Butler's view that such a suggestion is 'out of keeping with the whole spirit of the book.' The solemn invocation of ll. 263-7, to which Professor Butler

has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram
iam pridem hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,

where Heyne's and Nettleship's *ac* for *hanc* is certainly, as Professor Butler says, the only alternative to the supposition that Vergil left the passage incomplete, and that it was stitched together by Varius and Tucca as best they could.

In more than one of these notes, and especially in that on 743, Professor Butler recognises (what I should call) Vergil's constant and characteristic way of transcending controversy by avoiding the precision of prose statement. 'Vergil was a poet, not a formal theologian, and he used the vague and more awful word *Manes*' (not *Genius*). And if only Professor Butler had realised more fully the importance of this principle throughout, he would have escaped what, so far as I may judge, are the most serious defects of his commentary; and he would also have seen, at least in essence, the answer to a number of the problems which he raises, but does not profess to solve. Again and again in his commentary, especially in his whole treatment of the Plains of Mourning, he asks plaintively for more information. Why are so many romantic figures left in this limbo with no more said about them than that Minos will be their judge? Why Minos? What legal process does he follow? Who are his jurymen? What sentence does he pass upon the accused? And again, why does Vergil select only a certain number of crimes, and only a certain number of penalties? And why does he say no more about Pompey and Julius Caesar than to pray them to abandon Civil War?

The truth is that there is no answer

appeals, only prays *sit mihi fas audita loqui*, not to expound a special and direct revelation. Every one of the four lines hints at mystery and ignorance (*silentes, nocte tacentia, audita, caligine mersas*). This view is only, after all, a modification of that of Servius; and Professor Butler admits that he can offer no other explanation of the Ivory Gate; for he rejects the view of Professor Everett, which I admit (*l.c.* p. 135) as an additional point not in the least inconsistent with my own.

to these questions just because Vergil intended there to be no answer. He knew what, apparently, is hard for any commentator to believe, that to pronounce sentence on such cases as these would be at once to forfeit his readers' confidence, to desert poetry which must teach by suggestion, for the dogmatic kind of philosophy or theology which teaches by assertion. Have these wise critics ever asked themselves to what length the Book must have been expanded if their questions had been answered in the narrative?

And above all poets, Vergil most loved this method of silence, of opening questions, and leaving them unclosed. The Sixth Book even more than the rest owes its hold upon the imagination of Europe to the way in which Vergil's instinct shaped by almost lifelong¹ reflection has guided him through a maze of incredible and often gruesome mythology, dwelling only on such parts of the old-world pictures as he felt still to have an ethical meaning, and quite deliberately leaving on one side problems which no mortal could answer without stirring disbelief.

I must not pursue this tempting theme, though I believe it to be of fundamental importance.² On such questions, Professor Butler will reply that he was aware of my view, but not convinced of its truth. In passing to points on which more than one view can hardly be possible, a reviewer is in sore straits because of the unevenness of the different parts of the commentary. The good is so good as to demand notice of what is not.

In any new edition (and one ought to be needed soon) it is greatly to be hoped that Professor Butler will remove the last traces of a certain superciliousness in his attitude towards Vergil, which I am quite sure that he would not on reflection defend, since it is, in fact, inconsistent with the general tone of much that is admirable in his Introduction (especially p. 18).

He tells us (p. 43) that Vergil's books 'vary considerably in merit'; that the last Six Books of the *Aeneid* are not 'the most poetic portion'—a criticism that makes one gasp. Evander, the Shield, Euryalus, Pallas, Camilla, all less poetic than Professor Butler can conceive them! Again, Vergil is admonished that his instances of the exploits of Hercules 'might have been better selected' (p. 248); that his deeply felt and deliberate condemnation of avarice as one of the major crimes (p. 208) 'is a little surprising' (the surprise is surely to see how dimly Professor Butler has realised the last century of the Republic); that the order (of the crimes) 'seems confused and the selection somewhat casual' (p. 15); but he is graciously pardoned for his double treatment³ of Theseus (ll. 122 and 618) on the ground that it 'may be no more than a slip' (p. 44). This calm assumption that the things which one does not understand are due to some fault on the part of the poet is fundamentally unscientific. Professor Butler's own experience of difficulties that have been explained ought to have taught him to keep an open mind, not to dismiss further inquiry by a gesture of impatience.

A certain number of Professor Butler's statements are demonstrably erroneous. The worst of these do not directly concern the Sixth Book, but they show how impossible it is to expound that Book properly without a sound knowledge of the rest of Vergil. The third section of the Introduction (on the composition of the *Aeneid* in relation to Book VI.) consists of ten pages, which are altogether inadequate. Of the four points which the editor regards as 'crucial inconsistencies' in the first Six Books, only one contains a real difficulty, and that difficulty he does not explicitly mention—namely, the inconsistency between I. 755 and V. 626, where the same phrase *septima aestas* is

¹ See *The Youth of Vergil* (*Great Inheritance*, p. 86 f.; also p. 121).

² See further on this *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*, pp. 36 ff., 122 ff., 164, 181. Also a paper on Vergil in *Classical Association; Proceedings*, 1906 (Manchester).

³ Before this criticism was printed, could not its author have noted that the first mention of Theseus is in a speech of Aeneas, who is pleading every example he can find to justify his own petition; and who, even so, as Servius and Norden note, dares not do more than mention him in passing?

used, though it is clear that Vergil in his final conception of the story, meant some years to have passed between these two parts of it:

The rest of the first difficulty is dissolved as soon as it is pointed out that at III. 708, Aeneas makes no mention of the time that passed between his first landing in Sicily and the death of Anchises; and there is nothing to prevent our assuming an interval of years.

Another difficulty is no larger than the familiar fact that the Sibyl herself does not tell Aeneas what *Helenus* (III. 458) promised him she would do, but hands him on to Anchises instead.

The third difficulty is the description of the voyage from Drepanum to Italy (VI. 338) as *Libyco cursu*, which is not in fact untrue, since the voyage from Sicily was part of their voyage from Libya; any ship rounding Cape Finisterre is 'on the West Coast route,' though it may never go to the West Coast of Africa.

The fourth difficulty consists wholly in a mis-statement, though I am not sure whether the oversight is Professor Butler's alone. He strangely asserts that in Book V. (l. 35) 'Acestes greets the Trojans as though he had never seen them before.' Any reader who will take a little more trouble than Professor Butler has done, and continue his reading just five lines further, will find that Vergil tells us (l. 40) that Acestes *gratatur reduces*—'welcomes them back.' And this mare's nest is solemnly paraded as a 'crucial inconsistency' in Vergil himself!

A mis-statement (p. 147) about Professor Skutsch (who is called Skütsch) is not less serious, because it seems to show that Professor Butler cites a book which he has either never read or completely forgotten. Immediately after mentioning 'another Scylla, the daughter of Nisus . . . identified with the monster of the Mediterranean in Eclogue VI. 74,' he refers to Skutsch's 'Aus Vergils Frühzeit, p. 92'; so that the reader is bound to infer that Skutsch is the authority for an interpretation of that line of the Eclogue which Skutsch's book was in fact written on purpose to repudiate, and which Skutsch dis-

proved¹ not merely with convincing evidence, but with the most lively eloquence. And the dogmatic way in which Professor Butler dismisses the fascinating problems connected with the three Epyllia (Aristaeus, Proteus, Orpheus), which make the present conclusion of the Fourth Book² of the *Georgics* (he speaks of them as a single Epyllion) as having been written later than the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*, shows how much he has to learn of Vergil's earlier work and of the vigorous discussion it has aroused in recent years.

Again in the note on Charon's fee in l. 325, he is unaware of the point made, I think, by Dr. Jane Harrison some thirty years ago, that the notion that the coin put in the mouth of a dead body in Attica was intended as a fee for Charon is purely Aristophanic, and receives no support whatever from the evidence of Greek Vases any more than it does from Vergil.

In linguistic matters the book is weak. No one, I suppose, need blame a particular editor for not being trained in the methods of modern Philology; but then he ought not to write notes involving philological questions; those e.g. on *lenibat* (467), *Proserpina* (127), *viden ut* (779) are full of incorrect statements which it would take a long time to dissect. Nor in questions of Syntax is Professor Butler's touch more sure. In a long discussion of *dantem* (585), describing the punishment of Salmoneus, he never once refers to the peculiar use of the present tense of this verb in Vergil with a past meaning (e.g. *Aen.* IX. 266), but it is certainly a part of the problem;

¹ I note with pleasure that Norden practically adopts Skutsch's view (*Aeneis Buch.* VI. [ed. 2], p. 124).

² Professor Butler follows more than one distinguished writer in speaking of the 'Fourth Georgic.' It is not a matter of great importance; but would these scholars like us to describe, say, the Third Book of the *Nicomacheans* as 'Aristotle's Third Ethic'? The question is not wholly pedantic; for to use the name 'Georgic' in the (quite imaginary) singular helps to rob it of what little meaning the schoolboy or student may have been half-persuaded by his teacher to attach to it. Most schoolboys, I fancy, are left to connect the name subconsciously with the Hanoverian dynasty in this country.

nor does he quote the closely similar use of *dum* in Hor. *Epist.* 1. 2. 61. In the phrase *nec plura his* (408) it is astonishing to find that he prefers to take *his* as a dative, which would imply that the speaker or speakers at once proceeded to address someone else! On l. 411 he quotes at length without a hint of doubt the queer stanza about Cerberus with its '*caput eius atque*' in full as from Horace (III. 11). More than once we have the thoroughly misleading term 'Causal Subjunctive'; and a note on the Indicative in Indirect Questions (615) treats all Latin poetry as on a level, apparently in ignorance that the Indicative is the regular mood in old Latin. Similarly his note on *ductis sortibus* shows that he has no conception of the frequency and idiomatic character of the use of the *-tus* participle in a present or timeless sense.

Generally speaking, the notes seem to lack altogether a sense of chronology. Inscriptions (e.g. on ll. 13 and 304) are quoted from the *C.I.L.* as if it were an author, without any indication of the century (or even of the place) to which they belong; yet the *Corpus* represents the Latin of nearly a thousand years and in more local varieties than I should care to enumerate. Partly for this reason, many of the topographical notes (though they seem to be based on interesting information) are so obscure as to be practically useless. It is difficult to form from Professor Butler's account any picture of the Sibyl's cave at Cumae and the connected buildings; it seems indeed that he does not know himself in what condition the place actually is now, since some of his statements date from 1817.

His note on *ingens* (413) shows that he has no knowledge of Dr. Mackail's important study of this characteristic word (*Classical Review*, XXVI. (1912), p. 254). And I have noticed no reference to any of Dr. Warde Fowler's recent work.

The Index is not very full; *Ciris*,

Catullus, *subjunctive*, *participle* are among the topics discussed in the notes which are absent.

But I must cut short this unwelcome part of my task, noting only that some of the obscurities are due to the numerous misprints.¹ The proof-reading has been very badly done, no doubt mainly through the absence of any properly qualified reader in the printer's office.

If only Professor Butler had given as much thought and care to the commentary in general as he has given to his best notes, the book would be very good indeed.

R. S. CONWAY.

¹ Some of the following list of minor faults noted are errors rather than misprints, but it is hard to draw the line. On l. 757 the note cites a non-existent note on l. 61; p. 19, 'the visit of Aeneid to the Underworld'; p. 36, footnote (last word): what is '*cuit*'? P. 37, footnote, Reifferscheid's suggestion, as quoted, in no way meets the difficulty which Professor Butler states; p. 79, 'the use of *uolo* in prohibitions' is surely a phantom? P. 86, two hyphens instead of dashes make hay of the note on l. 13; p. 90, l. 20, what is *Androgeonense*? (The line meant in Catullus is probably 77, not 67.) P. 90, the n. on l. 40 has lost (I imagine) an 'as' in the second line and, without it, is nonsense; p. 104 on l. 92, what is '*insubidius*'? P. 155 on l. 309 read *πεεθποις οἰά τε*. On p. 156, l. 312 (and elsewhere) occurs the miserably ambiguous sign = ; if it is used for 'meaning,' the statement is, I think, incorrect; and so the strangely dogmatic 'merely' on p. 160, l. 337; p. 161, l. 345, *ponto* must go with *incolumem*, however the Ablative be regarded; p. 172, l. 434, *occupat Aeneas auditum* (!); p. 198, l. 555, *Tisiphone palla succincti* (!) *cruenta*; pp. 203 and 210, the well-known commentator Gossrau is twice called 'Grossrau'; p. 203, the last line of the Greek quotation—which presumably contained its point—is gibberish as printed; p. 230, l. 7: what passage in Plato is referred to by 'II. cc.'? P. 206, l. 6: do 'them' and 'they' refer to Ribbeck and Tantalus, who are the only persons yet mentioned on the page, save Pindar and Lucretius? Presumably some sentence referring to Varius and Tucca (not mentioned in the note as it stands) has vanished. But such conjectural restorations ought not to be necessary, and would not be, if the printer's reader knew his business.

CICERO: A BIOGRAPHY.

Cicero: A Biography. By TORSTEN PETERSSON. University of California Press, 1920.

THIS book is strictly what it professes to be, a biography, and as such it must be judged. For its strength lies in the minute appreciation of Cicero's personality, the thoughts and doings of a warm-hearted and highly-gifted man in an age of political strife and agonies. Now, as by far the greater part of the evidence must be drawn from the writings of the subject himself, it is desirable to present it with a vividness that a mere translation or paraphrase is often unable to supply. For this reason I venture to regret that Professor Petersson has not given more of Cicero's *ipsissima verba* in brief notes. A matter of some five or six pages would have been no great addition to a total of 685 pages of text. And the thoroughness of his work well deserves the relief that such illustrative quotations would surely provide.

The book is not a light one to read, though the author writes under the influence of a stimulating enthusiasm. Whether its vast array of matters is so treated as to deal with the several topics in due proportion is a point upon which opinions may easily differ. I confess that I could have borne some reduction in the chapter on Rhetoric (67 pages), important though it be, and should welcome some enlargement of the section in which Cicero's submission to the Three Partners [X. § 6] is discussed. The assignment of motives is ever a difficulty in historical writing, more particularly in treating of periods where bitter partisanship has stained the record. Professor Petersson, it seems to me, at times accepts alleged motives somewhat too readily. And in the case of Verres I do not think he allows quite enough weight in accounting for the result to the menace of reform at that time threatening senatorial juries. On the other hand, the section dealing

with the *lex Manilia* [pp. 185-9] is admirable.

The modern writers consulted (not merely named in a Bibliography) bear witness to the thoroughness of this book, already evident from the text. I only regret that the author has not had before him some articles of Dr. E. G. Hardy and Constantin John in handling the many obscure details connected with Cicero's consulship and the Catilinarian conspiracy. And whether all scholars will see the career of Cicero in quite so favourable a light as Professor Petersson does I cannot venture to guess.

Perhaps the most engaging part of the book is the estimate of Cicero in private life. Full justice is done to the great orator's human qualities, but the effect is at times limited by the severity of the author's method. In the relations of public life men will judge Cicero differently from different points of view. Perhaps some will think less favourably of him as a statesman in his last years than Professor Petersson does. For my part, his vanity, as a cause of failure and occasionally a blinding influence, seems to be one of his main characteristics; but I may be doing him wrong. At any rate he was a good man, and this book leaves no doubt on the matter.

The general treatment of Roman politics is incidental to the subject, which is Cicero. Here and there occur expressions liable to mislead the so-called 'general reader.' Such are the use of the term *Patricians*, where the nobility, Patrician or Plebeian, are referred to [p. 32, etc.]; the *citizens of Italy* [p. 222]; the *nation*, not a happy term for the Roman people or citizens [pp. 632-3]. But to fasten upon such small matters is to admit the real goodness of the book, and may be thought too like carping criticism.

In short, I have read the book through, and congratulate the author on the successful result of his labour and learning. W. E. HEITLAND.

THE SILVER AGE OF LATIN LITERATURE FROM TIBERIUS TO TRAJAN.

The Silver Age of Latin Literature from Tiberius to Trajan. By WALTER COVENTRY SUMMERS, M.A., Firth Professor of Latin in the University of Sheffield. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xii+324. London: Methuen and Co., 1920. 10s. 6d. net.

THE scheme of this work has narrowed the phrase, 'Silver Latin,' to the earlier portion of the post-Augustan literature of Rome—in fact, as the subtitle shows, to a period of just over a century, from A.D. 14 to 117, where the useful chronological table ends, but for a parenthetical reminder that Juvenal was still writing in A.D. 128. I should myself incline to extend the application of the phrase, but the limits here laid down do certainly obviate the appreciation of some baser metal, and enable the author to submit as his conclusion:

Many centuries were to elapse before there would be produced in the whole continent of Europe, within the compass of a hundred years, a body of writings comparable in diversity, originality, and excellence, with the work which the Romans had produced in this Silver Age of their literature.

His knowledge of the writers of the period has not tempted Professor Summers to rate them over-highly, so that readers are not likely to be misled into forgetting that a more brilliant period had preceded: in some cases, indeed, it looks as if he had schooled himself into almost too restrained an attitude of criticism, and as if certain, at least, of his subjects might have safely been treated with a more catching enthusiasm without the risk of appearing to confuse silver with gold.

The book is addressed both to the general reader and to the professed student. For the benefit of the former the author has given his own English versions of many illustrative extracts, and for the latter footnotes with significant references and a large number of Latin quotations. After the opening chronological table, the treatment of the whole period falls into twelve chapters, each on a different kind of literary product—namely, Declamations; Epic; Drama; Verse-Satire;

Light and Miscellaneous Verse; Oratory; History, Biography, and Memoirs; Philosophy; Prose, Satire, and Romance; Correspondence; Grammar, Criticism, and Rhetoric; Scientific and Technical Prose.

An appropriate and entertaining introduction is the account of rhetorical exercises as bearing upon that pointed style which was so notoriously pervasive in the Silver literature, while the succeeding chapters convey a sound notion of the mass of work created in the century. Of the main works, summaries—always difficult to make interesting—are supplied; and suggestive paragraphs deal in outline with the influence which the writers exerted on later literature. Of the verse translations I prefer those in blank metre from the epics to those in heroic couplets from satire and miscellaneous poetry; for, in spite of Dryden's powerful hand, the latter metre (which is to my mind too copiously introduced) seldom succeeds in living down the wearisome hackneydom of its over-employment in the eighteenth century and its facile abuse in Victorian pantomime. The insistent rhymes, combined with inevitable echoes of other associations, are distracting, and strike very different notes from those of the original hexameter.

It would be unreasonable to expect equally satisfying studies of all the authors—this must so often be partly an affair of temperament; but Professor Summers seems to me particularly successful in dealing with Valerius Flaccus, Seneca as a prose-writer, and Petronius. In epic he has most to say about and for Valerius Flaccus, and what he says is good and convincing, though Lucan hardly seems to get his due in comparison. The sketch of Seneca's prose is illuminated with forcible renderings of epigrams and typical passages. In the chapter on drama, however, one might have pleaded for a fuller treatment of the tragedies, in view of their influence, even if 'as literature the plays are contemptible.' There is a readable sketch of the

younger Pliny's letters, and a penetrating estimate of Quintilian. The remarks in defence of Martial are characterised by sound sense, and many will read with agreement the strictures on the *Silvae* of Statius in the consciousness that the modern tendency has been to overrate them. On the other hand, Professor Summers is less than just to Juvenal, in whom I find much more humour than he does, and who is not in my opinion anything like so discursive or ill-timed in his learning as Lucan, nor, indeed, deserving of the charge of 'often' indulging in encyclopaedic digression. It is much too strong to allege that in Satire XII. Juvenal 'impudently' mentions the possibility of legacy-hunters vowing elephants instead of oxen simply in order to drag in an eight-lined excursus on elephants and their places of *provenance*. The case is one of typically Juvenalian exaggeration to begin with—elephants for oxen!—and then the excursus, no doubt excessive, follows by natural, if unfortunate, suggestion. The excursus is the result of, not the motive for, the exaggeration.

On the thorny problem of the date and authorship of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, the emphatic statement is made that 'if Tacitus wrote it, then . . . he must have written it after the *Agricola*' (p. 260). From remarks made earlier (p. 164) it is clear that great weight is attached in this connexion to Tacitus' reference in the *Agricola* to his powers of expression as 'uncouth and prentice' (*incondita ac rudi uoce*); but these words

do not convince me, and a brief allusion to other views might well have been made in a footnote.

Where so much ground has to be covered, there is a natural tendency to pack excess of detail into a sentence, and occasionally cumbrous overloading results. By way of contrast there are fresh modern terms giving vivacity elsewhere; e.g. in the prose renderings from Seneca on pp. 206-207, 'There was a time when the body was rationed like a slave; now it is catered for like a master . . .' 'Let us stop their lighting up of candles on the Sabbath: the gods do not need illumination, and soot is no pleasure, even to man.'

References and dates are given with great accuracy, but a few points have escaped notice. On p. 3 it is incorrect to imply that 'thirty years earlier' than 13 B.C. was the date 'when the poet [*i.e.* Horace] published the *Satires*,' for in 43 B.C. Horace had yet to flee from Philippi, and had thereafter to spend years at Rome before the first book of the *Satires* was issued. On p. 132, note 4, it should be the sixth, not the seventh, book of Pliny's correspondence, of which the second letter mentions Regulus, and the point is of importance, because the year of publication bears on the date of Regulus' death, and Mommsen assigned these books to different years. P. 140, note 1, *nobilissimus* should be neuter. P. 164, Domitian's death is given as A.D. 98 instead of 96, and the sentence at the foot of p. 269 reads as if 'themselves' had fallen out after 'reckon.' J. WIGHT DUFF.

TRAUBE'S KLEINE SCHRIFTEN.

Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen, Band III.

LUDWIG TRAUBE. Kleine Schriften, ed. S. Brandt. Pp. xvi + 344, with two facsimiles and index to all three vols. Large 8vo. Beck: München, 1920. c. 22s.

THE eminent palaeographer, Ludwig Traube, was one of the guests of the University of Oxford at the Bodleian Commemoration of October, 1902, when the present writer was among the English scholars who had the pleasure

of meeting him. Less than five years later he died at Munich, on May 19, 1907, in the forty-sixth year of his age. Since that time, the devotion of his friends has successfully collected the scattered materials for the three important volumes of his *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, happily completed in the *Kleine Schriften* now before us.

In the volume in question the author's minor writings are arranged in three main divisions, according as they deal with ancient scholarship, mediaeval

scholarship, or palaeography. The number of articles is no less than sixty-two; it is therefore impossible, in the present notice, to do more than mention one or two of the most interesting items in each of the three divisions of the work.

(1) Under 'ancient scholarship' we have discussions of the textual tradition of several historical authors. The first of these is Valerius Maximus, and it is in the region of Orleans, at Fleury (also known as Saint Benoît-sur-Loire) in the immediate neighbourhood, and at Ferrières at a further distance, that we find in the ninth century the first traces of an interest in the text of that author. The first to break ground as a critic of Valerius Maximus was Servatus Lupus, the scholarly abbot of Ferrières, who, in the middle of the ninth century, quotes from Valerius Maximus in one of his letters, dictates to his pupils excerpts from that author, and also possesses an epitome of the whole work.

In the same division Livy is mainly discussed in connexion with the *codex Reginensis*, now in the Vatican, which was produced at short notice by the united labours of many copyists belonging to the School of Tours early in the ninth century. The same subject has been elaborately treated in a comprehensive memoir by a former pupil of Traube, Dr. E. K. Rand of Harvard, under the title of 'The Vatican Livy and the Script of Tours,' published with many facsimiles by the American Academy in Rome in 1917. As the editors of these papers make a point of quoting every important addition to the literature of any subject treated by Traube, it must be assumed that the omission of all mention of this work is due to some delay in hearing of the publication of an American memoir published in Rome and printed at Bergamo in the course of the war.

(2) Under 'mediaeval scholarship' the attention is at once arrested by the opening paper of no less than twenty-five pages dealing with the scholarly and literary interests of *Perrona Scot-*

torum, a monastery founded by Irish monks before 652 at a place now known as Péronne in Picardy. Péronne has an interest for Englishmen as the origin of an English surname of Huguenot origin, Perowne. It also claims their sympathy as the victim of many misfortunes in the last two German wars, while, only a few miles to the east, lies the small town of Vermand, which has lately been adopted by the borough of Cambridge. Traube quotes a life of Amatus, bishop of Sens, describing Péronne as a 'regium Vermandorum castrum'; also some elegant Latin verses by Cellanus, abbot of Péronne down to 706, and correspondent of Aldhelm of Malmesbury, beginning with the lines:

Quid Vermendensis memorem tot millia plebis
Francigenas inter populos felicia facta . . .
(p. 108).

The paper ends with a long list of examples of the use of *Scriptura Scottica*, and similar phrases to describe the 'insular' or 'Irish hand.'

(3) As a sample of the papers on 'palaeography,' which form the third section of this work, mention may here be made of the instructive pages on the influence of the *Scriptura Scottica* exhibited in the widely extended use of the contraction for *autem* in the form of *h* with a slight curve turned to the right at the top of the second stroke. This contraction is found in the Antiphonary of Bangor, and in early MSS of Bobbio, and of the school of Fulda. In other MSS, copyists unfamiliar with this contraction mistook it for an aspirate. Hence, in MSS of Cicero's *Philippics*, as Prof. A. C. Clark has shown in *C.R.* XIV 41, it is copied as *hoc, haec, huius*, and, in MSS of the *Orator*, the contraction *h* is sometimes misinterpreted as an aspirate, or is confounded with the similar symbol for *enim*. In all these cases, the original word must have been *autem*. (Further details on this point may be found in my edition of the *Orator* of Cicero, pp. lxxx f. and xcix.)

J. E. SANDYS.

THE PHOENICIANS AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

Phéniciens. Par C. AUTRAN. One vol. 4to. Pp. xvi + 148. Paris: Geuthner, 1920. Fr. 30.
Anciens Peuples de l'Europe. Par G. DOTTIN. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xiv + 304. Paris: Klingsieck, 1916.

'LET the hypotheses of the moderns,' says Monsieur Dottin, 'be as ingenious as you will, they cannot with certainty replace the lack of documents, and in any case have nothing more solid on which to stand than the memories of Antiquity. Archaeology is anonymous. Languages are for the most part unknown or unexplained.' Such is the introduction to an admirable summary of the classical tradition about the ancient peoples of Europe. To pass to our special topic; in a few lines (p. 99) the author reports the diminution of the part attributed nowadays to the Phoenicians, and the increasing importance of Aegean studies. Mr. Thomson, in his *Greek Tradition*, speaks of 'the mirage of a great Phoenician empire of the seas,' and reduces it to a rapid expansion of the Phoenician sea-power about 1000 B.C. which itself is referred to Cretan influences (p. 6). That is where we stand as we turn to Monsieur Autran's elaborate study. His hypothesis maintains that the early Phoenicians were not Semitic, but members of the group of Aegean peoples, and that the later Phoenicians succeeded to a sea-borne commerce of which they were not the originators. We might compare the case to the replacement of the Portuguese navigators to the East by the sailors of England. Thus stated, the Phoenician problem enters upon a new phase.

I find the author not entirely clear in his discussion of the primitive language of the Aegean world. The unusual forms which he quotes (p. 46) as occurring in both Greek and the Semitic of Canaan, and yet as incapable of grammatical derivation, furnish a shaky foundation for the hypothesis of a third language. However, a point on which emphasis is laid—the fact that the vocabulary of old Greek navigation is almost free of non-Greek elements—furnishes an important clue which we

may follow up. If we compare this fact with the Greek colouring of the Roman nautical terms, which were borrowed along with the methods of Greek ship-building, we may argue *ex contrario* that some form of Greek was current among seafarers generally from the first moment at which the early Greeks victoriously launched their vessels upon the Mediterranean. Greek was, therefore, from very early times in the Levant a *lingua franca* of which Homer preserves a highly developed form. That he should retain the digamma, makes it probable that he has retained other early forms which tended to disappear, and that the occasional survivals, say, of initial and intervocalic sibilants, or of unusual suffixes, belonged to a more primitive form of the Greek language and are not to be taken necessarily as evidences of borrowing.

Over against this *lingua franca* of the sea, was the Aramaic which was understood, if not always spoken, throughout the Orient as known to the Greeks. The Tell el Amarna tablets enable us to anticipate a time nearly a millennium later when the Jewish military settlement at Elephantine might not be entirely estranged from their Egyptian neighbours. The Semitic names of the letters of the alphabet could only have come from Aramaic-speaking persons who were teaching Greek-speaking persons. Herodotus needed the services of an interpreter in Egypt. But he does not seem to have needed such assistance in the Persian empire, where Aramaic was still, in part, the official language.

The conclusion seems to be that the early Phoenicians were, some of them, bilingual, speaking Levantine Greek; and that the later Greeks, to an unexpected extent, could speak, on occasion, a little Aramaic. To this problem the book before us is an important contribution. Autran's command of ancient languages other than Greek enables him to give a stereoscopic presentation of his subject; this scholarly essay deserves to be carefully weighed even where it fails to command assent.

FRANK GRANGER.

Q. ASCONII PEDIANI COMMENTARIUM.

Q. *Asconii Pediani Commentarii*, recognovit CAESAR GIARRATANO. Rome: Nardecchia, 1920. L. 25.

THE work of Asconius upon the historical allusions in Cicero's speeches in *Pisonem*, *pro Scauro*, *pro Milone*, *pro Cornelio*, and *in toga candida*, in spite of its intrinsic importance as written by a learned researcher who flourished under Claudius and had access to a number of original documents, does not now find many readers. There is, however, no lack of editors. The Oxford edition appeared in 1907, and in 1912 Professor Th. Stangl, of Würzburg, included both Asconius and the pseudo-Asconius (on the Verrines) in his important work, *Ciceronis orationum Scholiastae*. Professor Giarratano, who has long been marked out by his previous publications as a future editor of Asconius, has now contributed the results of his own studies.

All MSS. of Asconius are descended from a single copy which was discovered by Poggio at St. Gall in 1416. This was copied by Poggio himself and by his travelling companion and colleague, Bartolomeo da Montepulciano; also, according to the ordinary view, by Sozomenus of Pistoia. Poggio's transcript (*P*) is now in Madrid, that of Sozomenus (*S*) is at Pistoia, that of Bartolomeo is not extant, but is represented by a copy now at Florence (*M*). *S* is without doubt the most faithful witness to the readings of the lost St. Gall MS. It has, however, only one descendant, now in Paris; all other MSS. are derived from *P*. The criticism of Asconius, therefore, turns upon the three principal MSS., *S*, *P*, and *M*.

Giarratano occupies a conspicuous place in recent literature upon the subject of Asconius. In 1906 he published a full collation of *P* in *Studi Italiani* XIV., also a valuable dissertation upon the Florentine MSS. of the author. He has also written other papers on the same subject.

In 1906 Giarratano, while maintaining that *P* was the source of all the Poggian family, did not take the final step of recognising the Madrid MS. as Poggio's apograph. This, however, he

soon afterwards did, and he now speaks positively upon the matter. With regard to *S*, he now adopts a theory recently advanced by Sabbadini. This is that Sozomenus copied, not the St. Gall MS. itself, but a transcript of it previously made by some unknown scholar. The argument is based upon a colophon in *S*, in which the writer speaks as if he took part in the discovery (*invenimus*); then follows 'July 23, 1417, at Constance.' Sabbadini produces documentary evidence to show that Sozomenus was at Florence in 1416, and did not go to Constance until 1417, so that he could not have been present at the discovery. He concludes, therefore, that Sozomenus incorporated in his copy the colophon of another transcriber, and then added the date on which he finished his own work.

The St. Gall MS. was very corrupt, and in many places illegible and mutilated. It is remarkable, as Giarratano points out, how much in the way of corrections and highly plausible supplements has been done by editors who had to work with the help of MSS. inferior to those which are now known. A modern editor cannot hope to add much that is novel, and must be content to pick and choose among suggestions which have been made already. In this department Giarratano shows himself eminently sane and conservative. He states the evidence with lucidity, and his text seldom presents difficulties, except of course in the hopeless passages. His own conjectures are neat, though generally concerned with minor points. Perhaps the most ambitious is in the argument to the *pro Milone*, p. 35. 16, where he reads *ob statum rerum opus esset*, a new attempt to make sense out of the corruptions found in the MSS. (*obstatore essent S*, *ortatores esset P*, *ostatores esset M*). This is ingenious, but there is no trace of *opus* in the MSS. The value of the book is increased by a list of references at the foot of each page to illustrate the text. In adding these the editor has followed the example set by Stangl.

A few criticisms may be made. In

the Preface the *prénom* Franciscus is given to Poggio.¹ Walser has recently shown that there is no evidence for this name. At the beginning of the Argument to the *pro Milone* the MSS. give *hanc dixit*, to which various editors have added *orationem* before or after *hanc*. Giarratano inverts this, making *hanc* the addition. The use of italics in the case of words wanting in the MSS. and supplied from Cicero is capricious (*cf.*

e.g. 18. 14 and 58. 13-14). Some notes on minute points of orthography seem superfluous, *e.g.* 30. 17 *presertim P.* On the other hand, there is no note on 76. 14, where *ius* is bracketed (after Manutius). On p. 89. 15 *n. Verr.* 1. 30 appears to be a slip for *Actio Prima* 1. 30.

The work, which is beautifully printed, appears in the *Collezione di testi e monumenti Romani*, edited by Ettore Pais and F. Stella Maranca.

¹ *Cf. Class. Rev.* 1915, p. 249.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

MANUEL DES ÉTUDES GRECQUES ET LATINES.

Manuel des Etudes grecques et latines.

I. Géographie, Histoire, Institutions grecques. II. Littérature grecque. III. Grammaire historique grecque. IV. Géographie, Histoire, Institutions romaines. V. Littérature latine. VI. Grammaire historique latine. VII. Métrique, Sciences complémentaires (notions sur la paléographie, l'épigraphie, etc.). Renseignements pratiques sur le travail philologique, etc. Par L. LAURAND. 9" × 5½". Pp. 887 + lv. Paris: Aug. Picard. Price, in stiff paper covers, Fr. 5 each. Fascicule, except III., which costs Fr. 7.50.

‘Ce livre renferme l'ensemble des faits et des idées indispensables à la connaissance de l'antiquité classique, à la lecture des auteurs grecs et latins.’ ‘Le Manuel est composé d'après les sources, c'est-à-dire d'après les textes des auteurs anciens, interprétés d'accord avec les travaux de la philologie moderne. L'auteur y a réuni des renseignements dispersés dans un grand nombre de recueils très divers, dont beaucoup sont peu répandus et difficiles à consulter.’

These quotations give a good idea of the nature of this work. It is a concise reference book covering the whole field of classical studies in 880 pages. It will be useful to many, but especially to isolated scholars who have not access to a large library and do not often meet people who share their interests. That is the position of many teachers of the classics.

Professor Laurand is well qualified for his task. That he is an explorer capable of pointing the way into new paths he has shown in his *Études sur le style des discours de Cicéron*. But in this book his object is to make known ‘moins les résultats de mes propres recherches que l'état actuel de la science,’ and that he has done with great success. He has a remarkably wide knowledge of the literature of scholarship. He is very skilful in the arrangement of his material and in the exposition of facts and theories. He shows good judgment in distinguishing what has been definitely proved from what has been merely shown to be probable. Where opposite views are taken by competent scholars he gives a clear account of both and the reasons on either side. (The eight pages on the Homeric question are a notable example.)

It would, of course, be possible in a work treating of such a large number of subjects to point out small errors and omissions here and there. In certain chapters compression has, in my opinion, been carried too far. But in general I have been surprised to find how much valuable and accurate information is given in a few pages. In some cases this information has not yet been included in the larger books in common use.

Perhaps the most valuable feature to an English scholar is the bibliography; for we have not any equally comprehensive and recent guide to the choice of books. The author has a very extensive knowledge of English, French

and German works, and he has made his selection with great care and judgment. The short notes which he has added in some cases will often prove useful. For instance, in the chapter on Plato among the ten English books mentioned are Burnet's text ('la seule édition complète établie d'après les plus anciens manuscrits') and Phaedo ('importante introduction'); among the works by foreign scholars are C. Ritter's *Platon, sein Leben, seine Schriften, seine Lehre* ('le plus au courant comme ouvrage d'ensemble'), and his *Neue Untersuchungen über Pl.* ('recherches de détail complétant le précédent.')

One feels throughout the author's enthusiasm for his subject. It is expressed most fully in some of the chapters of Fasc. VII.—e.g. 'Si les grands humanistes du XVI^e siècle revenaient de nos jours, ils admireraient certainement les progrès qu'a fait la science de l'antiquité, ils se plaindraient à

lire tant de nouveaux textes découverts depuis leur temps, à relire les anciens dans des éditions plus correctes, à saisir par des méthodes plus précises certaines fines nuances de la pensée qui leur avaient échappé. Mais si on venait leur dire que les beaux instruments perfectionnés au XX^e siècle sont des instruments de dissection, qu'il suffit de comprendre les auteurs classiques et qu'on ne cherchera plus à les goûter, à les sentir, à les aimer, alors, sans doute, ils penseraient que leurs descendants sont tombés dans une étrange et profonde barbarie.'

Each Fascicule is provided with an excellent Table of Contents and Index, so that it is easy to find what one wants. Print and paper are good.

Some Fascicules have been noticed in earlier volumes of *Class. Rev.* (XXIX. 61; XXXIII. 164).

W. E. P. PANTIN.

LINGUISTIQUE HISTORIQUE ET LINGUISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE.

Linguistique historique et linguistique générale. Par A. MEILLET. One volume. 8vo. Pp. viii + 335. Paris: Champion, 1921.

IN this volume, given to the world under the auspices of the Société de linguistique de Paris, Professor Meillet has collected various essays and addresses on philological subjects published by him during the last sixteen years. They are none of them intended principally for specialists, but are in their treatment either popular or philosophic; they deal with their subjects chiefly in broad outlines, and, by the nature of the case, tend to reproduce the same theses, and the same arguments and often the same examples to support them. The essay which gives its title to the book first appeared in *Scientia* three years ago; but the first place is given to the writer's inaugural lecture, delivered in 1906, when he succeeded M. Bréal at the Collège de France; in it he lays down the main principles which his teaching has followed.

One is struck throughout by the clear-

ness with which M. Meillet enunciates his propositions, his courtesy to opponents, his sound commonsense, and the extreme rigour of his method. Nothing could be more crushing than his exposure of the muddled etymological pronouncements of an unnamed French dictionary (pp. 291 ff.). Nothing again could be more neatly put than his summary of the relation of dialects to the standard language in French, English, and German respectively, and the discussion of Greek dialect phenomena which follows (pp. 122 ff.), though we doubt if Professor Meillet appreciates the anti-London feeling entertained by the inhabitants of the Midlands and North—a feeling as pronounced in linguistic matters as in social and economic; the present writer often feels 'choqué' (to use the author's own word) to hear what he regards as gross Cockneyisms proclaimed by the new school as 'standard English.'

Phonetic change, operating by fixed law; false analogy; borrowings: these are the three principles in accordance with which languages develop; and the author stresses the third in particular,

as often unduly neglected by others. He emphasises particularly the fact that a language can never be studied apart from the social complex of those who speak it, that it is a monument of a certain culture, and not merely a dead series of data to be classified. He even perhaps exaggerates for the earlier periods the influence upon the standard speech of the technical vocabularies built up by social and economic 'sets.'

An Englishman feels that Professor Meillet's whole outlook is dominated by the fact that his vernacular is a Romance language. His idea of the 'comparative method' is based on the traceable relation of French, Italian, etc., to the language of the Roman Empire, and he never doubts, as some have done, that behind the various families of Indo-European speech there lies one 'Ursprache,' whose details can with reasonable certainty be inferred; though he is wisely agnostic on many points—e.g. of race, culture, and religion—on which earlier philologists were attractively dogmatic. Another point on which Romance analogies lead

him to lay stress is that, given similar conditions, cognate languages may develop quite independently along similar lines, and the results observed do not necessarily indicate mutual influence, or the presence of certain phenomena in the original language from which all are derived.

One is impressed by the author's keenness on the recording in detail of the phenomena of French dialects, and his generous praise of the work in that field of M. J. Gilliéron and others; it may be doubted if anything so thoroughly systematic has been achieved in this country. Valuable discussions will be found of I.-E. gender (pp. 198-229), of tenses, 'aspects,' moods, etc., of verbs (pp. 174 ff.), and of the possible influence of 'tabu' on the vocabulary of certain I.-E. families of speech (pp. 281 ff.). But is Hesiod's *φερέοικος* due to a 'tabu'?

We have noticed only two misprints. On p. 155, last line, 'force' seems to be for 'forme'; on p. 301 'meat' should be 'mead.' There is no index.

E. E. GENNER.

LA CESSIO BONORUM.

La Cessio Bonorum. Par LUCIEN GUENOUN. Pp. 104. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1920.

IF this monograph, by a pupil of Girard, does not arrive at very novel conclusions, this must be put to the author's credit. From his useful and workmanlike review of the evidence and his particularly painstaking summary of modern opinions (from the sixteenth century), one learns how incomplete is our knowledge of the important institution *Cessio Bonorum*, created, according to him, by Augustus (*Lex Julia iudiciorum privatorum*) and not by Julius. The author states his own opinion on each point, but without a trace of exaggeration—in fact, with all the sanity of the French school. In dealing with *cessio* in the edict, we note that he is generally inclined to prefer the opinions of Lenel's earlier editions to those of his later. Without arriving at a definite conclusion on the vexed question (Ulpian, *D.* 42, 3, 8) whether

a debtor could make a *cessio* unless *iudicatus* or *confessus*, he holds that he could only do so if insolvent owing to misfortune; he is doubtful also whether the classical form of *cessio* required an oath of the debtor. The *cessio* opened to creditors *bonorum venditio*, involving as its first stage a *missio in bona*; its advantages to the debtor were that it precluded execution on his person, was privileged from *infamia* (under Alexander Severus, and probably from the beginning), protected him from an action on a judgment or a *confessio* in respect of debts existing at the moment of *cessio* until he had acquired a sufficient fortune (*exceptio nisi bonis cesserit*, *Inst.* 4, 14, 4), and even then gave him the benefice of competence. For the later Empire, M. Guenoun's view that even under Justinian *cessio* was confined to the unfortunate seems to the reviewer very doubtful. Otherwise he has provided a very useful *conspectus* of that emperor's activity.

F. DE ZULUETA.

HISTORY OF ROMAN PRIVATE LAW.

History of Roman Private Law. Part III.: Regal Period. By E. C. CLARK. Pp. xvi+634. Cambridge University Press, 1919. 21s. net.

THIS volume justifies the hope expressed by Professor Buckland in the preface, that it will be found to display the solidity and independence of judgment which have characterised all the deceased author's works. One may further hope that at least that part of Professor Clark's unpublished work on the *Republic* which deals with the Twelve Tables will be found to admit of publication, for we shall not soon have another lawyer who will unite the very various qualifications required for that theme. The present work shows a complete mastery of the very scattered literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence, and a great knowledge of comparative law, etymology, and of the relevant modern literature. Its special value lies in its presentation of the whole of the materials, and in its resolute emphasis on the necessarily conjectural character of most conclusions. References to modern literature are sufficient, without being bewildering, and have, at least for the lawyer, the merit of drawing attention to valuable English and foreign philological work. With some of the author's conclusions on private law proper the reviewer would venture to disagree, but there is no denying that this volume is indispensable. Its framework of rather theoretical and unfashionable Austinian and anti-Austinian controversy may to some prove at first sight repellent, but would be indeed regrettable if this were to lead to the neglect of so thoroughly characteristic and creditable a monument of English scholarship.

Some attempt may be made here to give an idea of its contents. The prehistoric Roman community is built up

in successive sections dealing with the family, the *gens*, and the tribe. The monandrous family is accepted as primeval; the *gens* is regarded as in origin a natural association of neighbouring families, produced by the needs of mutual protection and cemented by common worship and the fiction of common ancestry. The Romulian tribe, on the other hand, is represented as in origin a national host, the three tribes being made up of two original (Sabine and Latin) and one added (Etruscan). The *curia* is the product of the same factors as the *gens*, particularly the religious factor. The main doctrine throughout is that the organisation of the family, and the schematic arrangement of *gentes*, *curiae*, and tribes are the work of a later organiser, defining naturally formed institutions and utilising existing natural associations.

There are valuable sections dealing with patricians and plebeians, Senate, and *Comitia Curiata*, after which the work ends with a study of the development of sovereignty at Rome, which is its most individual portion. In brief, the author rejects the doctrine of a patriarchal king, priest, military leader, lawgiver, and judge in one, and holds that these functions developed in a rudimentary form separately, being first united in true sovereignty by the Tarquinian dynasty. But he keeps to the old, and still popular, view of the sacral origin of civil law, in which connexion his researches into the derivation of *pontifex*, the functions of the *pontifices*, and the character of the *Leges Regiae* deserve special attention. If one wishes, under proper guidance, to form one's own opinion upon any of the obscure problems of the earliest Roman period, there is no book which will better serve a student's purpose. Professor Buckland's work as editor has been most conscientious. F. DE ZULUETA.

HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY, Vol. XXX. (1919).

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
Vol. XXX. (1919).

THIS volume contains various useful and original studies on different matters connected with classical scholarship.

Collations of the Manuscripts of Aristophanes' Vespaë, by J. W. White and E. Cary (pp. 1-35). These collations, without a continuous text, are more full and useful than any previous ones published; they were made by Dr. Cary, like those of the *Aves* previously, from photographs of the MSS. made by Professor White. In the *Vespaë* Blaydes professes to give the readings of eight MSS., R, V, S [*i.e.* G], Γ, B, Δ, Vp2, C, and the Aldine, but they are given incompletely and inaccurately. White and Cary omit G, as being a copy of V; Δ is cited only when it differs from its archetype B; but H and Vp3 are added. It would have been useful to have given the readings of the Aldine, as older than two, perhaps three, of the MSS., its readings being inaccessible to most scholars in an accurate form. The designations of MSS. will require a little familiarity to be obvious. One typical comparison of collations may be given from 244: Blaydes 'χολούμενος S. et (supr. κολω) V. κολουμένους C. Ald. καλουμένους B.R.Δ. κολωμένους H. Steph.' [from Hesychius]; here 'κολωμένους]κολωμενος Vc, χολούμενος V, κολουμένους Vp2+' [*i.e.* Vp2, H], 'Vp3+' [*i.e.* Vp3, C], 'καλουμένους RB' [*i.e.* B, Δ].

Imperial Coronation Ceremonies of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries are briefly examined by A. E. R. Boak (pp. 37-47), mainly on the basis of proclamations of Leo I. and four other emperors.

A full and careful study of *The Rhetorical Structure of the Encomia of Claudius Claudian* is given by L. B. Struthers (pp. 49-87). Greek quotations are sometimes given twice, *e.g.*

pp. 51 and 74, 60 and 61. 'Tunc omnia tenebis' is printed as the end of a hexameter on p. 72; but did not Claudian prefix 'jure' to 'tenebis'? 'Theodosius' beginning a hexameter (p. 73) also looks unfamiliar, but is probably due to the poet. Claudian's *Encomia* are rather tedious and fulsome; as Mr. Struthers reminds us, he says 'he could not tell of Probus' deeds, even if he should speak with a hundred mouths, nor could he, were a hundred Phoebuses to inspire him'; and, while he sang of the clemency and kindness of Theodosius, he omitted to mention that, after the Thessalonians slew his friend Botheric, he had 7,000 or 15,000 of them put to the sword.

An interesting article by C. N. Jackson, largely based on Aristophanes, is given (pp. 89-102) on *The Decree-seller in the Birds, and the Professional Politicians at Athens*. He sympathises with Aristophanes in his caricature of the ψηφισματοπώλης, regarding him as typical of the professional ῥήτορες, of whom, he reminds us, Thucydides had a poor opinion, and probably Euripides, while Aeschines calls them πολυμηροί, Isocrates πονηροί, and Demosthenes κατάρatoi καὶ θεοὺς ἐχθροί.

Young Virgil's Poetry is fully examined (with many misprints) by E. K. Rand (pp. 103-185). The Virgilian authorship of most of the minor poems has been attacked; but, after carefully considering both the external and the internal evidence, he denies it only to the *Moretum*, *Lydia*, and possibly some of the *Epigrammata*, but accepts it for the *Culex*, *Ciris*, *Copa*, *Aetna*, *Catalepton* (*Priapea* and *Epigrammata*), and *Dirae* (for the last against nearly all recent scholars). His argument is reasonable, and specially interesting in the case of the *Aetna*, which has been assigned to so many other authors.

R. T. ELLIOTT.

SHORT NOTICES

SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

AMONG recent additions to the Clarendon Press series of school classics the place of pre-eminence must be assigned to Prof. H. E. Butler's *Sallust, the Jugurthine War* (pp. 151, price 3s.), and to Messrs. Livingstone and Freeman's *Caesar's Gallic War*, Books VI., VII. (pp. 159, price 3s. 6d.). Both volumes form part of a new series recently inaugurated by the Delegates of the University Press. The planning of the series is on novel lines. The old method of editing a classic was to publish a complete text, with the usual apparatus of notes, etc., and the student was left to plough his way through it in the course of a couple of terms, or even a year. At the rate of thirty lines a day, the reading of any ancient (or, for that matter, modern) author is apt to be wearisome. The new method introduces a partial remedy. The idea is to translate into English about a couple of pages for every page left in the original. This does not make construing easier; it does not do away with the need of a grammar; but it *does* give a continuity and an interest impossible under the old method. The welcome given to the first volume of the new series (*Caesar B. G. IV., V.*) has been encouraging; and we are promised volumes taken from Xenophon, Thucydides, Livy, and so forth. The scheme is, perhaps, more suitable in the case of prose authors than that of poets; but there is no reason why, for example, an edition of the *Agamemnon* should not be produced on similar lines, the difficult choruses being given in English verse. The wonder is that this 'new' method was not evolved long ago, but the incurable conservatism of publishers probably had something to do with it. If the classics are to be read in the future, they will have to be read on the lines of the Clarendon Press series, which, if we mistake not, has 'come to stay.' One suggestion is worth mentioning here: wherever possible the translated passages should be given in some fine old Tudor rendering (e.g., Philemon Holland's *Livy*). The notes and introductions in the volumes hitherto issued are brief, but business-like and sufficient. One thing only we do not care for—the vocabularies. Boys who are capable of reading Sallust ought not to have any special vocabulary; let them search their lexicons and learn the uses and values of words for themselves.

The Rev. J. Donovan's *Theory of Advanced Greek Prose Composition* (Oxford: Blackwell, price 5s.) is excellent, both in method and arrangement. Like Sidgwick's well-known Introduction, it is eminently practical, but it is suitable only for advanced classes. Serious students of Latin idiom would do well to acquaint themselves with Messrs. Francis and Tatum's *Advanced Latin Syntax* (Cambridge University Press, price 7s.), which, though small in size, contains a great amount of information well tabulated and arranged. The writers speak of their work as 'an attempt to deal in short compass with late but exceptional idioms of Latin, and to bring them into harmony

with the principles of the language.' It contains a most careful index of authors quoted; but, out of thirty-four columns, we find comparatively few examples taken from late authors, the majority coming from Cicero, Horace, Livy, and Virgil, though Tacitus is drawn on to a considerable extent. One of the best sections in the book deals with 'vivid sequence' in Livy: it is a genuine contribution to our knowledge.

From Messrs. Blackie come two elementary Latin grammars: (1) *A Skeleton Latin Grammar*, by E. Newton, and (2) *A Latin Grammar for Beginners*, by A. M. Dale. There are already quite enough Latin grammars in the market, and it is hard to believe that additional grammars are likely to have any considerable vogue in our schools, despite the fact that both these newcomers seem to have been carefully prepared. Both are furnished with exercises and vocabularies.

Messrs. G. Allen and Co. send a tiny collection of *Latin Unseens* (Public Schools' Scholarship Questions, 1916–1919), which will prove useful in preparing boys for scholarship examinations at public schools; while *Passages for Greek and Latin Repetition* (Humphrey Milford), chosen by masters at Uppingham, serve to emphasise the importance of learning pieces of verse by heart—a practice once universal but falling into undeserved neglect in too many places.

Dr. Michael Macmillan's *Selections from Catullus* (Clarendon Press, Junior Latin Series) is a welcome addition to school classics; the notes are not too long, and the introduction is brief but good. The index of proper names is useful enough, but the vocabulary is needless. The price of the book (2s.) is commendably moderate; but the same thing can hardly be said of Mr. A. C. Price's edition of Homer, *Iliad XXI.* (Cambridge University Press), for which 4s. 6d. is demanded. This is a pity, as Mr. Price has produced a good little book. The introduction is a model of clearness, and it is as full as it is clear. A better book to put in the hands of boys just beginning Homer it would not be easy to find. E. H. B.

Mr. Wells as Historian. By A. W. GOMME. 8vo. Pp. 47. Glasgow: MacLehose, Jackson, and Co., 1921. 2s.

IN setting out to prove that Mr. H. G. Wells is an untrustworthy guide for the study of Greece and Rome, Mr. Gomme has *strafed* this popular author quite unmercifully. The inaccuracies and, worse still, the inconsistencies of Mr. Wells' book are shown up by him in a never-ending series. As Mr. Gomme presumably wrote for laymen rather than scholars, he might have achieved a better effect by omitting some of his

minor indictments, which at times appear a trifle laboured, and by concentrating on the salient errors in Mr. Wells' book. But he has proved his case against Mr. Wells beyond all cavil. Though David may not fell Goliath, he has hit him squarely enough.

M. CARY.

Über die Pseudoxenophontische 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία. By Dr. G. STAIL. 8vo. One vol. Pp. 133. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1921. M. 7. 60.

THE first two chapters of this book are devoted to a review of the familiar *ἀπορίαι* on which critics of the *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία* have broken their teeth for the last century—viz., the date and purpose of the treatise, and the analysis of its argument. Dr. Stail's chief contribution to this discussion is to be found in his theory that the *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία* was intended to explain to a Spartan critic why the Athenian democracy was proof against an attack from within. Undoubtedly the pamphlet was written for foreign rather than for home consumption, and Dr. Stail's hypothesis is the most satisfactory that has been put forward. The author also offers some ingenious but not conclusive arguments to prove that the *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία* was composed in 425 B.C., and that it had a clear-cut and symmetrical structure of Isocratic pattern.

In the third chapter Dr. Stail submits a novel explanation for the fanatical hatred of democracy which permeates the writings of the 'Old Oligarch.' This hatred he regards as a product of an economic war between 'capitalists' and 'proletariate' which the growth of commerce in Athens had brought in its train. This line of research is worth further exploration: seeing that Plato and Aristotle roundly equated 'oligarchs' and 'democrats' with 'rich' and 'poor,' we may safely assume that the economic factor was a determinant in the politics of the late fifth century. But we must beware of arguing, in Dr. Stail's fashion, directly from modern economic conditions to ancient. The economic position of Athens in the fifth century might bear comparison with that of Venice in the

fourteenth, but differed essentially from that of a present-day business centre, and the social problems of the Old Oligarch's age are not identical with those which confront us now.

Though Dr. Stail's book does not always carry conviction, it is a carefully reasoned piece of work and provides a good introduction to the study of the *'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία*.

M. CARY.

The Pronunciation of English Words derived from the Latin (S.P.E. Tract No. IV.). By JOHN SARGEANT. With Preface and Notes by H. BRADLEY. Correspondence and Miscellaneous Notes by H. B., R. B., W. H. F., and Editorial, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1920. 5½" × 8½". Pp. 45. 2s. 6d. net.

THE pronunciation of Latin which prevailed in England until quite recently, and still survives with a few modifications in the Westminster Play, has a longer history than is commonly supposed. Dr. Bradley shows that it is the lineal descendant of the pronunciation used by Pope Gregory's missionaries in the seventh century, and that when English became the vehicle of instruction in the fourteenth century, the Latin letters were given the values which they had in English at that time, and as the letters acquired new values in English, the pronunciation of Latin was modified correspondingly. Apart from the Westminster Play, this tradition survives in numerous loan words such as *ālias*, *nīsī prius*, and many others in which the re-introduction of the classical quantities by purists is mistaken, since the classical quantities had been since the beginning of the tradition replaced by a new system based on rhythm, of which not much is known. Mr. Sargeant has in this pamphlet attempted to discover the rules governing the distribution of quantity in this traditional English system. Some rules, such as the *apex* rule (p. 10), the rule affecting *stamina* (p. 11), and a number of others, seem well established. In the case of some other problems Mr. Sargeant is less successful, and the latter part of the pamphlet is in effect a collection of

material, classified according to the Latin stems. This method of classification is well chosen, since it is probable that morphological considerations are scarcely less important in this enquiry than phonetic laws. The pamphlet is a useful contribution to knowledge, and it is to be hoped that further work will be done on this problem.

RODERICK MCKENZIE.

O. VAN DER HAGEN: *De Clementis Alexandrini Sententiis oeconomicis, socialibus, politicis*. Dissertation. Pp. xi+114. Trajecti ad Rhenum apud Dekker et V. D. Vegt, 1920.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA was no systematic writer, and it is dangerous to attempt to construct from his works consistent views upon subjects which he happened incidentally to discuss. The writer of this industrious dissertation would appear at times to be unduly anxious to harmonise the scattered

dicta of Clement. It is at first sight surprising that Clement, writing in the great trading centre of Alexandria, has so little to say of economics, and that little of so very general a character. But after all Clement's interests lay elsewhere; in what he does say on economic subjects (*e.g.*, on labour and the right use of wealth) he displays much practical common sense; his judgments are remarkably 'safe,' and surprisingly free from the influence of that ascetic spirit which later dominated Egyptian thought. But the economic section of this dissertation is unnecessarily lengthy, while the scanty gleanings from Clement's works on political matters hardly justify the fifteen pages devoted to them. The most interesting section is undoubtedly the second, dealing with the social views of Clement, containing a valuable treatment of the question of marriage. The whole dissertation would have gained much by drastic compression.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1921.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—E. Drerup, i. *Homer und die Volksepik* [Neophilologus V.], ii. *Die Götterschlacht in der Ilias* [Ehrengabe der deutschen Wissenschaft dem Prinzen Johann Georg von Sachsen, Freiburg i. Br., 1920, Herder und Co.] (Sitzler). i. As result of careful comparison of Homer with national epics of other peoples D. concludes that Homeric poems are literary rather than popular creations. ii. D. successfully proves the indispensability of the Theomachia in the Iliad.—E. Peterson, *Homers Zorn des Achilleus und der Homeriden Ilias* [Berlin, 1920, de Gruyter und Co.] (Sitzler). Develops the theory of an original kernel, 'Wrath of Achilles,' which can be sifted out almost unaltered. Reviewer disagrees entirely with P.'s attitude and believes further research will prove uniformity of Homeric poems.—K. Orinsky, *De Nicolai Myrensis et Libanii quae feruntur progymnasmatis* [Diss. Vratisl., 1920] (Richtsteig). Reviewer summarises results of O.'s very thorough and exact piece of work.—A. v. Blumenthal, *Griechische Vorbilder* [Freiburg i. Br., 1921, Fischer. M. 32] (Körte). Object of B.'s talented work is to portray heroic ideal in epic and lyric epochs; full of deep feeling and warm affection for ancient Greece. Reviewer gives careful summary.—L. Cohn, *Die Werke Philos von*
NO. CCLXXXIII. VOL. XXXV.

Alexandria in deutscher Übersetzung. Dritter Teil [Breslau, 1919, Marcus. M. 10] (Stählin). Readable translation with copious notes and parallel passages from Greek philosophical writings; will be much used by students of Philo. Reviewer adds many corrections.—F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. M. 12] (Schroeder). Unusually mature and sure to win new friends for Pindar; D. shows keen musical feeling.—A. Gudeman, *Aristoteles über die Dichtkunst* [Leipzig, 1920, Meiner. M. 10] (Seeliger). Introduction and translation of the *Poetics*, to be followed by a new edition of text with commentary. Reviewer criticises many details.—M. Wittmann, *Die Ethik des Aristoteles* [Regensburg, 1920, Manz] (H. Meyer). Significant advance in Aristotelian research; penetrating analysis of text and its interpretation and account of historical influences have led to valuable new results. Reviewer gives a careful critical summary.—A. Körte, *Menandros, Das Schiedsgericht. Komödie in fünf Akten* [Inselbücherei 104] (Köhler). Translation and adaptation for modern stage of Menander's *Ἐπιτρέποντες*. Gratefully welcomed by reviewer.—A. Sizoo, *De Plutarchi qui fertur de liberis educandis libello* [Diss. Amsterdam, 1918] (Bock). Claims *περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς* as genuine. Reviewer disagrees; both in thought and in style it is foreign to Plutarch.—G. Stail, *Über die pseudoxenophontische Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία* [Paderborn, 1921,

Schöningh. M.7.60 + 40 per cent.] (Gemoll). Discusses i. text, ii. literary history, iii. social and political conditions at Athens; conscientious and trustworthy. Reviewer adds reasons why it could not have been written at Athens.—O. Apelt, *Apologia des Sokrates und Kriton* [Leipzig, 1919, Meiner] (Steiner). Exact and skilful translation; notes pertinent and full.—B. E. Perry, *The Metamorphoses ascribed to Lucius of Patrae* [Diss. Princeton, 1919] (Helm). Tries to show that Lucian is real author; would be satisfactory conclusion, but is weakened by a series of improbabilities.—A. Rostagni, *Ibis* [Firenze, 1920, Felice Le Monnier] (Heinze). R. assigns Greek original to an imitator of Callimachus; reviewer agrees in rejecting Apollonius, but regards Callimachus himself as author; how much of Ovid's poem is translation, who was 'Ibis,' scholia, and other questions discussed at some length.

LATIN LITERATURE.—W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. 7te Aufl. Zweiter Band [Leipzig, 1920, Teubner. M.10 + 100 per cent.] (Hosius). Deserves same warm praise as previous editions; no fundamental alterations; bibliography brought up to date as far as circumstances permitted, but reviewer appends a long list of additions.

HISTORY.—R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* [Berlin, 1920, Weidmann. M.24] (Fiebiger). Thoroughly reliable and indispensable to all interested in late Roman and early Byzantine military history; full indices.—J. J. Koopmans, *De servitute antiqua et religione christiana capita selecta. Pars prior* (v. Dobschütz). Extraordinarily diligent dissertation with copious bibliography; over twenty pages devoted to slavery in Greece and Rome.—G. Veith, *Der Feldzug von Dyrrhachium zwischen Cäsar und Pompeius* [Wien, 1920, Seidel und Sohn. M.80] (Lehmann). V.'s book, based entirely on personal investigations, settles finally questions of topography in connexion with the battles at Dyrrhachium.—A. Stein, *Römische Reichsbeamte der Provinz Thracia* [Sarajevo, 1920] (Kraemer). Study of administration of Thrace from its formation as a province in 45 to the time of Diocletian; one chapter devoted to interrelationship of languages in Thrace. A mine of instruction.—A. Rosenberg, *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur römischen Geschichte* [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. M.20] (Hohl). Of the three parts, i. 'Primary Sources' (documents, speeches, etc.), ii. Historians, iii. Modern Treatment of Roman History, the last is least satisfactory; skilful selection of most important modern literature; will be of great use to those who are capable of independent thought.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—D. Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner] (Behn). F. reviews pre-Hellenic civilisation of Aegean i. by systematic grouping of pottery and building types according to locality,

ii. chronologically and in relation to other civilisations. Reviewer praises sound and independent judgment, and plentiful illustrations.—A. Vives y Escudero, *Estudio de Arqueología Cartaginesa. La necrópoli de Ibiza* [Madrid, 1917. Pes. 20] (Mayr). Description of objects belonging to Carthaginian period found at Ibiza (Ebusus Phoenixissa), and a general survey of Carthaginian art with reference to these finds; many excellent plates.—Th. Wiegand, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos. Heft I. Sinai. Heft II. Die griechischen Inschriften der Palaestina tertia. Heft III. Petra* [Berlin, 1920/21, de Gruyter und Co. M.100, M.50, M.100] (Thomsen). These publications put scientific archaeological work in the Near East on an entirely new and reliable basis, and far surpass all previous work in this field. In Part I. a whole province of the Byzantine empire is reconstructed for us; Part II. is a most valuable collection of inscriptions, many entirely new, others corrected; Part III. draws a vivid picture of Petra, its temples, palaces, streets, and gives us the assurance that further excavations would uncover a new Pompeii in Arabia. Illustrations numerous and exceptionally beautiful.

RELIGION.—E. Flinck, *Auguralia und Verwandtes* [Helsingfors, 1921] (Wissowa). Noteworthy contribution to history of augurship at Rome; augurs originally had nothing to do with observation of birds (no connexion with *avis*) or prophecy; their duty was to invoke blessings on the people, their fields, vineyards, etc.

LINGUISTIC.—A. Ernout, *Historische Formenlehre des Lateinischen. Deutsche Übersetzung von H. Meltzer. 2te und 3te Aufl.* [Heidelberg, 1920, Winter. M.11.20 + Zuschlag] (Hermann). Framework same as in first edition, but Greek forms introduced for comparison; thoroughly reliable guide through the maze of philologically often obscure Latin forms. Reviewer contributes many suggestions and corrections.

METRIC.—U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Griechische Verskunst* [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. M.80] (Schroeder). Embraces whole field of this still very thorny subject; but W. is mainly concerned with results as they affect textual criticism, and this oneness leaves many fundamental problems untouched. There are chapters on all the Greek metres, which reviewer discusses and criticises at considerable length; he disagrees in particular with W.'s treatment of dactylic metres.

LEXICOGRAPHY.—D. F. Muller, Izn., *Grieksch Woordenboek* [Groningen, den Haag, Wolters] (Kraemer). Gigantic piece of work; in this useful dictionary M. has tried to combine study of Greek literature with study of Greek language in its historical development and its prehistoric relationship; all references to authors carefully checked. Intended also for theologians and includes New Testament Greek.

EPIGRAPHY, PALAEOGRAPHY.—H. Kantorowicz, *Einführung in die Textkritik* [Leipzig, 1921, Dieterich] (Dornseiff). Clear, stimulating, and instructive.—N. Müller and N. A. Bees, *Die Inschriften der jüdischen Katakomben am Monte Verde zu Rom* [Leipzig, 1919, Harrassowitz. M. 40] (Thomsen). Welcome contribution to history of Jewish community at Rome; texts give valuable information about Jewish customs, religion, language, nomenclature, etc.—A. Mentz, *Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Schrift bis zur Erfindung des Buchdruckes mit beweglichen Lettern* [Leipzig, 1920, Dieterich. M. 28] (Hermann). In spite of worthlessness of first two chapters on Greek and Roman alphabets—M. has no knowledge of philology or phonetics—this attempt to give a survey of history of writing deserves praise and recognition; the section on stenography is particularly successful.—A. Mentz, *Geschichte der Stenographie. 2te verb. Aufl.* [Berlin, 1920, de Gruyter und Co. M. 1.60+Zuschlag] (Johann). Shows complete mastery of subject; impartial and in spite of its conciseness thoroughly intelligible; warmly recommended.—E. Peterson, *Eis Θεός. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* [Diss. Göttingen, 1920] (Weinreich). Contains material for a Corpus of *εἰς Θεός, μέγας ὁ Θεός*, and similar inscriptions. P. has wide knowledge of the sources and deserves every encouragement.

GREEK TESTAMENT.—R. Knopf, *Einführung in das Neue Testament* [Giessen, 1919, Töpelmann. M. 14] (Thomsen). In every respect exemplary; contains chapters on textual criticism and an account, masterly in its brevity and in part dealing with Greek philosophy, of the New Testament age.

LAW.—G. Beseler, *Beiträge zur Kritik der römischen Rechtsquellen* [Tübingen, 1920, Mohr. M. 56+75 per cent.] (Grupe). B. distinguishes two groups of authors, i. Classical, ii. Byzantine, separated from each other both in time and in manner; the book reveals wonderfully extensive reading and a very fine linguistic feeling for Latin.

ZOOLOGY.—L. Armbruster, *Die Bienenkunde des Aristoteles und seiner Zeit* [Archiv für Bienenkunde, 1919] (Lammert). Reliable translations from Aristotle, with good literary and scientific notes; warmly recommended.

LE MUSÉE BELGE.

CLASSICAL AUTHORS.—*Bull. Bibliogr. et Péd.*, Jan. 15, 1921, p. 12. Persius: F. Villeneuve, *Essai sur Persius* and his *Les Satires de Persius* (both from Hachette, Paris, 1918) are highly commended by F. Collard. He also commends *Persius: Satires*, by A. Cartault (Paris: Soc. d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres').—*Ib.*, Apr. 15, 1921, p. 80. Plautus: G. Michaut, *Histoire de la Comédie romaine: Plaute* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1920) is spoken of highly by F. Carez, whose review contains an admirable appreciation of Plautus.—*Ib.*, p. 84.

Seneca: C. Favez, *L. Annaei Senecae dialogorum Liber XII: Ad Helviam matrem de consolatione. Encyclopédie* [P. Faider].—*Ib.*, Nov.-Dec., 1920, p. 281. Suetonius: J. Janssens, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli vita Domitiani* (Diss. inaug. Gröningen: J. B. Wolters, 1919). A good thesis; text and subject are thoroughly treated [J. P. Walzing].—*Ib.*, Apr. 15, 1921, p. 82. Tacitus: H. Goelzer, *Tacite: Histoires* (Paris: Hachette, 1920). The work of a trained philologist and historian. It contains a valuable Index Grammaticus [review, signed H.].

THE LITERATURE OF LATIN CHRISTIANITY.—*Bull. Bibliogr. et Péd.*, Apr., 1921, p. 87. P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la Littérature latine chrétienne* (Paris: Soc. d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1920). Highly spoken of in a long review by J. de Ghellinck as a comprehensive and authoritative work.—*Le Musée Belge*, Oct. 15, 1920, p. 165. Tertullian: J. P. Walzing has two articles on T., *Les premiers Ecrits de Tertullien* and *Pour étudier Tertullien*, containing an analysis of the *Apologetic*.—*Ib.*, Jan. 15, 1921, p. 7. J. P. Walzing continues his studies on T., with an introduction to the *Apologetic*, containing a sketch of Africa and African Christianity in the second century and a life of T.—*Ib.*, p. 65. J. de Ghellinck reviews with commendation J. P. Walzing's *Le Codex Fuldensis de Tertullien* (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne; Paris: Champion, 1914-17) and his text and commentary on the *Apologetic* of T. (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1920).

LATIN STYLISTIC.—*Le Musée Belge*, Oct. 15, 1920, p. 188. L. Laurand has a *Supplément à la Bibliographie du Cours Latin*, completing his *Études sur le Style des Discours de Cicéron, avec une Esquisse de l'Histoire du Coursus* (Paris: Hachette, 1907), and his article, *Ce qu'on sait et ce qu'on ignore du Coursus* (*Musée Belge*, 1913, pp. 92 ff.). The references are specially intended to show that the knowledge of the rhythms of Latin prose is older than is often thought.

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.—*Bull. Bibliogr. et Péd.*, Nov. 15, 1920, p. 273. E. Merchie reviews *Essais d'Étymologie et de Critique verbale latines* by Max Niedermann (Paris, Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1918). Max N. considers that *aequipare* is derived from a composite noun **aequipar*, a combination of *aequus* and *par*; and that *parma* is derived thus: *palma*, then by dissimilation the diminutive *parmula*, and then *parma*, a 'néo-primitif' formation from *parmula*.

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS IN BELGIUM.—*Le Musée Belge*, Jan. 15, 1921, p. 50. J. P. Walzing continues the articles interrupted since 1903 with the discussion of a new inscription, mentioning a 'Decurio Vitorius Caupius.'

ANCIENT MEDICINE.—*Le Musée Belge*, Jan. 15, 1921, p. 29. O. Jacob begins *Le Service sanitaire dans les Armées grecques et romaines*,

with a section on the R.A.M.C. in the Heroic Age.—*Ib.*, *Bull. Bibliogr. et Péd.*, Nov.-Dec., 1920, p. 274. E. Liechtenhan, *Sprachliche Bemerkungen zu Marcellus Empiricus*. Thèse de Bâle (Bâle: Werner-Richm., 1917). Useful [E. Merchie].

BYZANTINE HISTORY.—*Bull. Bibliogr. et Péd.* Nov.-Dec., 1920, p. 276. J. Closon reviews with high praise *L'Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*, by C. Diehl (Paris: Aug. Picard, 1919), the leading French authority on Byzantine studies.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

*** Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

American Journal of Philology, Vol. XLII., 2 (No. 166), April, May, June, 1921. Also XLII., 4. Edited by C. W. E. Miller. 10½"×6".

Ameringer (Rev. T. E.) *A Study in Greek Rhetoric*. 6"×9". Pp. 104. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1921.

Appleton (R. B.) *Ludi Persici*. 5"×7½". Pp. 68. London: Oxford University Press, 1921. 2s. 6d. net.

Asterie. Prize Poem: Academia Regia Disciplinarum Nederlandica of Amsterdam, 1921. 6¾"×10½". Pp. 42.

Berkeley. *La Siris*. 5¼"×8". Pp. viii+156. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1920. 5 fr.

Bevan (E.) *Hellenism and Christianity*. 9"×5¾". Pp. 276. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1921. 12s. 6d. net.

Buckland (W. W.) *A Text-book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*. 6¼"×9¾". Pp. xiv+756. Cambridge University Press, 1921. 50s. net.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. 6½"×10". Pp. 181-436. Paris: Librairie Fontemoing, 1921.

van Buren (E. D.) *Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium*. 7½"×10¼". Pp. x+74. London: John Murray, 1921. 16s. net.

Caldwell (W. E.) *Hellenic Conceptions of Peace*. 6½"×10". Pp. 140. New York: Columbia University; London: P. S. King and Son, 1919. 5s.

Classical Philology, Vol. XVI., 4, October, 1921. University of Chicago Press.

Drerup (E.) *Homerische Poetik*. Vol. I. Pp. xvi+512. Vol. II. Pp. xii+632. 6½"×9¾". Würzburg, 1921. 40s.

Evans (W. J.) *Alliteratio Latina*. 9"×5½". Pp. xxxiv+196. London: Williams and Norgate, 1921. 18s. net.

Farnell (L. R.) *Outline History of Greek Religion*. (Duckworth Student Series, Vol. I.) 7½"×5". Pp. 160. London: Duckworth and Co., 1921. 6s. net.

Harward (John). *The Story of the Platonic Epistles*. A paper read to the Classical Association of Victoria. Melbourne: Alex. McCubbin. Paper, 2s. 6d.

Henderson (B. W.) *The Study of Roman History*. (Duckworth Student Series, Vol. II.) 7½"×5". Pp. 160. London: Duckworth and Co., 1921. 6s. net.

James (H. R.) *Our Hellenic Heritage*. 5"×7¾". Pp. xvi+408. London: Macmillan and Co., 1921. 6s. net.

Macchioro Eraclito (V.). *Nuovi Studi sull' Orfismo*. 5"×8". Pp. 140. Bari-Laterza and Co., 1921. L. 10.50.

Norwood (G.) *Euripides and Shaw*. 8"×5". Pp. viii+226. London: Methuen and Co., 1921. 7s. 6d. net.

Radcliffe (William). *Fishing from Earliest Times*. 9½"×6¼". Pp. xviii+478. London: John Murray, 1921. 28s. net.

von Reinhardt (K.) *Poseidonios*. 6½"×9¾". Pp. 476. München: Oskar Beck, 1921.

Robinson (C. E.) *The Genius of the Greek Drama*. (Three Plays.) 7½"×5½". Pp. 96. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 2s. net.

Salonius (A. H.) *Passio S. Perpetuae*. 6¼"×9½". Pp. iv+82. Helsingfors, 1921.

Scenes from the Trojan War. Passages from Euripides. Edited by C. E. Freeman. 5"×7½". Pp. 100. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 3s. net.

Scott (Edward). *Dancing for Strength and Beauty*. 5½"×8¾". Pp. 254. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1921. 12s. 6d. net.

Scott (J. A.) *The Unity of Homer*. 6"×9¼". Pp. 276. University of California Press, 1921.

Schrijnen (Dr. Jos.) *Einführung in das Studium der Indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft*. 5¼"×8½". Pp. x+340. Heidelberg, 1921. 7s.

Selections from Virgil's Georgics. Edited by John Masson. 7"×4½". Pp. lvi+124. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. 4s. net.

Simmons and Gale. *General Science*. (First Book of Science.) 7"×4½". Pp. viii+146. London: Macmillan and Co., 1921. 2s. 6d. net.

Ure (P. N.) *The Greek Renaissance*. 5"×8". Pp. x+176. London: Methuen and Co., 1921. 6s. net.

Walker (R. J.) *Sophoclean Fragments*. 5½"×8¾". Pp. xii+122. London: Burns, Oates, and Washbourne, 1921. 12s. 6d. net.

Zander (C.) *Phaedrus Solutus*. 7"×9¾". Pp. xcii+72. Oxford: University Press, 1921. 10s. 6d. net.

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1922

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

IN the September number we recorded with deep regret the death of Dr. Warde Fowler, which was a personal loss to nearly every Latin scholar in this country, and was so felt by the wide circle of students who had learnt from his writings something of his gracious personality. The conditions which sternly limit the size of this *Review* still forbid us to publish a biography worthy of his work and influence. Sympathetic notices will be found in *The Times* and in the *Manchester Guardian* of June 16, 1921. But some further acknowledgment should be made in this *Review* of the service which he rendered to Classical scholarship, and we print a few lines written at our request by his friend, Professor R. S. Conway, who was closely associated with much of his later work:

In the wide field of modern Classical study at home and abroad Warde Fowler's contribution was characteristic and unique. Other scholars have studied minutely the monuments and traditions of early Italy and Greece, and have provided a mass of information on the history of religious and political institutions. Following the same impulse, Warde Fowler devoted many years to studying the *City State of the Greeks and Romans* (1893), and the details of the *Roman Festivals of the Republican Period* (1899), a book which had much in common with the work of Mommsen at its best. But in Warde Fowler, the born naturalist and lover of humanity inspired and completed the learning of the scholar, and carried him beyond the details of research to a task in which Mommsen's genius had conspicuously failed; and he thus produced what will be more and more acknowledged as the greatest historical synthesis made in our time. Three original and striking books—*Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* (1908), *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (1911), and *Roman Ideas of Deity* (1914)—created for the first time in the history of scholarship a convincing picture of the social and ethical growth of the people of Rome. For them he vindicated once for all the possession of a native and sincere religion, in no mean sense of that long-suffering word. However familiar the incident or the institution which he handled (though he handled also a multitude of discoveries), his treatment was always fresh. He looked at what the Romans did, and he taught us to look, from the inside of the Roman mind. His

synthesis, therefore, was also a profound interpretation; and it was not surprising that the aftermath of his harvest should take the form of three or four volumes of penetrating and genial comment on his favourite Latin poet. *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans* (1916), *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (1917), *The Death of Turnus* (1919), not to mention his share in a small volume (1907) on the problem of *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (in 1907), brought a note of simple and unaffected poetic appreciation into the too conventional world of Virgilian scholarship; and these books, with his collection of *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), and his last paper (also in 1920¹) on the *Imagination of the Romans*, made a natural close to the chief work of his life, a clear-sighted but loving study of the contribution of ancient Rome to the growth of humanity.

The Annual General Meeting of the Classical Association was held at the City of London School from Thursday, January 5, to Saturday, the 7th. Lord Milner's presidential address was felicitous in expression and lofty in tone. A vote of thanks to him was moved by Mr. Asquith, the most distinguished living *alumnus* of the City of London School, and seconded by Lord Chalmers, also a former pupil of the school under Dr. Abbott. The object-lesson was impressive. Here were three distinguished public servants who not only acknowledged the debt they themselves owed to a classical education, but in these days, in which it is so much decried, emphasised its value in the rebuilding of civilisation after the shock of the war, and the indestructible vitality of the legacy of Greece and Rome.

The archaeological side of classical studies was emphasised by two lecturers. Professor Droop lectured on the Roman Forum; and Professor Théodore Reinach, of Paris, ingeniously argued that the famous 'Sophocles' of the Lateran was really a copy of a statue to Solon erected in Salamis, and the work of Cephisodotus, the father (or the elder

¹ It formed his Presidential Address to the Classical Association at Newcastle (*C. A. Proceedings*, XVII., 1920).

brother) of Praxiteles. Most interesting papers were read by Professor Platt, who argued that the primitive childlike element was more conspicuous in the form of Greek Tragedy than is usually allowed; by Mr. Cyril Bailey, who did full justice to the loftiness of Lucretius' religion; and by Mr. Norman Baynes on the teaching of Roman history. The resolutions arising out of the recommendations of the Prime Minister's Committee are printed elsewhere in this number of the *Review*.

The Association will meet at Bristol in April, 1923, when Dr. Mackail will deliver the Presidential Address.

We desire to associate ourselves with the congratulations and good wishes which are being offered to Professor Gildersleeve on his ninetieth birthday.

It may be remembered that in our last number we printed an appeal from

Dr. Sonnenschein for subscriptions for the relief of Classical teachers in German and Austrian Universities. Just after going to press we received a report and a letter, signed by Lord Bryce, Sir F. Kenyon, and other well-known scholars, on behalf of the Universities' Committee of the Imperial War Relief Fund, pointing out the urgent need for help in the Universities, particularly of Austria and Russia:

The average Viennese professor, with wife and children, draws but the equivalent of £40 to £60 per year to maintain himself and his family. From the Armistice to the end of last year—i.e., 1920—one-tenth of the professors and lecturers of Austria died, largely as a result of want, starvation, and consequent disease.

Cheques should be made payable to the Hon. Treasurer, Universities' Committee, and sent to the Organising Secretary, Miss Eleonora Iredale, at Fishmongers' Hall, London Bridge, E.C. 4.

SAPPHO'S ODE TO APHRODITE.

RAINBOW-THRONÈD daughter of Zeus,
immortal
Aphroditè, mighty enchantress, hear
me;
Break not, gracious Lady, my heart
with cruel
Scorn and derision.

Nay but haste thee hither, as once
aforetime
Prayer of mine thou heardest afar and
hearing
Straight thy Father's golden abode
forsaking
Hither thou camest

In thy wingèd chariot. Lovely sparrows
Through the vault of heaven with
whirring pinions
Bore thee fleeting over the earth's dark
furrows
Eagerly onward.

And right swiftly did they arrive beside
me;
Then my Lady's lips in a smile immortal

Bade me tell what pitiful wrongs betide
me,
Wherefore I call her;

Saying 'Tell the burden of all thy
sorrows,
Poor distracted bosom, and all thou
cravest.
Who defies my majesty? Who, my
Sappho,
Doth thee dishonour?

One who flees shall verily turn pursuer;
One who spurneth gifts shall be fain to
give them;
One who loves not, verily soon shall love
thee
Even unwilling.'

Haste thee now once more to my sorrow-
laden
Soul, thou sweet ally of the broken-
hearted;
All the heart's desire of a love-lorn
maiden
Goddess accomplish.

ALEXANDER W. LAWRENCE.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMITTEE AGAIN.

IN continuing our reports on the attitude of our readers and of classical teachers generally to this document, we have first to call attention to a series of resolutions passed, after discussion, by the Classical Association at the London Meeting :

1. 'That the Association recommends that Latin be a normal subject of the curriculum in all schools providing Secondary education.'

'But in making this recommendation it desires that no obstacle should be put in the way of pupils learning Greek as their one classical language, and strongly supports the recommendation of the Prime Minister's Committee that "in all curricula of Secondary Schools and Universities, where only Latin is at present allowed, Greek should, wherever possible, be allowed as an alternative."'

2. 'That, in the opinion of the Association, the future of Classics in the schools of this country rests mainly with the Headmasters and the Headmistresses, and that a corresponding responsibility lies on them for carrying the recommendations of the Prime Minister's Committee into effect.'

3. 'That the Association recommends that, since a knowledge of Greek is a desirable qualification for the efficient teaching of Latin, as far as possible in appointments to such teaching posts, preference should be given to those who have a knowledge of Greek.'

4. 'That the Association, while recognising the temporary reasons for which the system of Advanced Courses was established, and the stimulus which it has given to higher education, and while welcoming for its own sake the establishment of the new D Courses enabling Latin (or Greek) with English (or a modern foreign language) and the history relevant to both to be the substance of a recognised Advanced Course, nevertheless hopes that it may soon be possible to transform that system into one under which special State aid shall be given in respect of all the approved higher work of any school.'

5. 'That the Association recommends that Latin be retained or reinstated (as the case may be) as a necessary preliminary to or subject in all Arts Courses at the Universities.'

6. 'That the Association wishes to emphasise the recommendation of the Prime Minister's Committee for increased provision of Classical Scholarships at modern Universities, and especially of Entrance Scholarships, in view of the keen competition which exists for such scholarships when offered.'

7. 'That the Association strongly supports the recommendation of the Prime Minister's Committee that (1) the Civil Service Commissioners be asked to reconsider their regulations for admission to the Home Civil Service (Class I.) and the Indian Civil Service, and that (2) the forthcoming regulations for admission to the Clerical Class of the Civil Service should

allow candidates to offer two languages (ancient or modern) other than English.'

Next, we are glad to be able to print a summary, prepared for us by Mr. Ormerod, Treasurer of the Association, of the general conclusions arrived at in a discussion held at Liverpool :

Discussions of the Report in Liverpool have shown that in order eventually to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee as a whole it is necessary to concentrate for the present mainly on Latin, to make its position in the schools impregnable, the whole future of the Classics depending on its maintenance. Apart from dependence on the goodwill of Headmasters, the most effective of direct methods at the present time can only be increased insistence on its study at the Universities and the demand for a higher standard of matriculation.

It is scarcely possible at the present time to hope for anything similar in the case of Greek, largely owing to the practical difficulty, which would at once be felt, of lack of teachers. Both from the point of view of the improvement of Latin teaching and in order to create a supply of teachers of Greek, it was agreed that it is essential that all principal teachers of Latin should be required to possess a knowledge of Greek, even if that knowledge on appointment did not imply more than an ability to teach the elements of grammar and syntax. The adoption of such a course is practicable at the present time, in that many of the Universities are offering Honours courses in Latin with subsidiary Greek. Its adoption would provide at least for elementary instruction in Greek at the schools, and go far to meet the difficulties which are likely to be raised by any proposal to enforce a system of transference of pupils. It is to be hoped, moreover, that many of the more promising pupils would in this way be induced to take up Greek during the last year or two of school. A serious difficulty in the way of the new Honours Latin course with subsidiary Greek is the fact that many students who have a good knowledge of Latin are disinclined to take the Honours course, since in many cases it entails beginning Greek at the University. Practical experience has shown this to be a real difficulty; it would disappear if Greek could be begun even in the last year of school.

The need was emphasised of more Entrance Scholarships at the Universities, to be definitely awarded in Classics. It was pointed out that candidates for Senior City and State Scholarships, to whom a scholarship is a necessity, are at the present time inclined to avoid Greek on the ground that it is more difficult to obtain a scholarship when offering that subject, than, for example, when offering geography or a similar subject, owing to the fact that whereas Greek (in the Girls' Schools at any rate) can hardly be begun before the first school examina-

tion is over, the papers in the H.S.C. of the Joint Matriculation Board are as difficult and the standard of marking as high as in other subjects. The result is that Greek is less frequently offered, and accordingly less studied in the schools.

Throughout the discussions teachers of the Classics were agreed that any compulsion, threatened or implied, was likely to raise opposition which would prove damaging to the position as a whole. More effective and more permanent results are likely to be achieved if the co-operation of Headmasters and Headmistresses is secured, than by any form of compulsion, whether exercised by the Educational Authorities or the Universities.

Professor Ure, of Reading, sends us the following important criticism:

My chief criticism of the Report is that it champions Greek in so half-hearted a way (pp. 11, 53, 90). Its attitude is sufficiently explained when it says (p. 72) that 'from the actual circumstances and past traditions of English education it is certain that, where one ancient language is taken in the Modern Studies Advanced Courses it will generally be Latin.' This seems to me to misunderstand altogether the direction in which events are moving. If we are to avoid the catastrophe of a purely modern education it is first and foremost Greek that will save the situation (*cf.* the Report itself, pp. 121, 123).

As regards immediate policy the Report is too much inclined to be all things to all men (*e.g.* pp. 70, 25, on Latin for medical students). The failure of very young beginners in Latin to make any real progress in two or even three years (pp. 118, 170) is set against the evidence as to what may be learnt by older boys and girls in a similar period (p. 122).

It is a blow to many of us to find the Report speaking in so uncertain a voice about the value of a course where Latin is begun at thirteen and Greek at sixteen. At the new Universities if only we could get a steady flow of students entering as well equipped as such a course implies, Classics would flourish among us exceedingly, and the reaction on the schools that feed us would not be long delayed.

One cause of this half-hearted attitude is that the Report undervalues the mental discipline to be got from simply reading a really foreign language like Greek or Latin quite apart from exercises in translation and composition (see pp. 10, 83, 151). The value of reading is well put on p. 147, but the rest of the Report ignores this particular page.

The method for so doing is suggested by the Committee, but they do not go far enough in applying it (p. 72). It is simply that Greek and Latin should boldly claim their proper places in advanced modern studies. This might be done in two ways. One (mildly suggested in the Report, p. 54) is to demand Greek and

Latin of a fairly advanced standard at a preliminary examination for intending Honours students in English, and either Greek or Latin for intending Honours students in French or History. The other is to make courses in Greek or Latin (or both in the case of aspirants for Honours in English) integral parts of the Honours courses in these modern subjects. Much might be urged in favour of either proceeding, and still more, especially under present circumstances, in support of a combination of the two. Definite proposals, however, require too much detailed discussion to be dealt with here.

Beyond that we need greater facilities to enable late beginners to continue classical studies after graduation. This need and the ways to meet it are put admirably in the Report (pp. 182-3, 185-7).

We regret that we have not space to print a long letter in defence of the 'Direct Method' of teaching Latin, sent us by Miss M. F. Moor, who speaks with a teacher's experience. We quote, however, her conclusion:

A teacher who knows and loves Latin will be successful by whatever methods he obtains his results; one great point in favour of direct methods is that they make the teacher know and love the work, and that they are incompatible with the 'dead-alive' atmosphere of a badly taught class.

Finally, if anyone doubts the gravity of the present position, we commend to him the following extract from a letter written by Mr. J. C. Nicol, the Headmaster of Portsmouth Grammar School, a school which has trained some really distinguished classical men:

My short experience of an advanced course in mathematics and science is that where a school is unable to run a Classical course as well, Greek will disappear and Latin will deteriorate. Hitherto I have managed to keep both going, being a classical man myself, and the school has turned out every few years a classical scholar. Even those boys in the VIth, who did no Greek, went on with their Latin, often because they liked it, till they were seventeen or eighteen.

Now, as soon as they have passed the first school examination, they drop their Latin, and I find my Latin Form this term shorn of nearly all the good boys who are staying on for the advanced course in mathematics and science.

If my successor, as is quite probable, is not a classical man, Greek is almost certain to go, and Latin will not be carried beyond matriculation standard.

THE PRELUDE OF THE AGAMEMNON.

I.

CLYTAEMNESTRA'S 'OLOLUGMOS.'

'GOD send an end of troubles,'¹ prays the Watchman, and the beacon seems to answer him. Yet something stops his rejoicing. 'The House, if it could find a voice, would tell a tale. . . .' Clytaemnestra's Ololugmos from the Palace is the answer.²

Aeschylus is working on a hint from Homer.³ The women raised the sacred Ololugmos over the victim sacrificed by Nestor to Athene, as the manifest protector of Telemachus. Penelope, in her chamber, sacrificed and prayed and raised the Ololugmos to Athene. The suitors heard it, and made uproar in the hall. They said, 'The Queen is preparing for marriage. She does not know we mean to kill her son.' They were to die themselves. In the sequel, when the suitors had all been killed, Eurykleia, 'seeing the bodies and the plenteous blood,' was eager to cry Halleluia (ὀλολύζειν). Odysseus stopped her: οὐχ ὅσῃ κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι. χαίρουτ' ἂν εἰ χαίρουτ'—ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι, says Clytaemnestra.⁴

But Aeschylus develops the theme. As the *Agamemnon* begins with the Watchman's prayer at night, with the beacons, and with Clytaemnestra's shout of triumph, the *Choëphoroe* begins with the prayer of Orestes at night, the Queen's cry of terror, and the kindling of lights in the Palace.⁵ In the *Agamemnon* the immediate sequel is a sacrifice of incense and libations, ordered by the Queen, throughout the city. In the *Choëphoroe*, libations, sent by Clytaemnestra to appease her husband, are used to rouse his spirit for revenge. In the *Eumenides* the morning prayer of the Priestess is followed by her cry of panic from the Temple; Apollo promises the end of troubles,⁶ and Clytaemnestra's spirit wakes the Furies.⁷

These echoes are deliberate. Cassandra's cry to Apollo is repeated by the Trojan women in their cry for vengeance, ὁτοτοτοτοτοτοῖ, as they summon Agamemnon's spirit.⁸ 'When the cry, ὁτοτοῖ, goes up for the dead man, the wrong-doer is discovered. The lament is like a hunter tracking his prey.'⁹ But the dirge shall be turned into a Paean,¹⁰ and the Ololugmos shall be raised over the bodies of the murderers.¹¹ It is not accident that gives ποποῖ δᾶ its own place in this terrific invocation,¹² and it is high dramatic art that makes Aegisthus cry εἰ ἔ, ὁτοτοῖ, when the blow falls.¹³ The triple οἶμοι of the servant recalls the death-cry of Agamemnon, and the ἰοῦ ἰοῦ, which summons Clytaemnestra to her death, is the shout with which the Watchman woke her to cry Halleluia.¹⁴ Thrice, in the scene which follows, Clytaemnestra's poignant οὐ ἔγω is a warning to the critic not lightly to transfer her natural speech of sorrow for her son's death to Electra.¹⁵ In the end she dies without a cry. Only the Trojan women break the silence. ἐπολολύξατ' ὦ | δεσποσύνων δόμων | ἀναφυγαῖς κακῶν. . . .¹⁶ It is the Watchman's formula again.

But this triumph, like the others, ends in weeping. It is for Athens, in the final reconciliation, to combine the lights and the libations and the Ololugmos in a hymn of praise to Athene, who has brought the end of troubles.¹⁷

II.

THE WATCHMAN'S SPEECH.

This much must be said of the Trilogy as a whole, since in the study of this Prelude we are dealing not merely with the introduction of the heroine, but also with the first movement of a poem, not a patchwork. But the main purpose of the present essay is to suggest that an analysis of the first scenes of the *Agamemnon* may throw fresh light not only on the architecture of the *Oresteia*,

¹ Ag. 1, 20.² Ag. 27, 37.³ Od. III. 450, IV. 772, XXII. 407.⁴ Ag. 1393.⁵ Cho. 32 ff., 533 ff.⁶ Eum. 83, ὥστ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν σὲ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλάξαι πόνων, the Watchman's formula.⁷ To appreciate the technique, cf. Eum. 106, 116, 155 ff.; and Cho. 31 ff., 49 ff., 376.⁸ Cho. 158.⁹ Cho. 325.¹⁰ Cho. 341.¹¹ Cho. 385.¹² Cho. 406.¹³ Cho. 867.¹⁴ Cho. 874 ff.; Ag. 25, 1342.¹⁵ Cho. 687, 886, 892, 927.¹⁶ Cho. 941.¹⁷ Eum. 1041.

but on the dramatist's conception of the character of Clytaemnestra.

As a piece of rhetoric, the first part of the Watchman's speech consists of one long paragraph (1-21), beginning with the assertion that 'throughout a whole year's watch' (*μὲν*) this man has been praying for deliverance from trouble, and ending with the repeated prayer (*νῦν δέ*) that now, at last, deliverance may come, with the shining of the beacon-light.¹ The tension with which we await the beacon, and the mingled relief and apprehension with which we greet it, are partly due to the fact that the paragraph is thus composed. For the whole speech pivots, as it were, on the astonishing clause at its centre which describes the heroine. At the beginning is the prayer for release from trouble; at the end the same prayer, more urgent, and now coupled with the prayer for light: at the centre is 'the woman, masterful, with her man's will and her woman's sanguine heart.' It is not for the sake of the archaic symmetry, but for the tragic heroine's first impression on the audience, that the speech is made thus formal and exact. A literal prose version of Headlam's text may make the point clearer:

I have been praying to the Gods for Deliverance from this Trouble through the length of a whole year's watch:²

Couched, every night of it, aloft, on the roof of the Atreidae's palace, like a dog, I have made acquaintance with the assembly

¹ The technique is Homeric. Thus the *Iliad* begins, 'Sing, Goddess, of the wrath of Achilles, son of Peleus,' and of all the griefs it caused, 'in the accomplishment of the will of Zeus,' beginning 'when first the son of Atreus quarrelled with the glorious Achilles.'

² V. 1. Wilamowitz (following Hermann and others) prints a comma at *πῶνον*. But the sense is, 'I have been praying for a whole year.' *μὲν* co-ordinates the sentence, not the first word only, to v. 8 and v. 20. For the order of the words and the use of *καὶ νῦν* cf. *Ag.* 592-603 *ἀνωλόμυξα μὲν πάσαι . . . καὶ νῦν τὰ μάσσω . . .* See also *Ag.* 40-67 (normal order, but a similar period), and *Ag.* 801-845, where the *μὲν* clause is reinforced at 812 and 820, and answered, first partially at 821 *τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὺν φρόνημα*, and again at 835 *τὰ δ' ἄλλα*, then wholly at 842 *νῦν δ' ἐς μέλαθρα . . .* Clytaemnestra's speech repeats this effect, 878 *ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ . . .*, 886 *νῦν*, 896 *νῦν δέ μοι*, *φίλον κάρα*, and finally, with terrible irony, *τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντίς οὐχ ὕπνω νικωμένη | θήσκει δικαίως . . .* 903 f. The same trick of order occurs with *μὲν—καὶ—νῦν δέ* at 1330 ff.

of the Stars of night, and with those particular bright potentates that bring men summer and storm-season, the constellations that shine pre-eminent in the firmament, their rising and their time of waning:

And I am still watching for the flame-signal, a flash of Fire, bringing a message from Troy—report of capture—

Because the sanguine spirit of a woman with a man's will is so masterful:

And when I couch here through the restless night, in the dews, on a bed that no dreams visit—no dreams visit mine—

Because Fear, not Sleep, stands by me, keeping me from closing fast my eyes—

Well, when I think to sing or hum a tune, cutting that herb of comfort as it were for my lack of sleep;³

Then I find myself in tears for what is happening to this household—not managed well as it once used to be:

Yet I pray that now the Fire may shine on the night with its good news, bringing good luck and the Deliverance from Trouble.

This monologue, in fact, is like a piece of goldsmith's work, not less carefully designed than, for example, are the strophe and antistrophe of a choral ode:

Prayer, and a year's watch, stars that bring storm and summer:

Still watching; for the light of victory;

Because this woman . . .

Watch at night—sleepless; dreamless; kept awake by fear;

Song on watch, as medicine . . . which turns to weeping:

Because the house is not well managed . . .

Still, I pray for light and deliverance.

[*The Beacon shines.*]

Every theme will be repeated in the sequel. The several themes will be modified, heightened, and combined with other themes, in the dramatic symphony to which this is the prelude. Again and again, with more and more intense emotion, we shall hear the prayer for deliverance from trouble, and shall hail the light that seems to bring

³ V. 12. Wilamowitz denies that *εὐτ' ἂν* can be caught up by *ὅταν δέ* (after the digression *φύβος γάρ . . .*), and speaks of the *philologische Unsitte* of Headlam for defending this construction by quotations from late authors. But see *Ag.* 193 ff. *καὶ τόθ' ἡγεμῶν ὁ πρέσβυς . . . εὐτ' ἀπλόα . . . βαρύνοντο (προαὶ δέ . . . κατέβαινον) . . . ἐπεὶ δέ καὶ . . . ἄλλο μῆχαρ μάντις ἐκλαγξεν . . . ἀναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς τότ' (τόδ', corr. Stanley) εἶπε*. Here is 'resumptive δέ' twice illustrated, once with the main verb, once with the temporal *ἐπεὶ* following *εὐτε*, and in a composition which recalls the structures of the prologue (beginning *δέκατον μὲν ἔτος*, etc., and ending *τὰ δ' ἔνθεν*, etc.).

deliverance, but brings only fresh calamity. Many songs will turn to lamentation. Many cures will be tried in vain. Many restless sleepers will wake from dreams to terrors which are worse than any dreaming. And through all, this woman, with a man's strong purpose and a woman's sanguine spirit, will be dominant . . . until at last the Furies, who are Clytaemnestra's representatives, shall be converted into spirits of good will and of good hope by the goddess whose Persuasion is the instrument of reason, not of vengeance.

III.

THE BEACON AND THE QUEEN'S HALLELUIA.

We need not labour the contention that we have here an arrangement remarkably formal in structure, spontaneous in effect, and highly dramatic. Is it deliberate or accidental? Anyhow, it is repeated.

'Hail Beacon, showing a dayspring in the night, a sign for many dances. . . . Ho! Agamemnon's wife I call to rise up from her bed and lift a pious Alleluia. Troy is taken, as the Beacon tells us. And I myself will dance: my master's luck is good and I shall benefit: a hand of trumps for me, this Beacon.'

That is the pattern of the second paragraph: the Beacon, dances, Agamemnon's wife, the Beacon, dances, my Master's luck, the Beacon.

He dances a few steps, then stops. Something depresses him.

'Well anyhow, I hope the Master will come home, and I shall clasp his hand again. For the rest—I am silent—a great ox on my tongue. The House itself, if it could find a voice, would tell a plain tale. . . .'

Then Clytaemnestra's Halleluia from the Palace, The House has found a voice. What does this Oolugmos, this ambiguous cry of triumph, mean?

The pattern is continued. The chorus enters, chanting.

A year of watching and of prayer—and Clytaemnestra, expectant, planning: then the watch and prayer continued, and the answering Beacon.

The joyful Beacon, and the wife of Agamemnon, summoned to her ritual

of triumph and thanksgiving, and again the Beacon.

'The rest is silence.' If the House could speak. . . . And then the cry. Then this:

It is the tenth year now since the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon, and King Menelaus, Zeus-honoured princes, started on their expedition—with a dread war-cry, like the cry of eagles, robbed of their young, robbed of the labour that kept them to the nest. . . . And some God, Pan or Zeus, or perhaps Apollo, hears the cry, and sends a Fury to avenge them. . . . So the sons of Atreus went for vengeance upon Paris, sent by a greater Zeus, the Zeus of Hospitality. The sinner pays in the end. No burnt-sacrifice, no libation of a fireless offering,¹ can appease the stubborn wrath of Zeus.

We know, as the Elders do not know, that Clytaemnestra means to kill her husband. And we know that her motive—if the poet chosēs—will be vengeance for a murdered child. The Princes clamoured for the loss of Helen with a cry like the cry of eagles 'robbed of their young.' We have heard the cry of Clytaemnestra. When she enters (on the word 'Ερινύν), and begins to pour her oils and light her sacrifice, we know that she is praying for the death of Agamemnon. And we know her motive. Her Oolugmos was a mother's

¹ V. 69. I accept Casaubon's ὑποκαίων, and regard οὔτε δακρύων as probably a gloss on οὔθ' ὑποκαίων (though Wilamowitz reads οὔτε δι' ἄγων: 'θυμιάματα accedunt ad ἔμπυρα et σπονδάς'). In view of *Eum.* 106-9 (ἡ πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐλεῖσθε | χροᾶς τ' αἰόλους, νηφάδια μελιγμάτα, | καὶ νυκτίσμενα δέϊπν' ἐπ' ἐσχάρᾳ πυρός | ἔθνον κ.τ.λ.). I think that the right reading here is ὑπολείβων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν (ὑπο- conveying a suggestion of the vain attempt to escape consequences). The genitive denotes the substance of the offering (see Headlam on *Ag.* 1394). The sense is 'neither by burnt sacrifice, nor by libation of fireless offerings.' Fireless offerings were normally offered to the chthonic powers, but sometimes in propitiation to the Olympians. Here the phrase glances at the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. Headlam's (posthumous) note appears to be made up of two inconsistent collections of material. In *Ag.* 1394, 'if it were possible to pour a libation of the appropriate material over this body,' Headlam is right in insisting that libation over the dead is in fact the normal practice. He is wrong, however, in his interpretation of τὰ δ' in v. 1395. It means 'blood,' and catches up the thought of 1388 f.

The dramatic sequel of all this is the fatal offering to the dead in the *Choephorae*, sent by Clytaemnestra because she hoped it would be ἄκος τομαῖον πῆματος (*Cho.* 518-19, 537).

cry for vengeance. The sequel of her prayer and sacrificial rite is this:

Zeû, Zeû, τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει . . .

For the present, she performs her rite in silence. In an interlude of gentle pathos, which relieves our sense of tragic urgency—or, rather, gives it time to sink into our consciousness, making us fitter subjects for the poet's purpose, the old men sing: 'We are old, we could not go to war. We are old and weak, like children. Our leaf is fading. We walk with faltering steps, like dreams abroad by day.'

Then this third paragraph, which draws its tragic meaning from the first: 'Queen Clytaemnestra, why this sacrifice and these libations? These flames that leap to heaven from the altars, these fires of sacrifice, medicined by the soft innocent Persuasion of your own royal unguent? I pray that this may mean good news, the shining of a light of hope—and yet—I am always anxious!'

IV.

THE CHORAL ODE AND THE QUEEN'S FIRST WORDS.

The choral ode begins with a reference to the theme of the central paragraph of the anapaests: 'We are old, like dreams.' The Queen has not given an answer to the question of the Elders. She has proceeded on her way to other altars in the city. And the old men sing:

We are still competent to sing: we may be old, but still heaven lets our old age inspire us with the Impulse—Peitho—the desire to sing, which is strength for singing.

The theme they choose for their comfort is the sign of victory which the Achaean leaders saw near the Palace when they started, the omen of two eagles devouring a pregnant hare.

Sing woe for Linos! (Woe for youth dead, that is.) But may the good prevail.

The poem falls, like the anapaests, and like the paragraphs of the Watchman's speech, into three well-defined divisions:

First, the sign of victory, the omen of the eagles and the pregnant hare, with its interpretation by the prophet.

Then the central panel, Zeus the only com-

fort, the establisher of the stern law, wisdom must come by suffering . . . by chastening in the night season.

Then the fulfilment of the omen, the fatal sacrifice of Iphigeneia.

The central panel, Zeus and the sinner, chastened in sleep, is again an interlude, marking a pause between two chapters of the old men's story. And each chapter is a poem, shaped by the artist in the mould with which we are now growing familiar, a period beginning *κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὄδιον τέρας*, and finding its conclusion in the musical recurrence of the phrase (*μόρσιμ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων ὀδίων κ.τ.λ.*). The attitude of Aeschylus to the sacrifice of Iphigeneia has, I think, been needlessly debated. For the audience, the omen has a very clear and simple meaning. The eagles are, as Calchas says, the sons of Atreus. But the young hare in the womb, on which they feast—*θυομένοισι*, like sacrificers—is the child of Clytaemnestra. That impious sacrifice, not merely Troy's destruction, invokes heaven's vengeance. The omen was a warning. Calchas read it skilfully enough, but he read it ill. And Agamemnon, who 'criticised no prophet,' was wicked when he yielded to the clamour for a human victim.

Calchas perceived that the eagles were the sons of Atreus, and he said, interpreting the portent: 'In time Troy is your prey—not without sacrifices, which shall consume the substance of the Trojans: only I fear some stroke may fall on our own army because Artemis is angry with the eagles, the sacrificers of the timorous creature's unborn brood. . . . Sing woe for Linos, yet may the good prevail.'

He does not really understand. He knows the eagles as the sons of Atreus. That is obvious. But this pregnant hare? What is it? Troy, perhaps? Yes, and the brood? Perhaps the Trojan cattle to be sacrificed by Priam and by Hector—it is a recurrent theme of the *Iliad*. And yet the thing is disquieting. This hunting of a pregnant hare is not sportsmanlike.¹ What if Artemis be angry? What if she need placation . . . a sacrifice in kind . . . a child?

That is his process of divination. Is he right? For Aeschylus, of course not. But presently, when the fleet is held up at Aulis, Calchas will be certain.

¹ See Lucas, *Class. Rev.* XXXV., p. 28.

He will openly demand the victim, and the army will support him, and the King will yield. For the present Calchas prays :

Though so tender, lovely goddess, to the suckling young of all wild creatures, including the young whelps of the fierce lions . . . grant the fulfilment of this omen—because it means victory at any rate—with its mixture of good and ill.

His reference to the whelps of lions is meant to placate Artemis, to remind her that the sons of Atreus are throned between the Lions of Mycenae. But the effect is one of tragic irony. She is, indeed, on the side of the young lions—not of the old. Calchas proceeds :

And I call to Paeon, the Healer, the god of the cry lê, prevent her from sending us contrary winds that will hold back the fleet and delay us, in her zeal for another sacrifice, lawless, without a feast, a maker of quarrels in the family, with no fear of a husband, leaving behind to lurk in the house Wrath, always remembering, crafty—of child-vengeance.

Then the period is rounded off, as we have said, by a recurrence of the opening phrase. Then the central panel :

Zeus, whosoe'er he be, if by this name I please him to be called, this name I give him : I have none to liken to him, though I weigh all things in the balance, save Zeus alone, if I am to throw off this weight of care.

There was one who ruled of old : he waxed fat, he was strong and overweening : he shall not even be spoken of as having been. And he who followed is gone too : he met a wrestler who outwrestled him, and he is gone. To Zeus alone sing victorious Alleluia, and ye shall not fail of wisdom.

The threefold pattern again, and now the epilogue :

Zeus, who hath set men's feet in the path of wisdom : who hath decreed, it shall be law, by suffering alone comes knowledge : when in the time of sleep the pain that brings the memory of the old wrong trickles at the heart, then to unwilling learners comes modesty of mind : it is a mercy forced on men by spirits seated on the holy bench.

That is a new development of the old *motif* of the restless night and the dreams.

Now the third panel, answering the first—not metrically, but in content . . .

So then the captain of the ships—he would not ever criticise a prophet—he was one who yielded to the wind of fortune when it blew against him . . . when the fleet could not sail and the people were distressed at Aulis, and the winds came down from Thrace, with hunger, wearisome . . . and when the prophet cried aloud for a strange medicine, more cruel than

the tempest for the chieftains, alleging Artemis, so that the sons of Atreus beat their staves upon the ground and wept, then the King spoke . . .

Hard to disobey, and hard to sacrifice my daughter . . . well, may all end in good. . . . And once he had shouldered this yoke of '*needs must*' his heart veered round, set full for sin. So distraction drives men to their ruin.

Let us not lose sight of the structure. First the omen and the grim interpretation. Then the central prayer to Zeus. Then the application to the son of Atreus, and this picture of the sacrifice—it is a new and wonderful development of the old themes, anxiety and dayspring after darkness, singing that turns to sorrow, sacrifices and libations :

Her veil of saffron dye falling to the ground about her, with a glance of her piteous eye she smote each of her sacrificers, showing as in a picture, ready to speak to them, as often in her father's hospitable hall she had sung : and the clear voice of that unspotted virgin lovingly had graced the Paeon of good fortune at the third libation for the father of her love. What came afterwards I did not see, and do not tell. The arts of Calchas were not without fulfilment. Justice in the turning of her scale brings to the sufferer knowledge. The future you will hear when it has come. Till then farewell to it. . . . It will come clear enough with the early rays of morning. . . . May the issue end in good, as is the wish of this . . . the guardian, sole regent, closest in her kinship. . . .

I am come, Clytaemnestra, in deference to your command and rule.

Can we doubt that the 'sole guardian' is Clytaemnestra, not the chorus? This woman, masked and beautiful, is a mother, robbed of her child by Agamemnon . . . the eagle, who devoured the hare, quick in the womb.

That is why the first chorus treats of Iphigeneia. Clytaemnestra is a mother.

We feel it, not in spite of, but because of the archaic symmetry of the composition, which has made the poet, for example, begin his Watchman's speech with 'A year of watching and of praying for the end of troubles,' and conclude it with 'The rest is silence . . . if the House could speak,' and then begin his choral anapaests with 'Ten years of war . . .' and end his ode with this : 'The rest I did not see, nor do I tell . . . I pray the sequel may be good, as is the wish of this—the Nearest . . .' Clytaemnestra speaks.

She speaks, and, thanks to the Prelude, every phrase is instinct with her tragedy.

With good news, as the proverb says, may Morning come to birth from her Mother Night. You shall hear a joy, greater than any hope. The Greeks have taken Troy.

I cannot understand—it is so incredible. . . .

Troy in Achaean hands. Is that clear enough?

Joy steals over me. I weep. . . .

Yes, your eye betrays your loyalty.

What makes you sure? Have you any proof of it?

Of course, if the god has not cheated me.

That is death to Agamemnon.

Is it some dream that you believe?

I am not one to talk about the fancies of a sleepy mind.

Is it some rumour perhaps that has gladdened you?

You think I am as foolish as—a young girl.

How long ago is it that Troy was captured?

I tell you, in the Night that was the Mother of this Day.

That, for the moment, is the culmination of these periods, each ending with the repetition, in a new and heightened form, of its first phrase. Their purpose, as we said at the outset, is not simply rhetorical, but dramatic. Clytaemnestra is a mother, robbed of her child. It is because she is a mother that she greets this day of triumph as a child new-born from the womb of a tragic night.

V.

THE PATTERN OF THE SEQUEL.

The Beacon speech, which Wilamowitz thinks quite undramatic, is instinct with Clytaemnestra's hatred for her husband. 'Hephaistos sent from Ida a bright flame,' and when the fire has swept across the Aegean, and has swooped at last upon 'the Spider's Crag near home'—Clytaemnestra is the spider (1493)—we understand, because the paragraph is duly ended by the repetition, the tragic meaning of the phrase 'So it alights upon the Atreidae's roof, this light whose ancestor was the fire on Ida.' The flame that was lit at Troy shall be lit again in Argos. That is her thought.

Again, the Herald's storm-speech balances in the design the beacon-speech of Clytaemnestra, just as his speech about the hardships of campaigning and the long sleep of the dead responds—in a rhetorical chiasmus—to Clytaemnestra's speech

about the captured city and the dangerous wrath of the fallen. First the fiery beacons—baneful fires, lit in Ilion, now coming home to Argos—then the description of the careless conquerors, and of their danger from the wrathful dead. Then the Herald's story, and his talk of the sleeping dead, whom he tries in vain to forget while he praises Agamemnon's greatness. Then this: 'Even we survivors did not all escape. Menelaus was cut off by a conspiracy of fire and sea, two ancient enemies, now reconciled.'

That is the pattern. Is it not dramatic? Athene and Poseidon joined, as everyone knows, in this conspiracy. But more than that is implied for our imagination. The plot against King Agamemnon is a plot of fire and water, Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. With the sacrifices and libations, the incense and the unguents, the fire that heats the cauldron, the waters of the marriage bath, the oil of the anointing of the radiant victim, play their part in the symbolism of this poem. When Agamemnon steps upon the purple, we shall hear the cry of Clytaemnestra: 'There is the sea, and who shall dry it? Breeding much purple, precious as silver, still oozing and still fresh. . . .' The sea of purple is a sea of blood, breeding fresh blood.

That, in the tragedy, is the chief function of the Herald's speech about the sea. But it has another function, also relevant to our discussion. By making Menelaus the last theme of this poor Herald's gloomy news-bringing, Aeschylus makes it natural that his chorus should revert to thoughts of Helen.

Look back to the whole design, and you will find that Aeschylus does not treat his choral odes as independent poems, but as vital and connected parts of one dramatic composition.

In their first anapaests, the Elders, in an interlude between their talk about the vengeance of the Zeus of Hospitality on Paris and their appeal to Clytaemnestra, spoke of themselves as old men, weak as children, dreams abroad by day. Then, in a greater interlude, between their song about the omen and their story of its grim fulfilment, they cried to Zeus,

who chastens men in the night seasons, sending wisdom through the dreams of stricken conscience. The second choral ode—a song of triumph that turned to lamentation—began by taking up again this central theme of the first poem: ‘Praise Zeus, who punishes the sinner, Paris,’ and it ended—‘alas, we fear for the sons of Atreus also.’

But its central panel was a picture of the deserted Menelaus, dreaming of Helen.

The third chorus in its turn takes up this central theme and makes it the main theme of a fresh song.

Helen, so beautiful, and in the end so terrible, a bride turned to a Fury.

Then, for a central panel, the apologue of the lion’s whelp.

Then Helen again, the fatal bride, so charming, and so deadly.

Then, as an epilogue, the moral: Sin breeds sin, and a *daemon* is at last begotten.

Clytaemnestra is the second Helen, the second fatal Bride and Fury, Peitho incarnate. The Prelude is completed. It is time for Agamemnon to arrive—anapaests greet him as they greeted Clytaemnestra on her first appearance.

J. T. SHEPPARD.

THE DITHYRAMB—AN ANATOLIAN DIRGE.

THE earliest references to the Dithyrambos in Greek literature preserve a hint of the direction from which this obviously foreign word reached the shores of Greece. Herodotus says explicitly that the name *διθύραμβος* was brought to Corinth by Arion of Lesbos;¹ and Naxos and Paros, which lay on the sea-route from south-western Asia Minor to the Saronic Gulf, are brought into the story by Pindar and Archilochus respectively.² The dithyramb was regularly set to Phrygian music, and sung to the flute; Aristotle records the failure of an attempt to set it to Dorian music.³ It has often been surmised that the dithyramb and its name were Asiatic. Haigh made the suggestion, without adducing any evidence in support, that both *διθύραμβος* and *θρίαμβος* were of Phrygian origin.⁴ The efforts to explain *διθύραμβος* as a Greek word—beginning with Euripides’ and Plato’s derivation from the ‘double birth’ of Dionysus⁵ and culminating in

Mr. A. B. Cook’s *Δι-θορ-αμβος* (‘Zeus-leap-song’⁶—have all failed to satisfy either grammar or common sense.

Aristotle’s statement that tragedy originated *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον* makes the question of the origin and earliest form of the dithyramb itself one of the most important problems in literary history. The interest of the problem is reflected in recent controversy: *Θρίαμβο-Διθύραμβε* has become the slogan in a literary *γυγαντομαχία*, waged by champions who command every resource of European, Asiatic, and African anthropology. If I presume to enter this formidable arena in the light equipment of a pair of Phrygian gravestones, it is only because I agree with Haigh that the obvious place in which to look for the origin of the dithyramb is the Phrygian hinterland of Ionia and Aeolis. If the following derivation of the word *διθύραμβος* suggests an origin in Anatolian grave-ritual, the fault lies with no preconceived theory, but with the evidence. The evidence is comparatively new; it would no doubt have been used earlier, had it been available.

In 1898, J. G. C. Anderson published a Phrygian inscription⁷ from Tyriaion

dithyramb had for its subject the birth of Dionysos. Plato is merely alluding—and sceptically at that—to the current etymology.

⁶ Quoted approvingly by Miss Jane Harrison in *Themis*, p. 204. See Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, p. 44.

⁷ *J.H.S.*, 1898, p. 121. See also *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 214, on the text of this inscription.

¹ I. 23: ‘Ἀρίωνα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον . . . διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ οὐνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

² Pindar (see Schol. in *Ol.* XIII. 19) derived the dithyramb from Naxos and from Thebes as well as from Corinth (see last note). Archilochus of Paros is the earliest writer who uses the word *διθύραμβος*. Later, Simonides of Ceos composed a dithyramb on the hero Memnon.

³ *Politics*, VIII. 7.

⁴ *Tragic Drama*, p. 16.

⁵ Eur. *Bacchae*, 526 ff.; Plato, *Legg.* 700B: καὶ ἄλλο (ᾧδῃς εἶδος), Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος. Note the sceptical οἶμαι. This passage is usually read as meaning that the

(known to classical scholars as the scene of a famous review described in Xenophon's *Anabasis*), which contained the first known example of a noun, *διθρερα*, meaning 'tomb' or 'sepulchral monument.' In 1911 the writer published a Phrygian inscription¹ of Iconium, containing the word *διθρεφα*, either a noun or an adjective, with similar meaning. The Tyriaion inscription runs as follows; it is in rough elegiac verse:

ασ σεμονν κνουμανα διθρερα κ(ε) Ξευνεοι 'δδikes εiαν
μανκαν iαν εσταes βρατερe μαιμαρhan
Πουκρος Μανισ[io]υ ενεπαρkes δε τουν[?]βον[?] Ξευνα . . .

The Iconian inscription, which is strongly graecised, is in the following terms:

Ηλιος Γαιος αγορανι αχανες τοπον Καοανια πραγ-
ματικον ατ ω κα
ειστανι πελτα κα ηλια διθρεφα σα πριεις [A]ν[ρ]ηλιαν
Βασ[αν]. δστις
ἐπιβιά[σ]ηστε (sic), δῶ[σει] τῷ φίσκ[ω] (δηνάρια) α'.

Both these inscriptions belong to the small group of late Phrygian inscriptions in which the construction of the tomb is described in Phrygian. The great majority of these texts consist of a *devotio* in Phrygian, usually appended to a Greek inscription describing the preparation of the tomb. The meaning of the words *κνουμανα* and *πελτα* is certain. The commonest word for 'tomb' in the Phrygian inscriptions is *κνουμανει* (dat.), and the writer has shown² that *πελτα* means the substructure on which the monument, usually an altar or doorstone, sometimes a sarcophagus, stood. In Phrygian we find *κε* both interposed like Greek *καί* and enclitic like Latin *-que*, and in the above two inscriptions *κνουμανα* and *πελτα* respectively have a word, or a group of words, tacked on to them by *κε*.³ The word *διθρερα*

must be a noun, and *διθρεφα* must be either a noun or an adjective according as *ηλια* is taken as adjective or as noun. In either case there is no doubt as to the meaning 'monument' or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic.

While the meaning is clear, the form of the two words presents great difficulty. The contexts in which they occur, and their evident similarity or identity of meaning, 'suggest at first sight that we have in the two words a common stem with varying suffix. The *-r-* suffix assumed on this view in *διθρερα* is well attested in Anatolian personal and place-names over a wide area, but I can find no parallel to the suffix postulated for *διθρεφα*. One might well suspect an engraver's error in *διθρεφα*, which may have been cut in mistake for *διθρερα* by a Greek sculptor ignorant of Phrygian. It should be noted that in both inscriptions the reading is clear and certain.

And the difficulty concerns not only the termination in *διθρεφα*, but the stem in both words. Phrygian drops the aspirates, and it looks at first sight as if the two words were loan-words in Phrygian. In my commentary in *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 142, I made an attempt to save them for Phrygian by supposing that Θ was due to the influence of late Greek orthography, which confused Θ and Τ (e.g. *θέκνους* for *τέκνους*). Working on the same lines, J. Fraser (*Phrygian Studies*, p. 9) suggested that *διθρερα* is *dui-trē-ro-* 'with two cavities' and *διθρεφα* *dui-trēb-so-* 'with two dwelling-places.' Neither procedure is satisfactory. The orthographical substitution of Θ for Τ does not occur elsewhere in the Phrygian inscriptions,⁴ and it would be surprising, to say the least, to find it confined to these two suspiciously similar words. It is equally unconvincing to postulate different stems for two isolated and apparently cognate words, occurring in contexts which compel us to assume identity of meaning, occurring, too, within a narrow geographical area.

in *Xenia Nicolaïdiana* (ca. 1912). For a full discussion of the two inscriptions quoted above see *J.H.S.*, 1911, pp. 178, 188, 214.

⁴ Except, perhaps, in No. LXV.; but this is very doubtful.

¹ *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 188.

² *Revue de Philologie*, 1912, p. 51. The clinching text is . . . κατεσκεύασε τὰ πέλτα σύν τῷ ἐπεστώτῃ Βωμῶ . . . (Iconium).

³ I take *κα* to be a dialectic variety of *κε*. The interpretation of the later Phrygian inscriptions owes most to Ramsay's paper on *Jahresh. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, 1905, col. 79 ff., where much new material is added to the same writer's collection in *Kuhns Zeitsch.* XXVIII., pp. 381 ff. Further fresh material was utilised in *J.H.S.*, 1911, pp. 161 ff., and 1913, pp. 97 ff. See also Fraser, *Phrygian Studies* in *Trans. Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 1913, and Richard Meister

An obvious way out of the difficulty is to assume that the two words are borrowed. The Phrygians were immigrants in Asia Minor, and it is a natural assumption that they borrowed many words belonging to the old Anatolian language, especially the language of religion. In the other cases in which Θ is used in the Phrygian inscriptions, borrowing seems probable. The word *θαλαμει* (dat.) in one of the inscriptions¹ is probably derived, as Ramsay suggests to me, from the old Anatolian language.² The only other Phrygian inscription in which certainly Θ occurs (*ibid.*, No. XLVIII., Ε...ΙΘΝΙΟΥΤΜΕΝΟC, *Ενσταρναδουμβ, οιουθβαν*) has not been satisfactorily explained. The identifiable deities in that inscription are old Anatolian or Persian (*Μα, Βα, Μιτραφατα*³), and it may be that here too Θ indicates borrowing. The hypothesis that *διθρερα* is borrowed from a Greek form *δίθυρον* may at once be cleared out of the way; *δίθυρον* does not occur among the multitudinous Greek words meaning 'grave' in Asia Minor, and what does not exist cannot be borrowed. It is a possible view that *διθρερα* and (if the form is correct) *διθρεψα* contain an old Anatolian root, meaning 'grave,' which lingered on and retained the aspirated form in the Phrygian language.

But a different explanation, which occurred to me as archaeologically preferable if philologically sound, commands itself also to Ramsay, whose support emboldens me to put it forward as highly probable. In his commentary on the Tyriaion inscription,⁴ Ramsay wrote: 'Θ seems to be non-Phrygian; yet it is quite certain, and the aspiration is in place before P. Professor Sayce very ingeniously suggests that in this word and ΑΡΕΓΓΡΟΤΝ (xxxiii), a para-

sitic P is developed after a dental, similar to Cretan *τρε* for *σε*. He compares also the glosses in Hesychius *δεδροικώς*· (*δε*)*δοικώς*: *δρύεται*· *κρύπτεται*: *ἄτρεγκτος*· *ἄβροχος*: *πιφραύσκων*· *πιφαύσκων*: *φρυγά*· *φυγή*: *βρήσσαι*· *βήσσαι*; . . . If he is right, we might perhaps take *θρερα* as representing *dhnara*, *θύρα*, Latin *fores*: then *διθρερα* would be a tomb with double doors (a common type of store; an example is shown *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 628). In reply to an enquiry, Ramsay (while deprecating the application of strict phonetic rules to the relation between Greek mouths and ears and the Greek alphabet on the one hand, and Anatolian pronunciation on the other) suggests an alternative explanation of the form *διθρερα*. 'The old Anatolian languages, as we see in Lycian and Lydian and in numberless proper names, delighted in the use of the spirant and of nasalised vowels, and enunciated R and L in very different fashion from the Greek. I see no difficulty in believing that an old I.D.E. *didwar* was represented in Greek spelling as *dithrer* by a Greek-speaking Phrygian: cf. *J.H.S.*, 1920, p. 199. One historical example may suffice: the Pisidian bishopric, whose name appears in Greek spelling as *Sinêthandos* (for *Sinthiandos*) and *Sinnada* and *Sintrianos* and *Sitriandos* and *Siniandros* and *Siniandos* (possibly also *Sunnad* in Ibn Kordadbeh) must, I think, have borne the name *Siñrad* among the Orondian mountaineers. R in these variations is soft vocalic, like English RE in pretty.'

If this explanation of the form is accepted,⁵ it gives us a derivation which exactly fits the local religious conditions. The religion of Phrygia, as Ramsay and others have shown by overwhelming evidence, centred in the cult of the grave. The family tomb (*προγονικόν* or *συγγενικόν*) was the *οἶκος* in which the dead lived, and a cardinal feature in sepulchral architecture was the door, occasionally called *θύρα* on the monument, which provided communication

¹ *J.H.S.*, 1911, p. 166, No. IV.

² That *θάλαμος* or *θαλάμη* is an old Anatolian word, borrowed thence by both Greek and Phrygian, appears from the following passages:

(1) Hesychius, *θαλάμαι*· *στήλαι ἐπικείμεναι τοῖς αἰδοῖσις τῶν ἀποκόπων* (which were evidently buried in a grave under a monument with a *στήλη*—the whole custom is Anatolian, and Phrygian by adoption). (2) Hesychius, *κύβελα*· *ὁρη Φρυγίας*. *καὶ ἄντρα*. καὶ *θάλαμοι*.

³ Note *Μιτρα*-, not *Μιθρα*-.

⁴ *Jahresh. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, 1905, col. 89.

⁵ We should in this case have to regard *διθρεψα* as a mistake for *διθρερα*; but even on the assumption that the root is 'dithre-', *διθρεψα* is a difficult form.

between the living and the dead.¹ The monument is often represented symbolically as a door; the 'doorstones,' with the altars, are the commonest type of grave-monument in Phrygia. Occasionally the door is shown as consisting of two valves (a two-valved door is reproduced in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 628, referred to above), or two or more doors are represented side by side. It is an obvious suggestion that the word *διθρερα* was applied to a monument of this type. The 'double door' may refer either to a doorstone with two valves, or to any doorstone as symbolically leading in two directions²—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.

Whatever may be the correct explanation of the form of the word, it is very tempting to recognise in it the Anatolian original of the Greek *διθύραμβος*, which may have arisen by anaptyxis from *διθρ-αμβος*, or may—on Ramsay's view of the character of P following Θ—be an attempt to write *διθρερ-αμβος* in Greek. In such a case as this, a parallel strengthens conviction, and we can point to a similar development in the case of another old Anatolian word. Plutarch tells us that *λάβρυν* is a Lydian word meaning 'axe,' and archaeology has supplied ample confirmation. From *λάβρυν* we get the Anatolian derivatives *Λαβραννδος*, *Λαβρανδος*, *Λαβρενδος*, *Λαβραδεύς* (ethnic),³ and the same

word appears in Greek in the form *λαβύρινθος*.

For the first element of *διθύραμβος*, the meaning of 'grave' is attested. Comparing *διθύρ-αμβος* with *θρί-αμβος* and *ἱαμβος* we cannot doubt that the second element means 'song' or a ritual performance of some kind, and we get the meaning 'grave-song' or 'dirge' for the dithyramb. As regards *-αμβος*, it may be worth while to point out that Semitic *-αββ-* appears a *-αμβ-* in Phrygia (e.g. Sabbathai becomes Sambatios as well as Sabbatios);⁴ and that the abbasum of the march of Cn. Manlius Vulso in Phrygia is quoted by Stephanus in the form *Ἀμβασον*.⁵ A similar variation, if Ramsay is right, occurs in the form of the place-name Lampe, Lappa, Appa.⁶ Possibly *αμβος* is connected with *Ἀββας*,⁷ an ancient divine name or title, which may, like *Παῖάν*, etc., have come to mean a sacred hymn. Conversely, *Διθύραμβος* itself was used as a title of Dionysus. If this suggestion is correct, the *θρήνων ἑξαρχοι* of *Iliad* XXIV. 721 are no other than the *ἑξάρχοντες τὸν διθύραμβον* of the *Poetics*, although Aristotle was quite unconscious of the connection. In its passage from Asia to Greece the dithyramb, like Dionysus himself, changed its character.

W. M. CALDER.

⁴ See A. Reinach, *Noé Sangarion*, p. 73.

⁵ I assume an identification which implies a new theory of the march of Manlius, which I hope soon to publish.

⁶ *Cities and Bishoprics*, p. 347.

⁷ See Kretschmer, *op. cit.*, p. 336, and add to his references *Ἀββουκώμη* in an unpublished inscription of Laodicea Combusta (at Kadyan Khan).

¹ See Miss Ramsay in *Studies in the E.R. Prov.*, p. 65, where references are quoted.

² This is Ramsay's suggestion. He compares the term *διπυλον*, applied by Plutarch (II. 322B), to the temple of Janus.

³ Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 303; cf. p. 404.

HOMERIC HYMN TO HERMES 109 f.

MESSRS. ALLEN AND SIKES may have 'blundered as usual'¹ in translating *ἐπέλεψε* as 'pruned to a point.' I am quite incompetent to judge. But I should like to point out that Mr. Agar appears to have the most hazy notions upon the process of producing fire by a fire-stick or of the physics thereof. The principle depends upon the fact that finely divided carbon takes fire easily, as was seen in the old tinder box. The process is as follows: The fire-block, *στροφεύς*, is a piece of soft and very

dry wood; the borer, *τρύπανον*, is of harder wood, and is pointed. The borer is either made to revolve by means of the hands or by a primitive drill, such as a bow drill or a spindle drill. The fire-block is held with the feet. If the hands alone are used, they twirl the borer exactly as a swizzle stick is twirled, the point of the borer revolving in a small hole in the fire-block. If the wood is properly dry and the right pressure is used, the sides of the hole fritter down into a fine dust, which chars and eventually becomes red hot. Fine shavings or dry grass or leaves are then held over the red-hot dust and blown upon till a flame is produced which can be further fed. Mr. Agar's idea that the fire-block might be covered with iron is

¹ See T. L. Agar in *Class. Rev.* XXXV., p. 97.

absurd. Friction of wood against iron will fire the wood, as is seen in the occasional firing of a brake-block on a railway waggon, but only at an expenditure of energy far greater than any unaided man can produce, or even one aided with a hand-drill.

Sometimes, instead of being revolved, the borer, still pointed, is rubbed to and fro in a groove in the fire-block, which makes Mr. Agar's conjecture of *ἐνιάλλε στρογγί* possible. The process is difficult, and I have never succeeded myself either with or without a drill; making fire with a flint and steel is quite easy if the tinder be dry. With the fire-stick, unless just the right pressure be used, failure results; if too much pressure be used the fire-block merely polishes and no dust is formed; if too little, again no dust is formed nor any heat. I have often managed to get the wood hot and to smoke, but nothing like as hot as I got myself. I should add that modern man will find it easier to hold the fire block in a vice, and not with the feet.

I imagine that the difficulty of making fire before the use of the flint and steel was the origin of such regulations as those concerning the fire of Vesta, and of such a simile as that in *Od.* V. 488 ff.

As an old Etonian, I may perhaps be pardoned if I add that the facts which I have cited remind me of a famous cricket ground—namely, Agar's Plough. H. P. CHOLMELEY.

LUA MATER: FIRE, RUST, AND WAR IN EARLY ROMAN CULT.

ONE of the obscurest and most puzzling figures in the Roman pantheon is Lua Mater. This paper is an attempt to clear up some of the problems connected with her and with certain other deities who seem to me to form part of the same very early circle of ideas.

Very little is definitely stated about her by the ancients.¹ She is invoked with Saturn (Lua Saturni, in the *comprecationes* in Gellius XIII. 23, 2). She is one of the deities to whom arms taken from the enemy may be burned (*Liv.* XLV. 33, 1, cf. VIII. 1, 6). Her name is probably connected with *lues*.² There are no inscriptions in her honour, and no record of any sacrifices to her, other than the burning of arms.

A plausible conjecture introduces her, it is true, into the following passage from the inter-

polator of Servius on *Aen.* III. 139: ARBORIBVSQVE SATISQVE LVES—quidam dicunt diuersis numinibus uel bene uel male faciendi potestatem dicatam, ut . . . Iunoni procreationem liberorum, sterilitatem horum tam Saturno quam Lunae; hanc enim sicut Saturnum orbandi potestatem habere. For *Lunae*, Preller would read *Luae*, and Wissowa agrees. But (1) the gloss is very confused, for it sets out to show that the same deity can both bless and ban, as Apollo in Vergil's text, though god of leechcraft, sends a plague, and goes on to say that different deities, acting in pairs, send blessing and curse respectively. (2) The text will make sense without emendation. An astrological reference will surprise no one who knows the commentators on Vergil, and Luna is connected with *orbitas* (see e.g. Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis* VI. 29, 3, to take the first passage that comes to hand). That the functions of the gods were in later times closely bound up with the supposed influences of those heavenly bodies which bore their names is well known. I prefer, therefore, to leave this passage on one side, remarking only that if Preller's emendation be accepted it merely strengthens the proof of the unpleasant nature of Lua, which is apparent enough from her name (as Wissowa sees, *l.c.* and RKR², p. 208).

We are left, then, with a deity connected (1) with sowing, or the god of sowing; (2) with plague; (3) with burning. What functions can she have to include these three discrete spheres of activity?

I hold in the first place that we shall handicap ourselves needlessly if we think of her too closely in connection with Saturnus. Connected with him, indeed, she must be in some way, or no official prayer would mention them together; but looking at the list in Gellius, I think we can find some evidence that these pairings of deities are rather of the nature of differentiating titles than of expressions of permanent relationship. For what does the genitive case here mean? Certainly not kinship; Lua is not wife or daughter of Saturnus, for Italian numina have no such relationships. Some sort of subordination then is most naturally to be assumed, but is it permanent or temporary? Is Lua who is subordinated to Saturn the only indigitation of Lua? Not necessarily, for the list (supplemented by Fest. epit. 100 M/71 Th.) shows us on the one hand Herie Iunonis, on the other Here Martia, in whom it is at least plausible to recognise two forms of the same name, related probably to the Oscan

¹ See Wissowa in Roscher's *Lexikon* II. 2146.

² v. Domaschewski (*Abhandlungen zur röm. Rel.* p. 109 and n.3) denies this, and declares that she is an 'Eigenschaftsgöttin des Saturnus . . . und zwar . . . jene Eigenschaft, die das Keimen der Saaten befördert,' but he gives no proof, etymological or other.

Herentas, and signifying the will or wish of Mars and of Iuno respectively (cf. Osc. *herest*, uolet). And as for Lua we find her associated with Mars in a context (Liv. *ll. cc.*) from which Saturnus is wholly excluded. We may then reasonably hold that the pairings of deities quoted by Gellius no more preclude the possibility of those same deities appearing in other partnerships than the existence of Zeus Heraios proves him permanently subject to Hera, or the indigitation of Apollo as *medicus* and *paean* (Macr. *Sat.* I. xvii. 15) forbids us to believe that he was worshipped under other titles also. Lua Saturni is simply Lua, who on this occasion is worshipped in conjunction with Saturnus.

It remains, then, to consider her name and her warlike functions, and to try to explain them in a way which will leave room for her occasional association with the spirit of sowing. In the first place, *lues* is as vague a word as 'plague' in English. It is used of blight on trees and plants in the passage of Vergil just quoted, while elsewhere it may signify a disease attacking men. Here we want a plague or destruction which might attack seeds, and at the same time is connected with war and burning. One naturally thinks of fire.

That Lua is actually a fire-goddess is not likely. It is not she, but Maia and later Stata Mater, who are named in the cult of Volcanus. The latter has apparently no connection at all with Saturnus, and in the passages which mention the burning of arms in his honour (Liv. I. 37, 5; XXIII. 46, 5; XXX. 6, 9) Lua does not appear. But it is noteworthy that for a fire-god to be connected with an agricultural deity is by no means unexampled. Maia herself is the goddess of growth or increase, to judge by her name, and her month is that in which the early summer vegetation is growing. Vesta again is connected, or at least the Vestal Virgins are, with agricultural rites—the spelt harvest in May, the ritual of the Argei, the Fordicidia, the Ecus October. But with Mars Lua seems to have a two-fold connection, viz.: (1) that the deities to whom arms may be sacrificed are, in Livy XLV. 38, 1, Mars, 'Minerua'

(i.e., Nerio)¹ and Lua, and (2) that the Arval Brothers pray (Henzen, p. cciv.), *neue luerue Marmar sins incurrere in pleores*, where, although *luerue* as it stands can hardly be right, it is more natural to take it as concealing some cognate of *lues* that, with Bücheler, to emend it away. And whatever we may think of the origin of Mars, it cannot be doubted that he had agricultural functions, indeed that he is connected in some manner with sowing, for in this very hymn he is invoked almost in the same breath with the Semunes.

Not only Mars but Quirinus was interested in agriculture. His flamen, besides his frequent appearance by the side of the Vestals, sacrifices to Acca Larentia (Gell. VII. 7), to Consus on the Consualia (Tert. *de spect.* 5), and, most important of all, to Robigus. In this last connection I would protest against the suggestion of Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 155, that he acted merely because his regular functions took up so little time. If this was so, why was not some other unemployed priest, say the fl. Pomonalis or Falacer, called upon to do the work? Our only authority, Ovid (*Fasti* IV. 110), gives no hint that the presence of the flamen Quirinalis was not absolutely necessary, or that anyone else could have acted in his place. I would rather suppose some connection of Quirinus² with this curious ritual, whose most interesting feature is the sacrifice of a dog. That this is the result of a sort of bad pun on the name of the dog-star, as Ovid *l.c.* supposes, is indeed rightly denied by modern critics; nor is the *augurium caninum* otherwise connected with Sirius than by date, I think. From the fact that the victim at the *augurium* was a red dog, it seems to me a likely guess that Robigus' dog was red also, the colour of the dreaded 'rust.'

¹ Minerua is not an *indiges*, and so is out of place here. But cf. Appian, *Punica* 133, which, following Polybios no doubt, names Athena. Livy obviously draws upon the same author in the above passage, and we may rectify the mistake by supposing that Polybios explained Nerio by Athena, in the latter's capacity as a war-goddess. Cf. Wissowa, *RKR*³, pp. 148, 208.

² Tert., *l.c.*, mentions Mars in this connection; *Numa Pompilius Marti et Robigini fecit*; but this is, apparently, a mere slip.

Departing a little from the main argument of this paper, I would here offer a suggestion as to the real meaning of this rite. We are familiar enough with corn-spirits in animal form, thanks to Mannhardt and Fraser. I believe that we have here a bad corn-spirit, one who destroys corn instead of making it grow, and is killed in order to get rid of him, not to let him transmigrate into a new and more vigorous body. The old corn-spirit is killed when his work is done and his incarnation, the ripe ears, may no longer stand; but Robigus in his dog-avator is killed early in the year, in April, some time before the sacred spelt-harvest of the Vestals, to prevent him damaging the crop at all. So at Carseoli something—Ovid's corrupt text does not enable us to say exactly what—was done to another avator of the red mildew, the fox (*Fast.* IV. 711); apparently the beast was burned to death. The conception of an evil power as something which could be killed, and so got finally rid of, in some incarnate form, was not strange to ancient magic; Apollonios of Tyana had a plague-demon stoned in the shape of an old man (*Philostr. Vita Apoll.* IV. 10). *Pax deorum* was indeed what the Roman craved, humbly enough, in the case of such mighty ones as Iuppiter and Quirinus; but in the case of one or two obnoxious demons it would appear to have been allowable to assail them *iusto pioque bello*. Later, when the idea of sacrifice as the giving of food to the gods swamped all other conceptions,¹ the respectable sheep was added, and the *exta* of the dog presented like those of a more normal victim; and long before that, it may well be, Quirinus was called in to lend his aid.

I have said that the dog-star had little or nothing to do with dog-sacrifice, or the killing of dog-demons; yet I think Ovid's fancy contains, if only by

accident, a hint of the truth. He clearly associates rust with hot weather, and rightly enough in a way, though presumably neither that or any other fungus would prosper unless the atmosphere were also damp. The line of reasoning is this, I think: fire is hot and red (long after Robigus was forgotten, Giotto was indicating fire in his frescoes by a neat patch of red paint); rust is red (at least its spores are) and comes in hot weather; therefore rust is a kind of fire, and the red dog (we still speak of red cattle, meaning a warm brown colour) is fire-colour or rust-colour.

We can now, I think, find a place for a deity who is connected with seeds and yet with fire; Lua, the spirit of *lues*, can, among other things, blight the precious seed-corn, if she be not propitiated.

I would call attention in this connection to the loose use of the verb *urere*. If a crop, such as flax or poppies, which exhausts the soil, can be said to 'burn' it (*Virg. Georg.* I. 78), there is no need even to be particular to assign Lua's evil activities to some sphere in which a fire-coloured fungus is involved.

But there is yet another and more literal kind of fire which can on occasion damage crops and much else. *Ferro atque igne uastare* was a commonplace of ancient warfare, horribly revived in our own day. We have, indeed, no proof that Lua was called in to help with her 'fire' in the destruction of such of the enemy's seed-corn as escaped the material activities of the army, but it is not unlikely, since we have already seen her busy in connection with another piece of war-magic, the 'sacrifice' of the arms. For that it was simply war-magic I am fairly convinced. If the arms were a present to the god, why were they not put in a temple? To burn food before a god is a different matter, for to the average Roman, or Greek, of periods whereof we have any record, the notion clearly was that the deities lived on the smoke or steam of the sacrifices. But in the case of captured arms, the motive seems rather to be the destruction by sympathetic magic of the other arms which are still

¹ Much harm has been done by scholars in trying to force all kinds of sacrifice into one formula, whether gift, communal meal, god-eating, or simple magical rite. All these interpretations have their value, and I doubt if we can say that one is more primitive than another. For the world in general certainly, for many individual peoples probably, several causes have been at work.

in possession of the enemy.¹ As to the gods invoked, Volcanus is clearly at home in an act involving destruction by fire; Mars and Nerio are equally appropriate, that their greater potency may reinforce the spell; while Lua, who by reason of her 'burning' of the corn, or, if I am right, of its seeds, is perhaps called in as a sort of fire-goddess.

But in considering any Roman rite, we should always keep in view the maxim, ὁ τρώσας καὶ λίσσεται. As Geneta Mana is the goddess of birth and also of death; as Ianus is Patulcius Clusius, and so on, we may expect a god who can destroy by fire to help by fire also. One way of helping is clearly to burn up what is harmful. Thus we see Volcanus connected with the Tublicius-trium, not, as Ovid imagines, because the trumpets are made by his art,² for he seems never to have been a god of smiths, but by the purifying virtues of his element. Compare also the purifying fires of the Parilia, the familiar torches of many ceremonies, such as marriage, and the purgatorial fires of many faiths, including that of Vergil. This may be wholly negative—there is something altogether bad, which we want taken away, and so we burn it. But that it is positive also is an idea not lightly to be dismissed. The most terrible of fires, the thunderbolt, may not only destroy but also confer deity.³ It is from a funeral pyre that Herakles mounts to heaven; Empedokles and Peregrinus alike⁴ sought immortality by the same route. Demeter at Eleusis and Isis at Byblos place in the fire the children on whom they wish to confer immortality; Thetis does the same,⁵ while Medeia uses the closely allied method of a boiling cauldron. I have already mentioned the activity of the Vestals in agricultural rites. Possibly a subsidiary cause of the connection of fire and agriculture may have been the

utility, well understood by the ancients, of ashes as manure.⁶ And, to return to Robigus for a moment, whether my suggestion of the real significance of the sacrifice be right or wrong, this connection of war, fire, and agriculture, may help us to understand why the fl. Quirinalis in particular was chosen to perform the rite. Fire here drives out fire, the clean and beneficent fire of the warlike and agricultural deity fighting the impure flames of the hurtful daimon. We may, then, fairly suppose that Lua had a good side as well as a bad one in her activities (possibly, if we knew a little more about her, we might find some title suggesting it).

To sum up, we find Lua belonging to a group of deities whose functions, fairly distinct but often interlocking, concern the closely connected group of human activities—war, agriculture, and the use of fire; her functions appear to have been normally maleficent, but not necessarily or invariably so; and therefore we find her in the honourable company of Saturnus and Mars, propitiated and asked for help as they are, and not, as apparently Robigus was, attacked.

H. J. ROSE.

⁶ Virg. Georg. I. 80.

AESCHYLUS, PROMETHEUS VINCTUS 801.

τοιοῦτο μὲν σοι τοῦτο φρούριον λέγω.

The Scholia on this passage, and Hesychius, explain φρούριον as 'a danger to guard against' (Hesychius, φρούριον 'προφύλαγμα'). As there is no other instance of this meaning, modern editors accept the explanation with some doubt, suggesting as an alternative the 'ordinary meaning' of 'guard' or 'garrison' (so Sikes and Wilson's commentary). But 'guard-post' (so Rackham) is nearer to the original meaning of 'fort' or 'citadel'—here, the region held by the Gorgons and Graiai. This rendering finds some support in Cicero's version (*Quaest. Tusc.* ii. 10) of a fragment from the Προμηθεὺς Λυόμενος.

1. 9. Transverberatus castrum hoc Furiarum incolo.

Welcklein—who accepts Hesychius' explanation of φρούριον—here annotates castrum as follows: 'etwa Ἐρινύων φρουράν nach, I. 143. Ἐρινύων ist dann metonymisch gebraucht ("Lager der Rache").' But φρουρά in the sense of *P. V.*, line 143, φρουράν ἀξήλων ὀχλήσω, is not an exact equivalent to either 'castrum' or 'Lager,' and φρούριον [Γοργόνων] is a nearer parallel to 'castrum Furiarum.'

MARGARET E. HIRST.

¹ For a not dissimilar idea, see Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 37, and Jevons' introduction to his edition of Philemon Holland's translation, p. lxxxi.

² *Fast.* V. 726.

³ Diod. Sic. V. 52, 2.

⁴ Horace *A. P.* 465; Luc. *de mort. Peregr.* 29.

⁵ Hom. *Hymn. in Cer.* 239 ff.; Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 357 c; Lykophron 178-9. Cf. Dussaud, *Intr. à l'Hist. des Rél.*, p. 179.

GREEK ETYMOLOGIES: ἄηρ,
ἰχώρ, κομμός, οἶνος, χαλκός.

SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY writes (*Journ. of Roman Studies*, 1917, p. 268): 'There is a strong admixture of Anatolian words in Greek, and some remarkable similarities due to geographical contiguity.' The decipherment of the cuneiform Hittite tablets of Boghaz Keui is demonstrating the correctness of his remark and throwing light on the origin of a good many Greek words. Here are some examples:

(1) Ἄηρ has naturally been regarded as connected with ἄημι and ἄελλα—it certainly was so by the Greeks themselves—although there are phonetic difficulties in regard to the termination, which, however, has been explained as due to assimilation to αἰθήρ. Now we find in one of the Boghaz Keui texts (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoï* IV. p. 76): AN ISTAR-gan MAT-E-as *ḫakḫkhanī uerā-zanda isḫūwāi*, 'May Istar (or whatever was the corresponding Hittite name of the goddess) rain fire upon the land from heaven (*uera-z*),' a phrase borrowed from Sumerian and Semitic literature. There can be little doubt that in *uera* we have the Greek α-*φέρ*-. The prothetic vowel (which is found before initial digamma in about a dozen words in Greek) will have been due to the analogy of ἄημι. Latin *aura* is a loan-word from *αὔρα*, as Lithuanian *oras* is from *aura* itself. (Is the Greek χέω for σκεF-ω, Hitt. *isḫū*?).

(2) Ἰχώρ has no Indo-European etymology. In the Hittite text we find *esḫar*, acc. *isḫani*, which the Sumerian and Assyrian vocabularies explain as 'red blood' in contradistinction to *mānis* or 'white blood,' 'pus.'

(3) Sir William Ramsay (*J.R.S.*, 1917, p. 270) suggests that κομμός, 'a song with music,' is of Anatolian origin. He is now proved to be right. In the Hittite cuneiform texts *isḫani-yazi* signifies 'he sings' or 'chants.' Κομμός therefore represents an earlier σκομ-*vos*, the root being found in the Hittite (*i*)*skham*.

(4) It has long been believed that οἶνος is of Asianic origin. In the Hittite text the common word for 'wine' is *wiyanas*, and the name of the city Oinoanda, near Issos, is written

Wiyanuwanda. Κάροινον, which is the Assyrian *Karanu*, *kurun*, has been assimilated to οἶνος. In Assyrian the borrowed *wiyanas* became contracted into *inu*, and in the Cappadocian tablets found near Kaisariyeh and belonging to about B.C. 2400, the proper name Inâ, 'the Vintner,' occurs frequently.

(5) Χαλκός again has no Indo-European etymology. In the Cappadocian tablets, which are about a thousand years earlier than the Boghaz Keui texts and are written in an Assyrian dialect, one of the places from which copper was brought is stated to be Khalki (Contenau, *Trente Tablettes Cappadociennes*, p. 86). In the Boghaz Keui texts themselves mention is made of 'the god Khalkis,' a sort of Hephaestus.

TWO PHRYGIAN WORDS.

In one of the Phrygian inscriptions at the Midas city, published by Ramsay (*J.H.S.*, 1888, p. 380), a word occurs which must be read α*F*ενος. Ramsay has pointed out that it necessarily signifies 'son'; the difficulty has been to find an etymology for it. It offers, however, a close analogy to ἥλιος. According to Hesychius the Pamphylian and Kretan form of ἥλιος was ἀβέλιος. This represents an earlier ἄσ*F*ελιος corresponding to Skt. *sūryas* (= *sūlyas*), Lat. *sol*, Welsh *haul*, with a prothetic vowel before the double consonant. Similarly α*F*ενος represents an earlier ασ*F*ενος corresponding to Skt. *sūnuṣ*, Russ. *synū*, our son. Cf. *ἱνις* for *ἰσνις*.

A title which occurs several times in the Midas inscriptions is α*κε*νανο-λα*F*ος, also written α*κι*νανο-λα*F*ος, the second element of which is found in the title λα*F*-αλ*τ*ν*ει* given to Midas 'the king.' In Hittite, *akananis* means 'pricot,' while in the native Lydian inscriptions discovered by the American excavators at Sardes *lefs* appears to signify 'God.' I would identify this with the Phrygian *lanos* as well as with the second element in the Greek βασι-*λεύς*, the first element of which, however, remains as obscure as ever.¹

A. H. SAYCE.

¹ Cf. The name of Laocoön; *κατεν* is 'priest,' 'priestess,' in the Greek inscriptions of Sardes, and Ramsay has shown that Ἀττηβό-*καοι* means 'Attegos' or Attys priests. *Lavaltaei* has long since been compared with the Greek Laertes.

PROFESSOR HOUSMAN ON
GREEK ASTROLOGY.

EVERYONE must agree with Mr. Garrod's observation (*Class. Rev.* XXXV. p. 39): 'In the wide and dark circle of astrological learning, Mr. Housman works at the centre, and the rest of us do but play about the circumference.' But I hope I shall be excused for pointing out a mistake in Professor Housman's learned preface (p. vii) to Manilius, Book IV. Referring to the question of their *συγγένεια* with consecutive *δεκανοί*, he states that 'the planets succeed and recur in the usual descending sequence', and cites in support, among other authorities, also *Catal. Cod. Astrol. Graec.* II. pp. 153-7 (forming Cap. IX. of the *Introduction to Astrology* by 'Αχμέτ of about the middle of the tenth century A.D.). But the plan of 'Αχμέτ is to assign *συγγένεια* between the *δεκανοί* (= *πρόσωπα*) of a *ζώδιον*, and the *οικοδεσπότες* of its *τρίγωνον*, by regarding for this purpose each *ζώδιον* as the first of its *τρίγωνον*, and the *τριγωνοκράτορες* as succeeding in that order. Says he, for instance (*op. cit.* p. 153): . . . 'Ο δὲ τρίτος δεκανὸς Κριοῦ τοῦ Διὸς (not τῆς 'Αφροδίτης), διότι οἶκος αὐτοῦ Τοξότης <ἐστίν>. . . Καὶ ὁ πρῶτος δεκανὸς Ταύρου 'Αφροδίτης (not Ἑρμοῦ) (and we may add, διότι οἶκος αὐτῆς Ταῦρος ἐστίν) . . . 'Ο δεῦτερος δεκανὸς Ταύρου Ἑρμοῦ (not Σελήνης), διότι οἶκος αὐτοῦ Παρθένος ἐστίν. κ.τ.λ. His method is identical with Varāhamihira's (*Bṛhajjātaka*, I. 11), who wrote about the middle of the sixth century A.D.: *dreṣkāṇāḥ syuḥ svabhavanasutatritrikonādhīpānām*. And Utpala (in his *Commentary* dated A.D. 966) quotes (*ad Bṛhajjātaka*, I. 12) Satya (fourth century A.D. ?), confirming Varāhamihira. It will interest Professor Franz Cumont to learn that both Satya and Varāhamihira, though authors Indian, voice the purer (*sit venia verbo*) tradition of the so-called Hellenistic epoch.

Another method of allotting *συγγένεια* between *πρόσωπα* and *ἀστήρες* is also noticed in the *Bṛhajjātaka*, I. 12: *Kecit (tinés) tu . . . dreṣkāṇasamjñām api varṇayanti (συγγράφουσι) svadvādaśaikā-daśarāśīpānām*. By this scheme the

three successive *πρόσωπα* of a *ζώδιον* are assigned in order to the *οικοδεσπότες* of the three *ζώδια* beginning with it, but counted west. Utpala remarks that by *τινές* Varāhamihira refers to the Yavaneśvara (ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς βασιλεὺς) by reason of the latter propounding the scheme in a verse. This Yavaneśvara, who bore the name of Āsphujidhvaja ('Αφροδιτοσημαίος), was evidently a half-Greek of Buddhist persuasion, and wrote, sometime between A.D. 93 (Utpala, *ad Bṛhajjātaka*, VII. 9) and A.D. 269 (*Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, LXVI., Part I., p. 311), a metrical treatise in Sanskrit on *Greek Apotelesmatics*, though bringing together under that title only a rehash of the technics of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian transformations of it. He was both a king and a monk.

The *μορφή* of the *δεκανός*, as drawn by 'Αχμέτ, is also in closest agreement with what we find in Varāhamihira (*Bṛhajjātaka*, Cap. XXVII. *passim*), who, however, mentions *thrice* (*cap. cit.* vv. 2, 9, et 21) that his *δεκανομορφαί* are based on Greek teaching. This Greek teaching, Utpala adds pointedly in a note to ver. 21, was that of *παλαιοὶ Ἕλληνες (purāṇa-yavanāḥ)*—that is to say, belonged to the Hellenistic epoch. Varāhamihira was indirectly drawn upon by 'Απομάσαρ, in 848 A.D., in his chapter on the *δεκανοί* (edited in Arabic in Boll's *Sphaera*, pp. 482-539; and in Greek in *Catal. Codic. Astrol. Graec.* V. i. pp. 156-169), and therefore most probably by 'Αχμέτ also in his chapter on the same theme. It is strange that Boll has nowhere called attention to Varāhamihira's striking and repeated mention of a Greek source for his *δεκανομορφαί*.

Professor Housman remarks twice (Manilius, Book IV., pref., pp. vi, vii) that Manilius is the only astrologer to introduce the canon of *συγγένεια* between *δεκανοί* and *ζώδια*. But Varāhamihira's Greek tradition, which is certainly pre-Hipparchian, and very probably also pre-Hypsiclean, had, as may be seen from the trend of the precepts in his *Bṛhajjātaka*, recognised such *συγγένεια*, nay, had put it to practical use in the art for which it was intended. This tradition is yet

to be fully restored from the literary remains of the Hellenistic epoch now in course of examination for some years by classical philologists like Cumont, Boll, Kroil, and the rest.

V. V. RAMAÑA-ȘĂSTRIN.

'SATIRA TOTA NOSTRA EST.'

So far as I know, Quintilian is generally understood to claim that 'Satire is entirely Roman.' Is this a possible translation? It is now a common-place that the great bulk of Horatian and (in all probability) Lucilian Satire is drawn, both in subject-matter and in treatment, from the popular sermon and parody of the Hellenistic age. Horace is thinking of his own work in *Ep.* II. 2. 60, 'ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.'

The metrical form is not in itself a sufficient title to originality. We have lost the volumes of the bleary-eyed Crispinus; but the Ptolemaic papyri have restored something of Phoenix of Colophon. And the 'unde et quo, Catus' was anticipated by Arcestratus, who had sketched in hexameters the 'vitae praecepta beatae.'

I do not think that Quintilian had the notion of originality in his mind at all. He speaks of 'alterum illud etiam prius satirae genus'—the satires of Varro, confessedly Menippean. The debt of Plautus and Terence to the Greeks was enormous and avowed; yet 'in comoedia maxime claudicamus' is based on purely stylistic grounds. Quintilian is thinking of final achievement. He pits the Roman writers against the Greeks throughout. 'In elegy we challenge the Greeks—Varius' *Thyestes* will stand comparison with any of the Greek Tragedies—"non historia cesserit Graecis"—one need not hesitate to match Sallust against Thucydides.' 'Satira tota nostra est' is in the same strain. The Roman writers so far outstripped their Greek originals that they are first, the Greeks nowhere. In the contest the element of Satire is entirely in our favour, on our side. Quintilian writes 'nostra,' not 'nostras.' I take the phrase to be similar to that in *Pro Milone*, § 3, 'reliqua

vero multitudo, quae quidem est civium, tota nostra est.'

There is something to be said for that contention. Zola has defined a novel as life seen through a temperament. The difference between the Roman satire and the Greek diatribe is the difference between the Roman temperament and the Greek. Bion had a keen and biting wit: Horace the more saving grace of humour.

W. RENNIE.

PROPRIE COMMUNIA DICERE. . . '

NETTLESHIP (*Lectures and Essays*, 1885, p. 178) was surely right in holding that the lines of Horace, *A.P.* 128-152, refer to epic poetry; 129 is not inconsistent with this, for it means that Piso is acting more wisely in writing the tragedy he is at work on than he would be if he wrote epics on the subjects in question. *Communia* is a legal term meaning 'unclaimed,' 'unappropriated' (cf. Cic. *de off.* I §20, where *communia* is opposed to *priuata*, and the instances in L. and S., s.v. *proprius* I a, where *proprius* is opposed to *communis*.) Here *communia* are evidently 'unclaimed subjects' (Nettle-ship)—that is, subjects which no one, at least no Roman, has yet treated ('ignota indictaque'); *proprie* means 'so that they will become one's own.' In 'publica materies priuati iuris erit' we have the same antithesis as in 'proprie communia dicere,' and therefore *publica materies* must mean the same thing as *communia*. But the lines which follow, especially 133-4 'nec uerbo . . . interpretes' and 'imitator,' show that *publica materies* means Greek poetry which is common property because anyone may borrow from it or imitate it. This seems at first sight inconsistent with 'ignota indictaque' (130). But we must remember that in the view of Horace and his contemporaries originality consisted merely in borrowing from Greek poets whom no other Roman had laid under contribution (cf. *Epp.* I. 19. 21-2 'libera per uacuum posui uestigia princeps, | non aliena meo pressi pede.') There *uacuum*, which is also a legal term (cf. Cic. *de off.* I

§21 'sunt autem priuata nulla natura, sed aut uetere occupatione, ut qui quondam in *nacua* uenerunt, aut . . . and the instances from Gaius and the Digest in L. and S. s.v. II D), means the same as *communia* and *publica materies* here—namely, Greek poems which were no one's property in the sense that no Roman had translated or imitated them, while *aliena* corresponds

to *priuati iuris*, poems which belong to some person who has succeeded in imitating them. Hence *ignota* can mean only 'unknown to readers of Latin' and *indicta* 'unsung by Roman poets.' Similarly in *Carm.* III. 25. 7-8 'dicam insigne, recens, adhuc | indicium ore alio' merely means something that no Roman poet has treated.

R. L. DUNBABIN.

REVIEWS

GREEKS AND BARBARIANS.

Greeks and Barbarians. By J. A. K. THOMSON. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1921. 8s. 6d. net.

MR. THOMSON'S theme opens out as we read, and comes at last by way of Thermopylae and Cunaxa to a discussion of Classical and Romantic. In the meantime he has brought us face to face with Greek Freedom and Greek Sophrosyne. Why is the Greek so different from everybody else? Probably because he has managed so much better than anybody else to combine things which Nature meant to go together, but which everybody except himself (and herself) saw to be fundamentally inconsistent—Law and Freedom. He could be loyal to Law to a degree to infuriate neo-Celts and neo-Georgians, and where he soared into Freedom he did not drag, as they do, a string of rags and tatters of broken laws trailing after him. No man ever got so much out of Law or added so much to it, drew so much inspiration from Freedom or took it so naturally and sensibly—at least if you except their politics. (No doubt we shall have some high-born eugenist—if this is not tautology—telling us that Greek political troubles were the work of alien proletariats, unhappily not exterminated by the conquering race. Compare the *plebs* at Rome. The eugenist is really more akin to the Prussian than to the Greek.)

However, to return to Mr. Thomson, his book has the signal merit of being practically useless for examination purposes—at any rate east of Bletchley,

for I cannot speak of the regions beyond. But if to set people thinking about Greeks and barbarians was his object in writing the book, which he names after these two great divisions of mankind, he seems likely to achieve it. He raises, or makes his reader raise—I am not quite sure which—the eternal question of how the Greeks occurred at all in the scheme of things, and why the rest of us are so unlike them.

He does well to tell the tales of Leonidas and Xenophon again. Xenophon he finds very like Sir Walter Scott (whom he prefers perhaps too fervently)—sharing the tastes of a country gentleman, with a love of literature and history, especially with a flavour of romance. 'Xenophon wanted to be too many things,' he was not born to command, was always more or less under the influence of someone else, was a poor judge of men and the movement of affairs—but he was born to write. Even that last Englishmen deny or forget, though Andrew Lang paid them a very high compliment when he said that Xenophon was the most English of the ancients.

Mr. Thomson makes an interesting point when he suggests that for us Romance is associated with lawlessness—is 'gone with the raggle-taggle gypsies, oh!'—but for the Greeks with the bringing of order out of disorder. As Xenophon, to come back to him, said to his wife (or Ischomachus to his): 'When all the boots and shoes, of whatever sizes, are in a row, how

beautiful it is!' Free Centaurs galloping on Pelion, cannibal Minotaurs, the picturesque and the ultimately defeated, he says, win our bookish sympathies; but, as he suggests, the people who lived near them 'grew surprisingly tired of them.' So one does, indeed, of Celtic leaders, and neo-Georgian poets, and people like Cuchulain, whose anatomy is not equal to their temperament. (How, by the way, Mr. Thomson can deal so gently with the horrible page he quotes of Cuchulain, with 'his lungs and lights fluttering in his mouth' for sheer rage, I do not understand.) He explains that 'to the ancient world law and order were the exception, while us they interest about as much as a couple of boiled potatoes; we are for the Open Road and somewhere East of Suez.' The Greek develops an unsuspected likeness to Mr. Chesterton's poet of order in *The Man who was Thursday*.

From Sophrosyne, the Greekest of virtues, Mr. Thomson passes, as I have said, to a consideration of the Classical and the Romantic, which occupies a quarter or more of his book. He suggests that 'Classical art is an expression of Hellenism and Romantic art of Barbarism, so far as Barbarism is capable of expression'—a definition which only needs to be quoted to provoke qualification. But I am not going to qualify it, for his next sentence is autobiographical and might come from my own autobiography: 'Here I feel the want of something beyond my own instinct in discerning the Classical

from the Romantic,' though my autobiography admits even greater nescience. All I will say here is that the discussion is interesting and stimulating. It might annoy the neo-Georgians, but they will probably not read it; and it certainly confirms me in the error or rectitude—in this age of chaos it is much the same thing—of my own ways.

One riddle of Mr. Thomson's I cannot guess the answer to: 'What do you suppose,' he says—for he is always slipping his arm into yours and talking to you as if you were a human being, and not another book, which was not the way in my youth—'what do you suppose Aristophanes would have said about Tennyson? If the answer is not at once obvious, the reason must be the difficulty that would arise in getting a Greek of Aristophanes' time to understand the Victorian timidities at all.' The last bit I can understand; I don't get the rest, as Mr. Thomson might say. I wish the *Saturday Westminster* would offer a prize for the best twenty lines, dialogue, monologue, parabasis, or lyric, by Aristophanes describing Tennyson.

I hope I have said enough to show that I have found something in Mr. Thomson's book which I shall be glad to think about again, and which I should wish my friends, too, to think over; and I don't know that there is much higher praise for a book of essays than to say that it refreshes and stimulates you, that it makes you see the Greeks again alive, and prompts the wish to know them better.

T. R. GLOVER.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF CLASSIC ARCHITECTURE.

The Foundations of Classic Architecture.

By HERBERT LANGFORD WARREN.

Quarto. One Volume. Pp. xiv + 357.

121 illustrations. New York: The

Macmillan Company, 1919. 32s. net.

THIS is an excellent book. It was designed as the first of a series of volumes covering the whole history of architecture, but this great scheme was unhappily cut short by the author's death in 1917 at the age of sixty. There are five chapters, dealing with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, the

Aegean, and Greece to the end of the fifth century, B.C. Professor Warren was an architect, and he writes of ancient architecture with a firm grasp of realities; and, unlike some architects, he has mastered the facts.

The prehellenic sections are broad in treatment and very interesting. In the Greek chapters his most obvious purpose is to minimise the influence of wood technique on Doric, while emphasising it for Ionic. Much of his reasoning seems to ignore the possibility

that the pre-Doric tradition was based on thicker timber than the pre-Ionic; and it is unfortunate that he entirely ignores Thérmon. Moreover, in his anxiety to discredit the features of Doric which suggest wooden originals, he overrates the evidence for the archaic omission of triglyphs. He writes (p. 197): 'There is pretty clear evidence that some early entablatures had no triglyphs on the frieze (Cadacchio on Corfu, Temple in Syracuse, "Temple of Ceres" at Paestum), and it is quite conceivable that the motive first appeared as a painted decorative motive in the friezes.' It must be noted that he is arguing not for the total omission of the frieze member ('in Doric the frieze is seldom, if ever, omitted,' p. 294), but for the use of a smooth frieze without triglyphs. For this the evidence is far from clear. It is now known that Cadacchio had no frieze member at all (Warren seems to follow Railton's obsolete restoration); while for the Temple at Syracuse there is no evidence except the absence of *regulae* and the close spacing of the columns. It is possible that at Syracuse, as at Cadacchio, there was no frieze member at all (abnormally close spacing makes difficulties similar to those of abnormally wide spacing); or the intercolumnar triglyphs may have been omitted. For the 'Temple of Ceres' Warren argues partly from the absence of *regulae*, but chiefly from the fact that the triglyphs are inserted slabs of softer

stone, and hence, on his view, a later addition. This reasoning ignores the fact that *all* the chief carved members both of 'Ceres' and of the 'Basilica' are of this softer stone; it also ignores Koldewey's demonstration that the structure of this frieze is on that cantilever principle, which is repeated in the Propylaea of Mnesicles. Koldewey considers and rejects the view that the frieze has been tampered with.

A fact that the manuscript was not revised by the author should not be forgotten, but one or two omissions must be mentioned. The prehistoric Thessalian buildings are ignored, except for an allusion, unintelligible to the ordinary reader, to 'some early megarons such as that of Dimini' (p. 203), but this slip would no doubt have been rectified. More serious is Warren's silence about the evidence upsetting the date of the Olympian Heraeum.

For the illustrations the editor is chiefly responsible. They are mostly good, but one or two are open to criticism. In particular, it is difficult to believe that Warren would have passed Bühlmann's restoration of the Tiryns megaron (Fig. 37). Its pseudo-Doric frieze is an embodiment of the views which he most disliked. Nor should Fig. 58, with its obsolete ground-plans, have been borrowed from Anderson and Spiers. But the illustrations prepared under Warren's own direction (such as Figs. 86 and 94) are excellent.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

HOMERIC GREEK: A BOOK FOR BEGINNERS.

Homeric Greek: A Book for Beginners.

By CLYDE PHARR, Ph.D. (Yale), Professor of Greek in South-Western Presbyterian University. One vol. Octavo. Pp. xlii + 391. Two maps, ten plates, and numerous woodcuts. Boston, New York, Chicago: D. C. Heath and Co.; London: G. G. Harrap and Co. 8s. 6d. net.

THIS is an interesting book. It is not, as the title at first suggests, a study of Homeric phraseology from a literary standpoint (on which, by the way, an interesting treatise might be written), but an attempt to provide a 'First

Greek Book' on the basis of Homeric rather than Attic Greek. Dr. Pharr is a real enthusiast, and such are always pleasant reading.

The book consists of three parts: (1) In the introduction (pp. xiii-xlii) Dr. Pharr states his case in favour of Homeric, as against Attic, Greek as a basic study; (2) pp. 1-189 contain an edition of *Iliad* I., with vocabularies and exercises; (3) the remainder of the book contains a grammar and a vocabulary.

It is naturally the introductory polemic that first arrests attention.

There is much to be said for Dr. Pharr's contention. To begin Greek with Homer has the following obvious advantages: We are in a world of simple sentences, and we are able to plunge at once into first-rate literature. Dr. Pharr further urges (1) that the irregularities of formation in Homeric Greek are fewer than in Attic, and that Attic forms are explicable from Homeric, not *vice versa*; (2) that the vocabulary acquired is better as an introduction to Greek literature generally.

If the alternative is (as Dr. Pharr seems to imply for American schools) between Homer and dreary *parasangs* of *Anabasis*, let us have Homer by all means. Fortunately it is not so. But it may be questioned whether *Iliad* I.-VI. is the best portion to choose. Would not *Odyssey* IX.-XII. (or, if this be too short, VI.-XII.) prove a more interesting First Greek Book? But there is much to be said in favour of the established study of Attic.

In the second part of the book the beginner, after fourteen preliminary lessons, embarks on the *Iliad*. The annotation is very complete, leaving in fact little to the initiative of the teacher. It would seem hardly necessary to reprint at length quite so much of the O.T.; and Dr. Pharr's zeal for colloquial vigour betrays him at times into a lack of dignity in translation. 'But shut up and sit down' (l. 565) is not precisely a model for students. There are some other points in the commentary that might be modified with advantage. In l. 28 *μη οὐ χραίσμῃ* should be explained. A long note on 115 might be omitted with advantage, and much of that on 246. On 307 it would be truer to say that the patronymic is in Homer virtually a surname. More might be said in criticism of details; but it has already been indicated that Dr. Pharr's notes err chiefly in the direction of superfluity.

The exercises for translation from English are a good and essential feature of the book. Though they might be perhaps improved.

In the final portion of the book, Grammar, there is much to note. We must be content with a few main points. P. 217: a wrong account is given of the formation of *ἑσταότος*. The general principles of ablaut, of the thematic vowel (for which a convenient symbol is used), and of sonant consonants, are correctly stated (pp. 220, 221); but the student is not told in what parts of the verb the different stems occur. In the note on p. 221 the origin of *βένθος*, *πένθος*, is incorrectly stated. In § 668 it should have been stated that nominative masculines in *ᾱ* are really vocative. In § 800 add that the short-vowel subjunctive is limited to non-thematic tenses, and invariable in these. In the syntax, case-usages would be better treated under the separate headings of the absorbed cases; there is no need to darken counsel by teaching a boy that *ἐν* and *σύν* govern the same case. No mention occurs of the vague-local genitive, or of the internal accusative except under the misleading term 'cognate.' Other omissions occur. The use of the article as relative and its limitations do not seem to be explained, nor the generalising *τε*. Some of these omissions may be, in a book for beginners, intentional.

In conclusion, we may say that Dr. Pharr's book, in spite of minor imperfections, does really represent a praiseworthy attempt at a new method, and anyone teaching Greek on the 'epic system' would find it, not indeed indispensable, but a saver of much labour. Nor must we omit a word of praise for the illustrations, whose charm is not diminished by their fascinating irrelevance.

FRANK CARTER.

LATIN PHONETICS.

Manuel de Phonétique latine. Par A. C. JURÉ, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. Pp. 390. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1921.

A FRENCHMAN, Professor Meillet, now holds the throne of Comparative Philo-

logy. Another Frenchman, to whom this book is dedicated, the veteran Professor L. Havet, is one of the few persons who are as familiar with Comparative Philology as with Latin Literature (and these are only two of the

fields over which his wide knowledge ranges). This book, by a pupil of Meillet and Havet, gives good promise of what Strasburg University in its new career is going to accomplish.

Professor Juret has made a thorough study of Phonetics. That is where he differs from the ordinary compiler of a book on the Latin Language. When he tells us that *gn-* became *n-* in Latin (*gnosco*, *nosco*), or that final *d* was dropped after a long vowel (*terrād*, *terrā*), he knows precisely (and makes his readers know) what pronunciation by Roman lips these changes imply. And therefore this manual is a real boon; for the Gradgrind manner of the ordinary compiler is oppressive. The reader demands some relief from the long lists of Changes of Sound (with Examples); and this relief can be given either by quotations from Latin Literature which show him what the Romans themselves thought of these changes, or else by clear explanations of each sound, so clear that he can imitate the changes with his own lips. The literary side I have tried to present in my *Latin Language*; the phonetic side is presented here.

This, then, is the general character of the book, a *phonetic* account, by an expert phonetician, of the changes of Latin forms. I will not enter into details; for everyone should get the book and read it himself. Its French

clarity and light touch make it more interesting reading than the last German manual (by Sommer). The same qualities are found in an excellent article in the new number of the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* (XXII. iv., p. 174), by another pupil of Havet, Marouzeau, *Notes sur la Formation du Latin Classique*, which I would strongly recommend to all students of Latin in this country. For it is high time that Latin Linguistics be restored to their former place in our studies. It is dangerous to neglect them.

But M. Juret's book is capable of improvement. He is not quite at home in Latin Comedy; and since the language of Latin Comedy is eminently the spoken, as opposed to the literary language, this is a real drawback. And he is often too deferential to the opinions of others. If M. Havet told M. Juret that French *guéret* proved *vervactum* to have been pronounced *ver(ū)-actum*, just as *animum adverto* was pronounced *anim(um)-adverto* (*veru* presumably meaning 'goad'), then it was certainly M. Juret's duty to make pious record of this clever suggestion. But it was equally his duty to explain to his readers how this theory can be reconciled with the other Romance forms of the word — Span. *barbecho*, Port. *barbeito*, Sardinian *barvattu*. This he has not done.

W. M. LINDSAY.

PLOTINUS.

Plotinus. Second and Third Enneads.

Translated by STEPHEN MACKENNA.

Lee Warner, 1921. 22s. net.

THIS is the second volume of a complete translation of the Enneads; the first appeared in 1917, and the third is announced for next month.

Those only who have attempted to translate from Plotinus can realise the magnitude and difficulty of the task which Mr. Mackenna has undertaken as the main work of his life. Not only does the cruelly elliptical style of the great Neoplatonist make him the most difficult of all Greek authors; it is almost more difficult to turn him into readable English. Mr. Mackenna has surmounted both obstacles. I have

tested his translation in all the most crabbed parts of the Second and Third Enneads, and the places where he seems to me to have missed the full meaning of a word or phrase are so few and so unimportant that I do not think it worth while to call attention to them. His translation is always lucid and pleasant to read, and in the purple patches where Plotinus writes, as he occasionally does, like a man inspired, Mr. Mackenna also rises and gives us real eloquence. It must be clearly stated that this gigantic labour of love deserves the most respectful recognition by all scholars.

The terminology of Plotinus presents a problem to the translator. Mr. Mac-

kenna has rightly protested against the pedantic rule that a Greek word must always be rendered by the same English word; but I think he has carried this liberty too far. I do not see that anything is gained by translating *δαίμονες* usually by 'spirits,' but sometimes by 'celestials' or 'supernals,' both of them infelicitous words. And the chief technical terms of the philosophy, such as *νοῦς*, ought, I think, to have one English equivalent. What that equivalent should be is not so certain. Mr. Mackenna's 'Intellectual Principle' and 'Authentic Existent' are cumbrous. I prefer 'Spirit' for *νοῦς*, both because in Christian Greek philosophy *πνεῦμα* is practically equivalent to *νοῦς*, and because, as long as people persist in talking nonsense about the 'intellectualism' of the school of Plato, it is worth anything to avoid a word charged with such misleading associations. However, Mr. Mackenna has carefully thought out his choice of words, and no choice is free from objection.

The second volume contains no notes at all. In the first, he tells us that he has not invariably followed Volkmann's text, and that he has more than once ventured on emendations of his own. Obviously, every deviation from the text on which the translation is based ought to be mentioned in a footnote, and any new reading ought to be given in Greek at the foot of the page. Mr. Mackenna seems to have determined never to use the Greek alphabet in his book, which is surely a mistake.

It is impossible to make a thoroughly satisfactory translation of Plotinus without some textual criticism. The text is in a worse condition than the translator (in his prolegomena to Vol. I.) realises. Mr. Mackenna, with his minute knowledge of the diction and doctrine of Plotinus, should certainly be able to make some valuable suggestions for improving the text. One example will show how much remains to be done.

Enn. 3. 9. 3. *ἀλλ' οὐ θεοὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπέκεινα ὄντες. ὁ δὲ νοῦς τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἔστι κίνησις ἐνταῦθα καὶ στάσις.* Müller, following Kirchhoff, omits *ἀλλ' οὐ*, and translates, 'Gott ist der Erste über dem Sein; der Geist ist das Seiende, und hier ist Bewegung und Ruhe'—a bad blunder, for Plotinus certainly did not put the gods 'über dem Sein.' His rendering requires *θεός* and *ὄντος*, which perhaps he proposes to read. Mr. Mackenna fares no better. 'But the First is not to be envisaged as made up from gods of a transcendent order. No; the Authentic Existents constitute the Intellectual Principle with which motion and rest begin.' The first part of this is nonsense, and in the second part he leaves out *ἐνταῦθα*. Volkmann sees that the passage is corrupt, but gives it up. The remedy is, however, very simple. The corruption lies in *θεοί*, which is quite out of place in this context. We must read *ἀλλ' οὐ νοεῖ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπέκεινα ὄντος*. This is the thesis of the paragraph.

W. R. INGE.

THE OEDIPUS TYRANNUS OF SOPHOCLES.

The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles.

Translated and explained by J. T. SHEPPARD, M.A. One vol. 8vo. Pp. lxxix + 179. Cambridge University Press, 1920. 20s. net.

THIS is a work of consummate scholarship; that is, it presents a blend of wide learning, clear thought, and spiritual sympathy with the author whom it expounds. It is not, however, a complete edition of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and for excellent reasons. Jebb's commentary still holds the field in many important departments of Sophoclean scholarship.

Even of metre and rhythm this is true, although some English scholars, notably of course Walter Headlam, have repudiated vigorously the methods of J. H. H. Schmidt, whom Jebb closely followed. But no one has superseded Schmidt by a clear and detailed treatment of the Sophoclean lyrics; Mr. Sheppard, for example, leaves this topic practically untouched. Nor was there occasion for him to attempt a new critical or linguistic commentary. We therefore find here little about MSS., grammar, or idiom;

or example, the note on that extremely difficult sentence, οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν κτέ (vv. 220 f.), is in itself quite inadequate.

What, then, is the precise value of this edition? It has two great merits. First, it insists on studying 'the normal Greek ideas involved' (p. xii). Second, it demonstrates from moment to moment the psychological condition of the persons and the manner in which this psychology shapes the action.

Of these two topics the former is handled admirably, but at unnecessary length; for instance, the notes on pp. 140 and 156 illustrate with uncalled-for copiousness 'the connection of ἀσφάλεια with εὐλάβεια,' and the dictum that 'a wise man is moderate in adversity as in prosperity.' This rather deleterious abundance is most marked in the Introduction, which in sixty-five pages gives us two new points, and two only; though one agrees that the first is interesting and the second important. The first is that v. 889 (εἰ μὴ τὸ κέρδος κερδανεῖ δικαίως) 'can be properly said to refer to Oedipus.' Mr. Sheppard's proof may be thus summarised. There was a definite description of the Tyrant present in all men's minds, and one element in it was greed of gain. Now, the Chorus have some reason to fear that Oedipus is changing from a beneficent King into a Tyrant. In this lyric they therefore discuss tyrants, with him in their mind, and mention greed, though Oedipus is not greedy, because no one *could* discuss tyrants without mentioning it. What Mr. Sheppard has proved is not (as he supposes) that v. 889 is really relevant, but that the Chorus are justified in talking irrelevantly.

The other portion of the Introduction possesses far greater value. In v. 1513, where the MSS. give οὐ καιρὸς ἀεὶ ζῆν τοῦ βίου δὲ λφόνος, and Jebb reads οὐ καιρὸς *ἐὰ ζῆν, τοῦ βίου δὲ λφόνος, Mr. Sheppard reads οὐ καιρὸς ἀεὶ ζῆν, β.δ.λ., developing in his note and at length in his Introduction the view that καιρὸς here and often means the Modest Measure. (The light thus thrown on Pindar *Pyth.* II. 110, ὧν ἔραται καιρὸν διδούς, is particularly welcome.) In this way, after a careful

and fascinating study of the idea in earlier literature, the editor is able to show that the Exodos of the *O.T.* is not intolerably painful, as Murray and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff have found it, but filled with quiet sad beauty. 'Oedipus was great, and wise, and fortunate. In his calamity he has now learnt that the best is found not in greatness but in quiet happiness. . . . And for a Greek this thought is expressed by the words which are inscribed on the temple of the Delphic Apollo, the presiding divinity of our play, *Nothing too much*' (p. lx).

But the notes are the finest part of the book, a splendid presentation of the 'feel' of the action, a presentation which rests not only upon sound scholarship and industry, but also upon two qualifications not less vital—a sense of what human beings are really like, and experience derived from the performance at Cambridge. Let me give two examples almost at random: the note on v. 11 (δείσαντες ἢ στέρξαντες) and that on v. 903 ff.

I proceed now to details where I find myself in disagreement with Mr. Sheppard.

INTRODUCTION.

P. xvii. It may well be doubted whether 'the suggestion which makes Euryganeia a second wife' of Oedipus and the mother of his children is due to 'a late and stupid misunderstanding.' See Bethe, *Thebanische Heldenlieder*, I.

P. xxv. 'Whether he [Sophocles] believed in prophecies or not really matters little.' True, no doubt; but the form of the statement happens to be regrettably curt. A momentous feature of Sophocles' dramaturgy which still awaits study is the importance of the oracles.

P. lxiii. (Note 1). Is not the point of τοῦ βίου εἰς ἡκοντι ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν and βίος ἀρκέων, not that Tellos, etc., had less than much, but rather that they had more than a little?—that Herodotus is anticipating the Aristotelian view of τὰ ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ as necessary to happiness?

TRANSLATION.

Though this is admirable on the whole—see, for instance, the vigorous version

of vv. 584 ff.—it contains some ugly lines: ‘Pitying not such a petitioning’ (p. 3); ‘You must not turn What matters little into a great wrong’ (p. 41); ‘A stroke of Fortune, very strange, and yet . . .’ (p. 49); ‘If doings such as these be countenanced’ (p. 57); ‘Ask your own feet. They best can answer that’ (p. 65); ‘Has any man here present knowledge of . . .’ (*ibid.*); ‘Enjoy her pride in her fine family’ (p. 67).

NOTES.

Ver. 6. A still more striking quotation, perhaps, would have been Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 337-348.

Ver. 18. *Philoctetes* 138-142 is very much to the purpose.

Ver. 25. To say that Thuc. (II. 47. 3) uses ‘an obvious word’ when he writes *ἐγκατασκήψαι* seems a serious error. The word is rare, and one can hardly doubt that he is quoting *Persae* 514; the quotation throws light upon the limits of his rationalism.

Ver. 38. Mr. Sheppard unduly minimises the marked self-confidence—it is almost arrogance—which Oedipus shows early in the play. Observe, e.g., the frequency of *ἐγώ*, *ἐμός*, etc., in his proclamation (vv. 216 ff.).

Ver. 54. This is no doubt a question of one’s personal sense of style and idiom. I myself feel rather strongly that *ἄρχω* and *κρατῶ* here have precisely the same meaning. In any case, it should not be said that ‘the danger of the despotic frame of mind’ is ‘quite certainly’ indicated.

Ver. 110. The significant rhyme is not noted (nor by Jebb).

Ver. 318. ‘A consideration of *Il.* I. 76 f. and of *Antig.* 1031, 1060 will show that the reluctance to speak is not assumed.’ It is surely illogical to assume that S. is following Homer and then show what S. means by adducing what H. means.

There is no comment on v. 639. But the word *ῥμαιμε* should have been noticed. Creon assumes that no *ῥμαιμος* of Jocasta is present save himself.

Ver. 889. Can it be maintained that the *Heraclidae* shows Athens winning a reward which is truly a ‘gain’? Is it not rather the fact that Alcmena at the close reveals all the qualities which

Athenians most detested in contemporary Spartans; and that, therefore, if a moral is to be drawn at all it is: ‘Do not interfere with the judicial system of another state; if you do, you may win strange gratitude from those you befriend.’

Vers. 1056 ff. It seems impossible to believe that Jocasta speaks ‘with a terrible self-control’—at least on her departure. *ἰὸν ἰού*, if not actually a scream, is certainly a loud cry.

Ver. 1086. To attribute ‘mad exaltation’ to Oedipus because of his speech about *Τύχη* and the Months seems a mistake. There is pride in the speech, perhaps, but not the Sin of Pride. Oedipus has simply fallen into one of those marvellous Sophoclean moods wherein there is nothing but a superb meditation upon the quality of mere Life itself. The misconception here leads to a corresponding error on v. 1110, where we read of ‘the effort of the King to recover the exact balance of a sane mind’—surely a curious comment on his simple remark:

εἰ χρὴ τι κάμῃ μὴ συναλλάξαντά πω,
πρέσβεις, σταθμᾶσθαι, τὸν βοτῆρ’ ὁρᾶν δοκῶ,
ὅν περ πάλαι ζητούμεν.

The Indices should have been much fuller. There are a few misprints, mostly false accents. On p. 123 for ‘Creon’ read ‘Cleon.’ On p. xlix Mr. Sheppard has fallen into accidental verse: ‘proverbial moralities are rooted in realities.’

This book was finished early in 1915 (p. xiv). It is a pity that it was therefore impossible for it to include any mention of a remarkable work which appeared in 1917, *Die dramatische Technik des Sophokles*, by Tycho von Wilmowitz-Moellendorff, who was killed at the age of twenty-eight in the heavy fighting before Iwangoorod. The book appears to be at present little known in this country, but it merits serious attention. This young scholar has brought forward a number of new and most interesting difficulties in the structure of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*—e.g. as regards the summoning of Tiresias and the long delay in sending for the eye-witness of Laius’ murder. His points, new or old, do not justify his conclusions; but they do remind us that a valuable piece of

work is waiting to be done—the examination of Sophocles' own notion of dramatic verisimilitude; in other words, the question: To what type of 'mistake'

is he indifferent? Here is material which we should be glad to see Mr. Sheppard handling in the second edition of his book.

GILBERT NORWOOD.

ERACLITO.

Eracrito: Nuovi Studi sull' Orfismo.

By VITTORIO MACCHIORO. Bari: Laterza e Figli, 1922.

THE idea that some of the fragments of Heraclitus contain 'Orphic' doctrine is not entirely new, though it is not referred to in most recent writings on the philosopher. The present study makes out a case for this view which, if sometimes spoiled by over-statement and unconvincing in regard to some details, at least requires consideration. A large number of fragments of Heraclitus come from the sections of Hippolytus' *Confutation of All Heresies*, in which it is argued that the heresy of Noetus is a revival of Heracliteanism. These fragments in most modern editions of Heraclitus (though Diels is an exception) are not printed in the order in which Hippolytus cites them, but are scattered up and down the whole collection. Macchioro protests against this, and holds that Hippolytus had before him as he wrote an entire section of the original work of Heraclitus—the third (or 'theological') section of the three into which, Diogenes tells us, his work fell; and that from Hippolytus' treatment, and from the fragments, kept in order, the essence of Heraclitus' 'theological' doctrine can be recovered. His argument up to this point merits very careful attention. If it is sound (as it appears to be) it would appear that full use has not usually been made of an important source of information about Heraclitus, though Professor Burnet (*Early Gk. Phil.*, ed. iii., p. 142 n.) is careful to distinguish the value of Bk. IX. of Hippolytus as a source from that of Bk. I., which evidently used an epitome of the physical doctrines of the early philosophers. The question really turns on the interpretation of Hippol. IX., p. 448, 29, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ κεφαλαίῳ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν ἐξέθετο (sc. Heraclitus); and, taken in their plain sense, these appear to support Macchioro's view.

Macchioro goes on to argue that the central thought of Heraclitus, which Hippolytus compared with that of the heresy of Noetus, can only have been that of the identity of the Divine Father and Son; that such an idea can only have been derived by Heraclitus from the myth of Zagreus, the Orphic 'sacred story'; and that this was closely connected in Heraclitus with a doctrine of the identity of opposites, which was really a philosophical expression of Orphic doctrine about death and life, palingenesis, etc. He also thinks that Hippolytus' treatment proves that the theory of ἐκπύρωσις—the periodical conflagration of the universe—was really Heraclitean, whereas most scholars have doubted or denied this (cf. Burnet, *l.c.* pp. 158 ff.). The idea that Orphic mysticism is at the back of Heraclitus' philosophy doubtless gives point to the epigram quoted by Diog. L. IX. 16, Μὴ ταχὺς Ἡρακλείτου ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν εἴλεε βίβλον | τοῦφεισίῳ· μάλα τοι δύσβατος ἀτραπιτός. | ὀρφνὴ καὶ σκότος ἐστὶν ἀλάμπητον· ἦν δέ σε μύστης | εἰσαγάγη, φανεροῦ λαμπρότερ' ἡελίου: and Macchioro explains some of the fragments without difficulty in accordance with his theory.¹ He also compares with the fragments and with Hippolytus a number of passages of Plutarch in which Orphic eschatology is set forth, and finds that the latter provide the key to the former.

It is impossible, in a brief review, to discuss the argument at length: parts of it appear to be sound, or at least to require an answer: but, perhaps owing to their strangeness, parts arouse a good deal of suspicion. Among the latter may be mentioned the interpretation of two fragments in which Macchioro finds traces of the Father and Son of the Zagreus story, viz. fr. 52 (Diels=79 Byw.) Αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παῖζων πεσσεύων.

¹ *E.g.* fr. 62 (Diels=67 Byw.) ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεώτες, and a number of others.

παιδὸς ἡ βασιληΐη, and fr. 53 (Diels = 44 Byw.) Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς κτλ. The attempt to show that Αἰὼν was a name of Dionysus rests on a combination of very late passages, even if Dionysus in the legend was caught by the Titans while playing draughts, and was given the kingdom by Zeus after his resurrection. The second fragment is interpreted by identifying Πόλεμος with Zeus, in accordance with Chrysippus' remark (Diels, *Doxogr.* p. 548 b, 12), τὸν Πόλεμον καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον λέγειν. There is an interesting discussion of the παλίντονος ἀρμονίη ὁκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης: and Macchiore denies that the Heraclitean references to Dionysiac processions and orgies are contemptuous, as is usually supposed. But these and many other points could only be discussed adequately in as many pages as the author's own. It is to be hoped that Professor Burnet, or some other scholar who has specialised on the early Greek philosophers, and above all in the necessary *Quellen-Kritik*, will undertake the task. A reviewer can do no more than state his conviction that

there is a case which is worth considering.

As regards the Orphic doctrine itself, the present volume adds little to the author's earlier studies. Readers of Dr. Farnell's treatment of the subject (*Greek Hero Cults*, ch. XIV.) will find some points of difference between the two writers, and can hardly fail to feel that Dr. Farnell's treatment of evidence is far more sober and convincing, and not really less imaginative; but Macchiore often raises interesting questions and discusses them well, in this and in his other works. As an illustration of the points of difference, I may refer to Macchiore's statement that the Orphic funeral rite was cremation, while Dr. Farnell says that the Orphics 'practised inhumation rather than cremation' (*l.c.* p. 378). (Unfortunately some of Macchiore's arguments are buried in periodicals which are very hard to procure in England.) Among the more interesting discussions is that of the meaning of ληναίξειν and kindred words (pp. 106 ff.)—a problem which seems never to have been solved in a way which satisfies everyone.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND LITERARY CULTURE IN ANCIENT ROME.

Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome. By C. E. BOYD. One Vol. Pp. 77. University of Chicago Press, 1915.

THIS book deals with the equipment, the contents, and the management of libraries at Rome. It will not supersede Dziatzko's article in vol. III. of Pauly-Wissowa, since it covers only a portion of the field. The evidence for public libraries at Rome is on the whole pitifully meagre and disappointing. It is tempting (and Mr. Boyd does not always resist the temptation) to make the most of it in order to present as complete a picture as possible. Why, for instance, does he represent Horace's friend, the poet-plagiarist Celsus, as actually reading in the Palatine Library the works which he plagiarises? If, as seems probable, the Celsus referred to was the secretary to Tiberius, he was

rich enough to have his own books without resorting to a public library. All that Horace's advice amounts to is that his friend should not plagiarise from works that were famous enough to have obtained admission to the Palatine. Again, Mr. Boyd seems to infer that the public could borrow books from the public libraries, because Marcus Aurelius, in a letter to Fronto, speaks of having borrowed certain orations from the Palatine. But a librarian will always oblige an Emperor. As I read the passage it shows rather the difficulty of borrowing, since the Emperor proceeds playfully to recommend Fronto to try and borrow from the Tiberian librarian, but adds that a *douceur* will be necessary in order to get him to consent to the loan. The other passage on which Mr. Boyd relies will not help him. It is from Vopiscus' life of

Aurelian, and describes the offer of the city prefect, Tiberianus, to lend Vopiscus books from the Ulpian library. But Mr. Boyd ought not to cite this and other passages from the *Historia Augusta* without cautioning the reader that they cannot be taken at their face value. The research spent on this work since Dessau's pioneer article in 1889 has all gone to show that it is not a work of the age of Diocletian and Constantine, as it pretends to be, but is a product of nearly a century later. It may not be the complete swindle that some German critics have maintained it to be; but it is at best but a mosaic whose constituents are of very different value. And among the most doubtful statements is the preface to the life of Aurelian with its reference to *libri lintei*, and the life of Tacitus with its romantic story about the ivory book in the sixth *armarium* of the Ulpia. Justice is done to these statements in Pauly-Wissowa X. 1108 and E. Hohl, *Hermes* LV. 301.

Finally, I think the author is asking too much of his evidence when he concludes that 'the libraries of Rome were the chief means of preserving to medieval and modern times many works of antiquity.' But we have only to remember the condition in which Probus and Ammianus found the Roman libraries and that Rome was sacked three times in so short a period as 410-472. What has preserved the Latin Classics for us is not the Roman libraries, but the efforts of the pagan nobles of the Theodosian epoch—the 'anti-christian Fronde,' as they have been called. These men kept alive the ancient learning long enough for the Christian Church to recover its senses and breed up men of the type of Cassiodorus in the place of the early fanatics. But there is no reason to believe that the Symmachi and their circle were specially assisted by the libraries at Rome.

F. W. HALL.

DIE ENTSTEHUNG UND RELIGIÖSE BEDEUTUNG DES GRIECHISCHEN KALENDERS.

Die Entstehung und religiöse Bedeutung des Griechischen Kalenders. Von MARTIN P. NILSSON. One vol. Pp. 66. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1918.

PROFESSOR NILSSON has published this section of an article on the Greek and Roman Calendar in its religious aspect, prepared for the Lexicon of Greek and Roman Religion. It supplements his valuable study, *Primitive Time-reckoning* (reviewed, C.R. XXXV. 31), which was undertaken as a preliminary to the investigation of the classical Calendars. Naturally this article contains much of the same material; but it is reduced to a shorter form, and only what is relevant to the Greek Calendar is included. The student will find here an admirably lucid exposition of the necessary astronomical elements, the meaning of 'synodic month,' 'heliacal rising,' etc. The Calendar itself was developed in the service of religion. A tolerable degree of correspondence with the natural year was effected only at a late stage when scientific astronomy

had freed itself from the priesthood. Even now it is not improbable that a counter-revolution in Russia would restore the pre-Gregorian Calendar. The whole development illustrates the extreme difficulty which the human mind experiences in disengaging natural facts capable of exact determination from preconceptions coloured by emotional values.

Professor Nilsson's familiarity with the primitive background enables him to pronounce with some probability of being right on a number of questions where the scholar who prides himself on his ignorance of barbarism is likely to go wrong. At the same time he is a master of the classical side of the subject, and his judgment is cautious.

From the study of the month it emerges that the festivals cluster thickly about the time of the full moon, especially on the twelfth day, which Hesiod (*Op.* 774) praises above all. The exception is the group of Apollo festivals on the seventh day, an exception so striking as to lead to the inference that Apollo

came to Greece from Asia Minor and brought thence the sacred number seven originally derived from Babylon. Professor Nilsson believes that the octaeteris is the oldest intercalary cycle; the penteteris and trieteris (except the Dionysiac trieteris) are subdivisions of it. The earliest evidence for the octaeteris is at Delphi; it probably spread from there. The necessary astronomical knowledge may have come from Babylon (which influenced Ionian

astronomy in the sixth century), though the octaeteris appears to have been put into actual use first by the Greeks. In *Primitive Time-reckoning* (1920), p. 364, Professor Nilsson rejects Mr. Fotheringham's explanation of the shifting of the Olympic games between the two months Apollonios and Parthenios (*J.H.S.* 39, 1919, 177).

This article may be recommended as a lucidly arranged and accurate account of the known facts.

F. M. C.

LA LOI DE HIÉRON ET LES ROMAINS.

La Loi de Hiéron et les Romains. Par JÉRÔME CARICOPINO. Pp. xxi + 307. Paris: Fontemoing, 1914.

THE brilliant comparison by Rostovtsev (Staatspacht, *Philologus Suppl.* 9, 331) between the *Lex Hieronica* and the Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus has seemed to the author a reason for a fresh study of Cic. *Verr. Act.* II. 3 *De Frumento* with a view to recovering one essential term of the comparison, the *Lex Hieronica* itself. This is a delicate matter, and ends in attributing to the Hieronic system some of the edicts with which Cicero reproaches Verres; but the writer is fully conscious of the difficulty, and equal to the delicacy of his task. We think that he has succeeded in extracting from Cicero the general principles of the *Lex Hieronica*, which he rightly attributes to Hiero II. He makes an interesting conjecture as to the origin of the whole system of tithes, which he believes to be older than the *Lex*, and he regards the extension of the *Lex* to the whole of Sicily as due to the Romans. There are excellent chapters on the further taxes, *frumentum emptum, aestimatum, and in cellam*; also one on the taxable subjects, which leads to new but solid conclusions about the number and status of the Sicilian *civitates* and about the *ager publicus*, in particular the puzzling *ager Leontinus*.

The crucial point in a system of tithes, farmed to *decumani* and payable to and by them in kind, is, as the author shows, the method of assessment upon and exaction from the individual *arator*. The system of the *Lex Hieronica* was,

according to him, as follows: assessment was by agreement (*pactiones*) arrived at *in areis* between *arator* and *decumanus*; in default of agreement, the local magistrates arbitrated; for excessive exaction there was an *actio in octuplum* against the *decumanus*, for deficient delivery an *actio in quadruplum* against the *arator*—actions which took place, unless the parties were of the same *civitas*, in the local forum of the defendant. Verres destroyed the equity of this system (1) by abolishing the arbitration of the local authorities, enacting in his first edict '*ut quod decumanus edidisset sibi dari oportere, id ab aratore magistratus Siculus exigeret*' (13, 34), or '*quantum decumanus edidisset aratorem sibi decumae dare oportere, ut tantum arator decumano dare cogeretur*' (10, 25); (2) by thus securing that the *decumanus* would nearly always be defendant, and the forum at Syracuse under Verres' arrangements; (3) by edicting, as an extra precaution, '*ut arator quo vellet decumanus vadimonium promitteret*'; (4) by using criminal law to terrorise recalcitrant *aratores*.

M. Carcopino seems in this account to have arrived at the substantial truth, and incidentally his researches into the *conventus* have produced valuable results. But in his treatment of Verres' first edict there is matter for serious objection. That this edict deformed a Hieronic system of local arbitration is a conjecture, but a good one. That it amounted to an introduction of publican's *pignoris capio* in favour of the *decumanus* is a misapprehension, for the exaction was to be by the Sicilian

magistrates (13, 24), though doubtless Verres' *decumani* helped themselves, and, moreover, a case of *pignoris capio* does not arise. If I take the very thing which I say you owe me, that is not taking *pignus*. A true case of *pignoris capio* supposes that property—say, cattle—is seized as security for debt. The author himself cites (11, 27): '*Cum in omnibus aliis vectigalibus, Asiae, Macedoniae, etc., . . . cum in his rebus omnibus publicanus petitor ac pignerator, non ereptor neque possessor soleat esse, tu de . . . aratoribus ea jura constituebas quae omnibus aliis essent contraria.*' Precisely.

Pignoris capio was a Roman institution, a familiar weapon of the *publicanus* elsewhere. He thereby, as in our own law of distress (Pollock and Maitland, 2, 575), put pressure on his debtor, but he remained plaintiff. Verres gave the *decumanus* possession of his claim and made him defendant. The passage is a confirmation of the natural inference from Gaius 4, 32 as to the *formula* based on fiction of *pignoris capio*, and throws light on the very obscure *legis actio*. Apart from this point, we think that the author's conclusions will be generally accepted. F. DE ZULUETA.

DIE HELLENISTISCHEN MYSTERIENRELIGIONEN.

Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen.

By R. REITZENSTEIN. One vol. 8vo.

Pp. viii. + 268. Leipzig: Teubner, 1920.

THIS book is a second edition of Reitzenstein's lectures published first in 1910. Some pages of new material are added to the text, and still more to the notes, but the book remains substantially what it was. It forms the handiest summary of religion in the Hellenistic world that we possess, and bears witness on every page to a close knowledge of this fascinating subject.

The spread of Oriental ideas westward, and their fusion with Greek thought in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era, is a remarkable fact which has had a lasting influence on mankind. As the world became gradually a unity, and intercourse between its various parts increased, so the old local religions gave way, and in their place arose others of a more universal character, which aimed not at representing tribal or national ideals, but at satisfying the needs of the individual man. These religions were active and missionary. Prophets and wonder-workers, *θεῖοι ἄνθρωποι*, travelled through all lands, proclaiming their faith and founding communities for the worship of their god. The gods were many, in name and in cult, yet certain common ideas bore witness to an underlying unity. The mystery religions professed to hold a revelation, given long ago, the knowledge of which

brought men salvation. This knowledge was communicated mainly through initiations and visions. The recipient was united to his god, filled with the divine spirit, and thereby assured of immortality. Not only *γνώσις* and *σωτηρία*, but *παλιγγενεσία*, *δόξα*, *φῶς* and *φωτίζειν*, *τέλειος*, *πνεῦμα* and *πνευματικός*, and other terms, familiar to us from the New Testament, were in common use and bore well-defined meanings in the mystery religions.

Our knowledge of these religions has been widened of late by the careful study of the Hermetic writings, in which Reitzenstein has taken a conspicuous part, and by the discovery of Papyri. Texts relating to Mandaëism and Manichaeism, two curious Oriental systems which exhibit many of the fundamental mystery ideas, are also included in Reitzenstein's survey. All these writings are of little value as literature: their interest is theological. They reveal a stage of religious thought, which may be regarded as standing midway between primitive ideas and Christian theology. More than a half of Reitzenstein's pages are concerned with St. Paul, if we include the two long notes on *γνώσις* and *πνεῦμα* (pp. 135-185) and *Paulus als Pneumatiker* (pp. 185-244). He claims that St. Paul must have read the mystery literature and assimilated its ideas even before he founded the Greek churches; and that his language must be interpreted in the light of its known meaning in the mystery religions. A detailed

criticism of these contentions has already appeared in H. A. A. Kennedy's *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, but Reitzenstein does not mention this. Two difficulties are quickly apparent. (1) All St. Paul's terms can be found in the *Septuagint*, and it seems more reasonable to find the explanation of them in Jewish thought, if that is possible. (2) Much of the mystery literature is of uncertain date, and may possibly be itself affected by Christian teaching. There is also a further point. The ideas for which St. Paul is supposed to be indebted to the mystery religions form only a part of his teaching. His doctrine of the Cross, and all that was involved in it, was to the Greeks foolishness: to St. Paul it was central. If we removed altogether his speculations on the *σῶμα πνευματικόν*, it would not matter much. But remove his teaching about Redemption through the Cross, and most of his distinctiveness would be gone. As is well known, it was just this side of St. Paul's teaching which dropped out of sight after his death, because the Church of the second and third centuries could not assimilate it. This fact makes us suspect that the influence, such as it was, of the mystery religions on Christianity, came rather through St. Paul's Greek converts

than through any previous knowledge or sympathy on his part. They first translated the new religion into their own tongue in order to understand it, and St. Paul had to follow their practice, if he would make himself intelligible to them. Yet we cannot doubt that, in using the current terms, St. Paul was in no sense carried away by them. His creative genius enabled him to adopt them as vehicles for the expression of a faith and experience that was peculiarly his own. Even the visions on which his claim to be an Apostle was based, and the freedom from bondage to Jewish tradition which he secured for his Greek converts, both of which Reitzenstein traces confidently to Hellenistic sources, may well be ultimately due to the great prophets of Israel.

This book certainly deserves the close study of all who are interested in Christian origins and the history of religion generally. There is a tendency in English Theology to minimise the influence of Greek environment on the Early Church. Reitzenstein has at least proved that the similarities between Hellenistic and Christian religious thought were in certain directions more important and extensive than is sometimes believed.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH.

MARTIAL AND OTHER ESSAYS.

Martial the Epigrammatist and Other Essays. By KIRBY FLOWER SMITH, late Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University. One vol. Octavo. Preface and Contents + pp. 172. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920. \$2.

A FEW of the less technical papers of the late Professor Flower Smith have here been gathered by Professor W. P. Mustard into a memorial volume, welcome to many of his old students and associates, as well as to those who, like myself, enjoyed the privilege of correspondence with him. The papers are miscellaneous, and range in date from 1902 to 1918.

Professor Flower Smith was favourably known as an editor of Tibullus, and his scholarly interest in Graeco-

Roman elegy makes it appropriate that studies of Ovid and Propertius should follow the attractive paper on Martial from which the title is drawn. Incidentally, the much-discussed explanation of Ovid's exile is touched upon, and the suggestion made that, when women like Livia meddle in affairs of state, a man may be ruined for a very trifling offence, so that 'the chief reason why we have never discovered a sufficient and satisfactory cause for Ovid's banishment is because there really never was one.' This paradoxical conclusion is at least a possibility; but I question whether it is a safe and sound might-have-been to say that Ovid 'without doubt could have become a distinguished lawyer if he had cared to exert himself in that direction.' It always

seems to me that one of the most illuminating passages about Ovid's abilities is that of the elder Seneca to the effect that Ovid had a temperamental dislike for the *controversia* but a passion for the *suasoria*. His genius was in fact psychological, dramatic, and narrative: it was not ratiocinative, and in every estimate of his work Seneca's words should be taken into account.

The essay 'Pupula Duplex,' a comment on Ovid, *Amores* I. viii. 15, is reprinted from *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, and examines in an entertaining way the superstitious beliefs in fascination associated with a 'double pupil' and eyes of different colours.

Occasionally and not unpleasantly one is reminded of the Transatlantic authorship of the volume by such illustrations intended for the American reader as the remark that Martial 'was

as proud of his Celtiberian strain as any Virginian could be of the blood of Pocahontas,' and though now and then Americanisms appear like 'first rows back of the orchestra' and 'clatter which never lets up,' still there is an explicit distrust of 'American briskness of speech' and a plea for sound English uttered with excellent taste in 'The Classics and Our Vernacular.' The next paper, on 'The Future Place of the Humanities in Education,' gives the author's considered judgment on the value of Latin and Greek with the lessons of the war behind him. The last paper, on 'Boyhood Reminiscences of a Country Town,' is non-classical; and a few verses, including a free translation of the *Copa*, close a volume which combines knowledge with good sense and humour.

J. WIGHT DUFF.

THE ALEXANDRA OF LYCOPHRON.

The Alexandra of Lycophron. With English translation and explanatory notes by GEORGE W. MOONEY, M.A. One vol. Crown 8vo. Pp. 178. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1921. 8s. 6d.

LYCOPHRON, the 'Obscure,' has a bad name among the students of Greek literature, and it would be an easy task to put together a collection of unfriendly criticism, beginning with the *latebras Lycophronis atris* of Statius (*Stat. Silv.* 5. 3. 157), and ending with the pained amazement of Mahaffy (Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, pp. 302-3).

To some extent, no doubt, the poet has been the victim of circumstances. We are credibly informed that he was a member of the Tragic Pleiad, and wrote not only a considerable number of tragedies, but even a so-called satyric drama, the *Menedemus*, with *dramatis personae* taken from contemporary life. Of all these works we have now only four short fragments from the *Menedemus*, and one from the *Pelopidae*, a tragedy.¹ We need not regret the loss of the tragedies, but that of the *Menedemus* is another matter; and the

skillful attempt of Mr. Tarn to recreate the circle of intellectuals at Eretria, for whom and about whom it was written, is tantalising in its incompleteness.²

For us, however, Lycophron is the author of the *Alexandra*, and by this curious composition, which its author probably wrote as a mere *πάρεργον*, Fate has decided that his reputation should stand or fall. Though the unfortunate poet might justly murmur against this arrangement of Providence, his shade ought to feel gratified at the amount of attention which his *tour de force* has received, albeit grudgingly, from subsequent generations. Preserved throughout antiquity as a work well calculated to sharpen the wits of Sixth Form boys,³ it provoked the ingenuity of Canter and Scaliger in the sixteenth century, and that of Bachmann in the early nineteenth. In the last fifty years particularly much has been done to illuminate the dark places of the *Alexandra*. E. Scheer (Vol. I., 1881; Vol. II., 1908) has laboured to establish the text,

² Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 22-5.

³ Comp. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* V. p. 676 P.

¹ Nauck², *Trag. Gr. Fr.* pp. 817-8.

while von Holzinger (Leipzig, 1895) and Ciaceri (Catania, 1901) have endeavoured to elucidate the subject-matter, besides producing translations in German and Italian respectively.

English scholars have not concerned themselves greatly with Lycophron, but we have the (for its age) respectable edition of Potter (Oxford, 1697, 1702) and the verse translation of Lord Royston (1806). These, however, are now out of date, and, in any case, neither of them is easy to procure; a new English edition is all the more welcome.

Professor Mooney has already shown his competence in Alexandrian scholarship by his edition of Apollonius Rhodius (1912). His Lycophron, though planned on a modest scale, is likely to be even more useful. The book contains a brief introduction and synopsis, Greek text, English translation (in blank verse) on the opposite page, and explanatory foot-notes. There are also two useful indices.

In the introduction the editor collects the few facts which are handed down about Lycophron, but he does not attempt to discuss the vexed questions of the date of the *Alexandra* and of the authenticity of ll. 1226-1280 and ll. 1446-1450. Perhaps we ought to be thankful for this omission. He expressly renounces 'a minute examination of the language of the *Alexandra*,' and no doubt the subject is a thorny one; but many people, though their taste may be arraigned as morbid, will find the chief attractiveness of the poem in its linguistic peculiarities—e.g. the artful 'interpretation' of Homer by the use of Homeric glosses, the employment of contemporary vulgarisms, or the proofs of the author's enforced perusal of Attic comedy.

The text of the *Alexandra* does not offer great opportunities for conjecture. Scheer, who has done so much to clear up the tradition of the MSS., is rightly rebuked by Holzinger for his wilful alteration of the text in the interest of so-called uniformity of dialect. Professor Mooney, to judge by his practice, agrees with Holzinger (comp. l. 368 τέφρην, l. 665 ἄγρην, l. 1131 κοῦραι, etc.). In one passage he has inserted a suggestion of his own, viz.:

Ἑλλάς στενάζει πᾶσα τοὺς κενοὺς τάφους,
οὐκ ὀστοθήκας χοιράδων ἐφημένους. (ll. 366-7).

χοιράδων δ' ἐφημένους (MSS.: Scheer)
οὐκ ὀστοθήκας, χοιράδων δ' ἐφημένων.
(Holzinger).

Professor Mooney translates l. 367 as follows:

Not placed upon the reefs which hold their bones.

taking ἐφημένους with τάφους, and regarding χοιράδων as a genitive of 'material' after ὀστοθήκας. This is no doubt possible Greek, but the sense thus obtained gives us an awkward contrast with ll. 368-9. Professor Platt¹ once suggested that a line had dropped out between ὀστοθήκας and χοιράδων δέ.

In the commentary Professor Mooney is content to give an excellent résumé of the information collected by his predecessors, more particularly Holzinger. He has managed to include practically everything that is necessary for an understanding of the text, though the more subtle suggestions of modern scholars (e.g. at l. 154) find no place in his notes.

As regards the translation, he states that his aim has been 'to give the meaning of the Greek as clearly and simply as possible.' In this he has succeeded admirably, and anyone who has ever attempted to translate Lycophron will admit that this alone is no mean achievement. His version may lack the 'billowy roll and roar' of Lord Royston's translation (I quote the description of Mr. Gosse), but it will be of far greater assistance to the student. Much of the *Alexandra* is geography put into iambs, but it is interesting to note how the magic of Greek proper names helps out the baldest passages. Take, for example, ll. 644-6 in Professor Mooney's version:

Sprung from old Arne they, Boeotian chiefs,
Yearning for Graea, Leontarne's hills,
Scolus, Tegyra, and Onchestus' site,
Thermodon's torrent, and Hypsarnus' streams.

Lycophron will certainly never be a 'school author' again; but Professor Mooney's edition ought to tempt some of our riper scholars to make the acquaintance of the *Alexandra*.

E. A. BARBER.

¹ *Journ. of Phil.* 39, p. 114.

GERMANISCHE URGESCHICHTE.

Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus' Germania. By EDWARD NORDEN. One volume. Large 8vo. Pp. x + 505. Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1921.

THE famous crux in the second chapter of the *Germania* has vexed commentators from the fifteenth century onwards, and, as is computed, has given rise to at least twenty-five different interpretations or conjectures; but Norden is dissatisfied with the purely philological discussion of the passage, and has devoted a volume of more than 500 pages to a new method of attacking the problem. His guiding motive is the view that Tacitus' mode of expression conforms to the fixed type of ancient ethnographical writing, and he therefore finds it necessary to survey this field of literature, beginning with Hippocrates' *περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων*. It is not difficult to show that the concepts with which ancient ethnography operates are of Greek origin; nor is it to be disputed that Posidonius applied the method in describing the peoples of the West, and that amongst these he named the Germans, a fact which, in view of Athenaeus' perfectly definite statement, should never have been doubted. But this is not enough to satisfy Norden. We are asked to accept two further propositions: firstly, that wherever Tacitus (or for that matter Caesar) betrays an acquaintance with ideas first expressed by Greek writers, Posidonius may be assumed as the ultimate source; secondly, that Tacitus would never have read Posidonius' work for himself, since 'there is no great Roman writer who holds himself so aloof from everything Greek as Tacitus' (p. 143). These propositions need far more proof than is given in Norden's book. That Caesar consulted Posidonius' *History* is likely enough; but some of the arguments adduced by Norden give slender support to the conclusion. Caesar, in introducing his famous digression on the manners and customs of Gaul and Germany, remarks (as he could hardly help doing) that it will be pertinent to set forth *quo differant hae nationes inter sese*; and a few chapters later he uses the expres-

sion *Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differant*. This, says Norden, is a 'remarkable agreement' with a passage in the Hippocratic *περὶ ἀέρων*, where the author sets out to treat of Asia and Europe, *ὁκόσον διαφέρουσιν ἀλλήλων*, and adds that he will speak only *περὶ τῶν πλείστον διαφερόντων* (not *πλείστων*, as Norden prints it). 'Evidently,' says Norden (p. 100), 'it is a traditional commonplace of ethnographical literature, this portrayal of the *διαφέροντα* of countries and peoples, which we meet with again in Caesar. For Caesar, Posidonius alone can be considered as the transmitter.' Surely Caesar had no occasion to dredge Posidonius for commonplaces! But this is not all. Posidonius had 'the distinction (no mean one) of appearing, though unnamed, on the threshold of the most famous memoirs of antiquity.' How was this? Because Caesar's famous opening sentence, *Gallia omnis . . .*, 'betrays his knowledge of the technical language of Greek ethnography: we have just read Posidonius' words, *ἡ σύμπασα Γαλατία*.' Tacitus, it will be remembered, begins his work with the words *Germania omnis . . .*; and many critics have seen in this an imitation of Caesar: but this will not satisfy Norden. For Tacitus mentions rivers and mountains in the context, which Caesar does not; therefore the source is rather to be sought in a similar phrase in Pliny's *Natural History*!

That Tacitus could not or would not read Posidonius for himself there is no real attempt to prove; nor will Norden allow that he consulted Timagenes, whom he regards as an intermediary between Posidonius-Caesar and Livy. Yet he quotes Quintilian in order to show that Timagenes' reputation was at its height in the Flavian period (p. 153). It must be confessed that, in spite of many ingenious *rapprochements*, the whole series of arguments by which Norden seeks to trace the course of the Posidonian stream in all its branches is lacking in cumulative effect.

The chapters which deal with the elder Pliny's *Bella Germaniae* as a source

of Tacitus are of greater value. Here Norden corrects the extravagances of the view that the *Germania* is 'a collection of excerpts from the *Bella*,' pointing out very truly that between the reign of Claudius and that of Trajan there had been a considerable increase in the material available, for example in the writings of civil officials, officers, and merchants. 'From this wealth of material,' says Norden, 'Tacitus, in pursuance of his habitual method, which may be observed in the historical works also, selects a small portion and works it up into a new whole' (p. 263). This is true enough; but the effect is somewhat neutralised by the assertion on the next page that statements of historical fact (other than those which concern events later than Pliny's period, such as the Chatti wars of Domitian) 'must have been drawn immediately from the *Bella* of Pliny, since this was the only source which enters into consideration.' Surely this is going too far: Norden himself allows (p. 211) that the *Bella* were not the principal source used by Tacitus in the First Book of the *Annals*, where they are only casually quoted in cap. 69. Nor can it be allowed that the use of phrases such as 'manet adhuc,' 'hodieque,' and the like, is an indication that Pliny is the source. Such turns of expression are common in Tacitus—a collection of instances will be found on p. 273, note 1; and unless it can be shown that the statements involve anachronisms, there is no reason to assume that they are borrowed. In the *Annals* (II. 88) Tacitus tells us that Arminius *canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes*, and this is claimed by Münzer (whose view is accepted by Norden) as a proof that Pliny, who wrote within a generation of Arminius' death, is the authority.

But this highly rhetorical passage is surely Tacitus' own composition; and it is hard to say that there are anachronisms in the *Germania*, though Norden suggests that the preference shown by the barbarians for *serrati* and *bigati* points to Pliny's time rather than to that of Tacitus. It is, of course, true that Pliny's career of service took him to the Rhine frontier; Münzer has made it very probable that in 47 A.D. he served under Corbulo in Lower Germany, and in 50-51 A.D. under Pomponius Secundus in the Upper Province; and it is very possible that Tacitus was indebted to him for information in several cases. But we should surely bear in mind that Tacitus' father was *procurator Belgicae*, and that it is not at all unlikely that the historian himself held a command in the same region in 89-93 A.D.—facts which would suffice to account for the knowledge displayed in the *Germania*, and, indeed, may have inspired the composition of the treatise.

Although Norden falls into the common error of *Quellenkritiker*, and seeks to prove too much (in spite of his protest that is not a *Namenjäger* on p. 58), his very discursive book is full of matter of which no summary can be given here, and is well worth reading. We are especially glad to note that he has not ignored the work of at least one English scholar. Of Mr. Rice Holmes' *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* he thrice uses the epithet *genau* (pp. 357, note 2; 377, note 3; 399, note 4), and this is not a word which he uses lightly. His interpretation of the vexed passage which forms his text (*Germ.* 2. 5) is based on the assumption that Greek modes of expression are implied: the first *a*, he thinks, represents *ἀπό*, the second *ὅπό*.

H. STUART JONES.

A GREAT INHERITANCE.

New Studies of a Great Inheritance. By Professor R. S. CONWAY, Litt.D. One volume. Pp. viii + 241. 8" x 5". London: John Murray, 1921. 7s. 6d. THIS collection of essays is mainly a republication of lectures delivered at various times during the last twenty years, the development of some of

which is traced in footnotes. Though in the last essay on 'Education and Freedom' the inheritance is extended so as to cover Classical Literature as a whole, it is the Latin writers of the Great Age, and more especially Virgil, who are the theme of Dr. Conway. Few Latinists have done more than

he to bring home to students of the Classics how much of our wealth of ideas on the intercourse of man with man, of the government of subject races, of sane imperialism, we owe to Horace, Livy, and Virgil. The essay on 'Horace as Poet-Laureate' gives a fresh answer to those who reproach the writer of the Odes for being commonplace, because he first gave poetic expression to the very views which they have derived from him. The essay on the 'Inner Experience of Cicero' shows how the orator's use of *ego* and *nos* in his correspondence may be treated as a political barometer: 'By counting the occurrences of the Plural of Dignity in the letters we can ascertain just how often he was moved to complacency by the thought of his various distinctions, his learning, eloquence, possessions, or political achievements.' The essay on 'Man and Nature in the Augustan Poets' paints in lurid colours the state of the Roman world in the first century B.C., and indicates how nature was treated by the poets in compensation for the deplorable conditions of politics and society, bringing balm to the philosophic Lucretius by its methodical regularity, encouraging Horace and Tibullus by the fertility and quiet of country, whether actual or Utopian, but with really serious inspiration for one poet alone, Virgil, whose 'transcending process' made the toils and pains of everyday majestic by linking them with great mysteries, and beautiful by interweaving them with human affection. The authorship of the poems in the *Appendix Vergiliana* is discussed in 'The Youth of Virgil.' Dr. Conway goes with Skutsch, and against Drachmann and Professor Rand. While ready to admit the *Culex* as an early work of Virgil, he accepts as conclusive the evidence that Gallus was the author of the *Ciris*, an authorship which in some way mitigates the regret we might feel for the early demise of that unfortunate official, which is the subject of a separate essay. To the metrical points of evidence for non-Virgilian authorship collected by Dr. Conway in a footnote on p. 77 may be added the fourteen spondaic endings, as against

none in the *Culex*, and the complete hexametrical endings in the fourth foot (*adductisque labascunt* and *multoque cruentas*) found again in the Eighth and Twelfth *Aeneids*, but not in his early writings. Dr. Conway will carry his readers with him in most of his views in the essay on the 'Growth of the Underworld,' though they may think it overfanciful to suppose that the carvings of Cretan history, as indicating the Minoan Age, would suggest 'how vast was that majority of the human race now passed into the darkness which the book is to explore,' or that the thought of Daedalus' mourning for his son would suggest the 'filial affection, which is the motive of the hero's journey.'

It is in the essay on the 'Classical Elements in Shakespeare's *Tempest*' that there is most to excite disagreement. The verbal resemblances to Virgil seems largely accidental, and in no way comparable to the clear derivation of the passage 'Ye elves of hills, brooks, and standing lakes and groves' (quoted on p. 168) from Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In an earlier essay Dr. Conway has already suggested (p. 53) as probable the derivation of 'this my hand will rather the multitudinous seas incarnadine,' from Horace's 'quod mare Dauniae | non decoloravere caedes?' where the resemblance is not very close. Still less readily can we believe in a view of the universe consciously derived from Virgil by Shakespeare, despite the vast sympathy common to both poets. Dr. Conway's suggested reasons for the pagan atmosphere in which the play is set deserve attention. But a different explanation would have to be given for *Twelfth Night*, which may be taken as another example of romantic comedy (by a curious slip on p. 174 Dr. Conway describes *Romeo and Juliet* as an early comedy). I believe I am right in saying that in the blank verse of *Twelfth Night* there is no use of the singular 'God,' though Antonio speaks of 'the gentleness of all the gods,' and there are fairly frequent allusions to Classical mythology. Biblical allusions are confined to the prose of Sir Toby Belch and his associates; Sir Andrew Ague-

cheek speaks of God both in English and French, and the Clown, who 'lives by the Church,' more frequently. Malvolio, the Puritan, swears by Jove

when he is pleased with life, but when in distress makes his appeal 'By the Lord.'

A. S. OWEN.

MANUEL D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ROMAINE.

Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine. Par R. CAGNAT et VICTOR CHAPOT. Tome second. Two vols. Octavo. Pp. vi+574. 331 half tone and line blocks in the text. Paris: Auguste Picard, 82, Rue Bonaparte, 1920. Fr. 30.

THIS is the second and concluding part of a work which appears to be planned as a continuation of the invaluable series of archaeological manuals by the late M. Déchelette. Part I. appeared in 1916, and contained one of the most complete and detailed studies of Roman architecture that has ever been written, together with a shorter but equally readable account of Roman sculpture and plastic decoration. We now signalise the appearance of volume two, the opening chapters of which complete the study of the 'Décoration des Monuments' by a discussion of painting and mosaic work. While the sections on technique are admirably clear and to the point, the chapters on the repertory of the artists are too long for the pages of a manual; they are over-detailed for the ordinary student, and yet do not replace such catalogues as that of Helbig for the specialist. The illustrations are excellently chosen, but might have been better reproduced.

The remainder of the volume deals with the 'Instruments de la Vie publique et privée' in a series of chapters devoted to religion, theatre and games,

agriculture and industry, weights and measures, carriages, shipping, military equipment, costume and toilet, furniture, household utensils, lighting, games, music, writing, and medicine. The work does not pretend to be an account of Roman life; it ignores literary evidence, save in explanation of museum objects, and hence the book contains some curious gaps. For instance, the section on war contains no word on organisation or tactics, but is devoted entirely to details of equipment, and that only for the Imperial period, the legions of the Republic and of Julius Caesar being passed over as having left no adequate archaeological remains. It is a pity that, as illustrations of ancient artillery, the clumsy models made half a century ago for Napoleon III. have been selected instead of the more modern reconstructions of Schramm. The best and most enlightening sections are those on dress and music. Under the heading of household utensils is concealed a brief but excellent account of Roman pottery. Altogether, as a reasoned survey of the mass of material available in museums for the reconstruction of Roman life, the book is to be strongly recommended; but it is surely time that the cut-up bedstead of Fig. 610 disappeared from textbooks as an illustration of a Roman chair of state.

F. N. PRYCE.

SHORT NOTICES

Grieksch Woordenboek. Door Dr. F. MULLER JZN. Groningen, den Haag: J. B. Wolters. Fl. 13.90.

THIS handy Greek-Dutch Lexicon in 1,248 small octavo pages deserves praise for its attempt to include the new material supplied by papyri (literary and non-literary) and (to a lesser extent) by inscriptions. No one would expect

completeness (or anything like it) in such a work. At the same time the author's selection of words for inclusion does not seem based on any very intelligible principles. He cites the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles fairly frequently; yet (to take the beginning of the alphabet) we do not find such words as αἰόλισμα, ἄκεστρον, ἄλκασμα, ἀναοστέω

and ἀποθυμαίνω in their places. Several interesting dialect forms from inscriptions are included (e.g. ἔταλον = vitulus); but ἀρρέντερος (opp. θηλύντερος) and the like are absent. We are glad to note that ὀδών is correctly given as the only early form of the Greek word for 'tooth,' but we might have been told that it occurs in Herodotus and Hippocrates.

The author caters for the junior student, and excludes post-Polybian Greek in general (save for the New Testament, Plutarch, and Lucian) from his purview. Under these circumstances he might well have jettisoned some of the more technical terms from the vocabulary of the papyri. H. S. J.

Papers of the British School at Rome.
Vol. IX.

THIS volume is, as the Director puts it, 'an earnest of the renewed activity which the School hopes to be able to display' under post-war conditions. If it contains somewhat fewer articles of interest to the readers of the *Classical Review* than most of its predecessors, it is noteworthy by reason of a new feature. After the articles sponsored by the Faculty of Archaeology, History, and Letters (which include a further instalment of Mr. R. Gardner's account of the road-system in Central Italy, and a bibliographical study of the engravings of ancient statues in Rome published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by Dr. Ashby), there appears, under the aegis of the Faculty of Architecture, a restoration of ancient Praeneste by Mr. H. C. Bradshaw, formerly Rome Scholar in Architecture. This is a remarkable piece of work, not only beautifully drawn, but based on careful study and measurement of the extant remains, and hence of real archaeological value. It amply justifies the institution of the Architectural Faculty with its 'Prix de Rome.' H. S. J.

A Study in the Commerce of Latium from the Early Iron Age through the Sixth Century B.C. By LOUISE E. W. ADAMS, Ph.D. Pp. 84. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Classical Studies, 1921.

A QUITE admirable summary of the evidence for the intercourse of Latium with the outside world up to the end of the Regal Period at

Rome, based on a careful study of a vast number of publications. Miss Adams holds that in the Early Iron Age—the period of pit graves—while foreign traders sold their wares in Etruria, Latium remained almost untouched. The Phoenicians did not undertake perilous journeys 'for the sake of goats' milk cheese.' In the seventh century, however, foreign goods reached Latium along the land route from Etruria to Campania, which passed through Praeneste, at this date a more important place than Rome, where nothing has been discovered comparable to the contents of the Bernardini and Barbarini tombs. Later, when Rome was ruled by Etruscan kings, foreign influences increased, and an attempt was made, possibly by the treaty with Gabii, to divert the land route so as to make it pass through the city. But the treaty with Carthage of 509 B.C. shows that even at the end of the sixth century Rome had not developed into a really commercial power. All the same, Greek goods had reached Rome in considerable quantities in the Regal Period; and 'when the Romans rediscover the Greek world in the Hellenistic age, they do not realise that they are returning to their old teachers.' G. H. S.

Athenian Political Commissions. By FREDERICK D. SMITH. Pp. 81. University of Chicago Libraries, 1920.

THIS dissertation consists of a study of the various fifth-century bodies described as συγγραφεῖς, ἀναγραφεῖς, and the like. About two-thirds of it is concerned with the constitutional changes of the years 411-410, and 404-403 B.C. Mr. Smith has mastered the voluminous literature of the subject, and shows good judgment in his use of it. It is to be regretted that English students of ancient history are not required to produce a piece of work of this character as part of their degree course. Mr. Smith should avoid such forms as σιτώφυλακες, θεοροί, and Nichomachus; and why does he always speak of a σύγγραφαί?

G. H. S.

Notes on the Greek Anthology. By T. W. LUMB, M.A. (Oxon.), Assistant-Master at Merchant Taylors' School, E.C. One volume. Small octavo. Pp. 168. London: Rivingtons, 34, King Street, Covent Garden, 1920. 7s. 6d.

MR. LUMB'S *Notes on the Greek Anthology* will be welcomed by all lovers, and readers, of the *Anthology*, whose numbers are probably increasing despite Mr. Lumb's apparent doubts. Fresh efforts at translation are constantly being made, and we may fairly hope that some who feel the charm of the epigrams even at second hand will be lured on to a study of the original text. Scholars will find these notes an in-

dispensable companion—a sort of lucky bag into which to dip for enjoyment and useful suggestion. Sixth-form masters will find the book a very handy means of initiating their more brilliant pupils into the art and science of textual emendation. It consists of a series of some five hundred suggestions for the emendation of the text, not only where the MSS. is obviously corrupt, but also where a reasonable change will improve a line which clearly fails to do its author justice, and the weakness of which is, as likely as not, due to a careless copyist. There is a fine quality of taste as well as of scholarship informing the whole work. A few examples will best indicate its scope. Take Meleager's well-known description of Eros in A.P. V. 178 (Mackail's *Select Epigrams*, i. 52). The fifth line runs:

πρὸς δ' ἔτι λοιπὸν ἄντρον ἀέιλαλον ὀξὺ δεδορκός.

λοιπὸν is weak, as Mr. Lumb says, and he claims that Meleager is too economical to use four words to express 'besides.' Mr. Mackail notes the redundancy as a colloquial one, and contents himself with referring to the Latin *nec non etiam*. But Mr. Lumb happily suggests that the true rendering is πρὸς δ' ἔτ' ἀντρίον, the latter being used of Eros in V. 188-5, and as an illustration of the confusion between π and τρ he quotes the τραῦμα for πνεῦμα in V. 197. Less acceptable perhaps, as less necessary for the full meaning of the epigram, is his suggestion to read αὐτοθελής for ὡς ἐθέλεις in the last line of A.P. VI. 30 (Mackail ii. 7), Macedonius' *Old Fisherman to Poseidon*. Mr. Mackail ends the previous line with a comma, and connects ὡς ἐθέλεις directly with μεδέων, 'O ruler of both earth and sea as thou wilt.' Mr. Lumb says 'there should be some reference to the will or power of the god, not of the man.' But is there not, even if we leave ὡς ἐθέλεις alone? Equally caustic and happy is the note on A.P. IX. 169. 5, 6, Palladas on *The Uselessness of Teaching*:

ἀλλ' ἔν' ἀφαρπάξῃ Βρισηίδα πρὶν Ἀγαμέμνων
τῇν' Ἑλένην δ' ὁ Πάρις πτωχὸς ἐγὼ γενόμεν.

Palladas' scansion, says Mr. Lumb, is certainly weak, but if he wrote πρίν, he certainly deserved to be a poverty-stricken lecturer (in a country, we may

add, where no Burnham scale obtained). He probably wrote Βρισηίδ' ἀβρήν.

Besides the notes on the *Anthology* the book submits a series of emendations of the Tragic and Epic Fragments (Ed. Wagner, *Didot*).

J. G. L.

L.-A. CONSTANS: *Gigthis*. Étude d'Histoire et d'Archéologie sur un Emporium de la Petite Syrte: avec 14 planches hors texte et 3 figures dans le texte. (Extrait des Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques. 14^e fasc.). Pp. 113. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916.

GIGTHIS in Tunis, discovered by V. Guérin in 1860, excavated by Reinach and Babelon (1884), and later by Gauckler and Sadoux (1901-1906), is of interest, not because of its importance in history—its history is lost to us—but as an example of a provincial town which grew prosperous under the Pax Romana of the Empire. Originally a Punic settlement, it is never mentioned in literature, save in the *Periplus* of Scylax and the Roman itineraria. From its inscriptions we learn that it was raised to the rank of a municipium by Antoninus Pius; it later acquired the Latium maius, while in the third century of our era its municipal aristocracy entered the Roman Senate, held Roman magistracies, and were even given provincial governorships. Gigthis furnishes us with another example of those provincial fora of which several have been excavated in recent years. It is not yet certain to whom the great temple in the forum was dedicated: one might have expected to see in it a Capitulum, a temple of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. M. Constans, however, concludes that it was dedicated to the divinities of Alexandria in view of the discovery on the right of the temple of a fine head of Zeus Sarapis; but he has not convinced M. Cagnat (*cf. Journal des Savants*, N.S. XV. [1917], pp. 289-299). The task of the excavator is rendered more difficult by the fact that a Byzantine restoration used the materials of earlier buildings and thus caused much confusion on the site. The market-place of Gigthis was originally

(second century) constructed with rectangular porticoes, but when rebuilt in the third century the interior court was surrounded by a portico which terminated in a semicircle. M. Cagnat has suggested that this change may have been general in the towns of Roman Africa in the third century.

The student has every reason to be grateful to M. Constans; it is only on careful monographs such as this that the comparative study of the development of provincial towns under the Empire can be securely based.

N. H. B.

S. KOPERBERG: *Polybii Historiarum Liber XXX quoad fieri potuit restitutus*. Dissertation. Pp. 99. Amsterdam: Campis apud J. H. Kok, 1919.

BELOCH recently expressed the view that an attempt must be made to reconstruct, so far as possible, the lost books of Polybius; the author of this dissertation has made that attempt for the thirtieth book. For this purpose the text of Diodorus is printed by the side of Livy's account and the parallel passages from Plutarch (*Life of Aemilius Paulus*) are added to the 'excerpta' from the text of Polybius which have been preserved to us. Points of special difficulty are discussed in an appendix, where the author gives reasons for his contention that Plutarch did not consult Polybius directly, but drew his Polybian material from some intermediary source. The dissertation should be of real service to students of Polybius. N. H. B.

Auguralia und Verwandtes. By EDWIN FLINCK. Crown octavo. Pp. 74. Helsingfors: Drucherei der Finnischen Litteratur-Gesellschaft, 1921.

THIS is an interesting pamphlet, and contains many suggestions worth consideration on rather obscure points connected with Roman augury. Dr. Flinck expresses his dissatisfaction on philological grounds with the traditional derivation of *augur* from *avis* and *gero* (*quia per avium gestus edicitur* Festus), and prefers to derive the word from the

root of *augere*, seen also in the cognate adjective *augustus*. So far there is nothing new, for this connexion is suggested in antiquity and has been supported by modern philologists. Dr. Flinck's contribution is a careful analysis of the augur's functions, in which he shows that his only duty at the taking of the auspices (by the magistrate) was one of interpretation, and that the *augurium* is not, like the *auspicium*, an observation of omens to see what will occur, but a direct prayer for blessing to be answered by a sign. It was only later when *auspex* and *augur* were confused in practice that similarity of derivation was insisted on, and popular modern ideas have perpetuated the confusion. This is a valuable point. Dr. Flinck goes on to show that the augur was originally connected with fertility (cf. the *augurium canarium* and *auguria vernisera*), and especially with fruit-trees, and among them particularly with the vine. Here his evidence becomes slighter, and it is even precarious when he proceeds to derive *vindex* from *vinum* ('the man who knows about the vine-staff'), and then to claim that the augur's *lituus* was a staff of the same kind as the *vindicta* with which he blessed (*litare*) the fruit-trees. Once launched on fruit-trees Dr. Flinck becomes almost reckless: *strenae* are the twigs of fruit-trees given as presents for luck, for which small coins were subsequently substituted; *stips* is the same (if *stipula* is a wisp of straw, he argues, *stips* is a larger thing like it—i.e. a twig), and if you ask why there are two words with the same meaning and the same history, it is because *strena* is Sabine, and *stips* is Latin. All this is hazardous, and Dr. Flinck's logic is shaky. A proposition once established as 'wahrscheinlich' becomes the premise of the next syllogism, and so on. Nevertheless, this second part of the thesis is valuable too as calling attention to the religious significance of the fruit-tree (*arbor felix*) in Roman thought—a point frequently overlooked.

C. BAILEY.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

DEAR SIR,

Professor Conway and his work command my affectionate admiration, but when he takes Professor Butler to task for speaking of the 'Fourth *Georgic*,' it becomes a duty to protest. He supports his criticism by a factitious analogy, a baseless statement, and what after deliberation I must interpret as a jest.

When he speaks of 'Aristotle's Third *Ethic*' as a parallel expression to the 'Fourth *Georgic*,' the only reply is that educated people, not slovenly of speech, habitually use the one expression, while no one uses the other. There is no more to be said. Next the Professor asserts that to use the name *Georgic* in the singular robs it of part of its meaning. In one sense only is this true: a *Georgic* means one quarter

of the *Georgics*. Lastly, when he fancies that 'schoolboys' are left to connect the name subconsciously with the Hanoverian dynasty, I can only suppose that he is being pleasant with us. Well and good, but by implication this 'Hanoverian theory' arises from the singular use of the word. Come, come, Professor!

The fact is, we all speak of the 'Fourth *Georgic*,' the 'Sixth *Aeneid*,' the 'First *Iliad*,' and never dream of asking for authority. But if literary authority is required, we can have it. The writers quoted in Murray's Dictionary as using the singular form, *Georgic*, are those two purists Joseph Addison and Thomas Gray. Can Professor Conway find half so good a pedigree for his *Vergil*?

Yours faithfully,

A. L. IRVINE.

Charterhouse, Godalming.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1921.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—W. A. Kosten, *Inquiritur quid Xenophontis Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία valeat ad Lacedaemoniorum instituta cognoscenda* [Diss. inaug. Rheno-Traiect., 1921] (Gemoll). Much material collected, but the work as a whole is not a success.

LATIN LITERATURE.—A. Kurfess, *Sallustii Crispi epistolae ad Caesarem senem de re publica* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. M. 2 + 120%] (Levy). Welcome and reliable edition based on Hauler's collation of Vaticanus (Wien. Stud. 17); useful indices.—G. Thörnell, *Studia Tertullianea, II.* [Uppsala, 1921, Akad. Bocktryckerie] (Tolkiehn). Marks an advance in the criticism and exegesis of Tertullian as well as in the knowledge of his peculiar language.—C. Giarratano, *Q. Asconii Pediani commentarii* [Rome, 1920] (Klotz). Thoroughly useful edition.—W. Rinkefeil, *De adnotationibus super Lucanum* [Diss. Greifswald. Dresden, 1917, Ramming] (Hosius). Methodical and on the whole convincing investigation of the second body of Lucan scholia.—W. A. Merrill, *Notes on the Silvae of Statius, Books I.-IV.* [University of California Publications, Vol. V., 1918-1920] (Hosius). Superficial. Reviewer criticises several passages.—G. Janell, *P. Vergili Maronis opera. Post Ribbeckium tertium recogn. Editio maior* [Leipzig, 1920, Teubner] (Güthling). Eradicates Ribbeck's wild conjectures and on the whole successfully restores the true text; cannot be overlooked by those specially interested in Vergil.—Alice H. Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus. Chapters of Biography* [Diss. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1920] (Klotz). Failure to draw a living portrait of Atticus is largely due to the insufficient material.—V. Ussani, *Rutilii Claudii*

Namatiani de redivit suo libri II. [Florence, 1921, Perrella. L. 6] (Levy). Contains introduction, text, critical notes, and index, but leaves room for another edition. V. Wiesner, *Donatiana. Die Interpretationes Vergilianae des Ti. Claudius Donatus sprachlich untersucht* [Diss. Würzburg. Bamberg, 1920, Kirsch] (Hofmann). W., a pupil of Stangl, is a thoroughly competent late Latin scholar; his excellent chapter on the text is carefully discussed by reviewer.—Gladys Martin, *Laus Pisonis* [Cornell University, 1917] (Hosius). Deals with the anonymous Panegyricus in Pisonem; tradition and personalities discussed clearly and soberly; sensible and sufficient notes form the most valuable portion of the work.

HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS.—J. de Decker, *De Grieksche en Romeinsche Oudheiden en de Philosophie der Geschiedenis* [Gent, 1918, de Veirman] (Kraemer). Reviewer gives very full account of D.'s academic address, and agrees with most of his argument.—A. Heisenberg, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit* [Sitz.-Ber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. München, 1920, Franz] (Wellnhofer). Admirable treatment of a number of difficult Byzantine questions; in particular, much new light is thrown on court-ceremonial.—W. J. Snellman, *De interpretibus Romanorum deque linguae latinae cum aliis nationibus commercio. Pars I.: Enarratio; Pars II.: Testimonia veterum* [Leipzig, 1914-1919, Dieterich. M. 10 each part] (Hofmann). Part II. is a valuable collection of all ancient evidence on the cultural relations between Rome and her subject peoples; Part I. seeks to explain the material collected, but is little more than a mere paraphrase, faulty both in language and in interpretation.—W. E. Caldwell, *Hellenic Conceptions of Peace* [Studies edited by the Faculty of Political Science of

Columbia University. New York, 1919] (Hofmann). Though often sketchy, this clear and sober survey may be read with profit; the influence of economic conditions on peace and war is stressed.—H. Bier, *De saltatione pantomimorum* [Diss. Bonn, 1920] (Bethe). Finds origin of pantomimic art and music in Egypt. Reviewer agrees that practically every pantomimic actor came from the East, especially Egypt; but there is not enough evidence to trace the origins definitely, as B. does, to the cult of Isis.—J. J. B. Mulder, *Quaestiones nonnullae ad Atheniensium matrimoniam vitamque coniugalem pertinentes* [Utrecht, 1920] (Tittel). Handy survey of marriage at Athens in classical times; extensive material industriously collected, and all important questions discussed with sound judgment.—W. Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian* [Berlin, 1921, Kohlhammer. M. 50] (Laqueur). Though reviewer rejects W.'s main theory, yet he welcomes the book for its many helpful suggestions; they must, however, be used with caution.—R. Vagts, *Aphrodisias in Karien. Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Stadt, ihre künstlerische und literarische Bedeutung, ihre Verfassung und Verwaltung in römischer Kaiserzeit* [Diss. Hamburg, 1920] (Bilabel). Deserves thanks for his industrious compilation, though it contains nothing new of real importance.—F. Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation* [Philologus, Suppl.-Bd. XIV. 1. Leipzig, 1920, Dieterich] (Lincke). Valuable preliminary studies for a general account of Greek colonisation; B. makes full use of epigraphical and archaeological evidence on the relations between the mother-cities and their colonies; careful index.

PHILOSOPHY.—E. Bignone, *Il pensiero Greco, Vol. X., Empedocle. Studio critico, traduzione e commento delle testimonianze e dei frammenti* [Turin, 1916, Bocca. L. 15+] (Philippson). Shows astounding range of knowledge in building up his case for Empedocles' Dualism; notes contain many new readings and interpretations; valuable appendices.—H. Barth, *Die Seele in der Philosophie Platons* [Tübingen, 1921, Mohr. M. 24] (Leisegang). B. works from a preconceived point of view, and thus entirely destroys the spirit of the original.—G. Kafka, *Die Vorsokratiker* [München, 1921, Reinhardt. M. 15] (Nestle). Forms the first of forty volumes, which are to include the whole of philosophy from earliest to modern times; pre-Socratic systems clearly developed and subjected to penetrating criticism; bibliography, and notes with references to original authorities.—F. Boll, *Vita Contemplativa* [Sitz.-Ber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Heidelberg, 1920, Winter. M. 4+] (Leisegang). Discussion of exact meaning of the words *θεωρητικός* and *contemplativa* is followed by an attractive description of Greek thinkers as types of the *βίος θεωρητικός*.

RELIGION.—W. Rist, *Die Opfer des römischen Heeres* [Diss. Tübingen, 1920, Laupp] (Weinreich). Useful as a careful collection of

material, but should be further developed, especially in its bearing upon the history of Roman religion.—E. Bickel, *Der altrömische Gottesbegriff* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. M. 5+] (Wissowa). B.'s edifice collapses as soon as its Varronian foundation is shown to be insufficient; yet there remains in the ruin useful material for rebuilding.—M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* [Leipzig, 1921, Dieterich] (Roscher). Covers only a portion of the vast field, but is stimulating and achieves excellent results, especially in the first section on the chthonic nature of water.—K. Beth, *Einführung in die vergleichende Religionsgeschichte* [Leipzig, 1920, Teubner. M. 2+] (Ostheide). Warmly recommended; the chapter on the relations between God and man (prayer, sacrifice, taboo, etc.) is particularly noteworthy.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—H. Th. Bossert, *Alt-kreta, Kunst und Kunstgewerbe im ägäischen Kulturkreise* [Berlin, 1921, Wasmuth. M. 120] (Behn). Reviewer warmly praises the 215 full-page plates illustrating monuments of Cretan and Mycenaean art grouped according to kind (architecture, sculpture, fresco painting, ceramics, etc.); text comparatively unimportant.—C. Praschniker, *Muzakhia und Malakastra* [Jahreshefte d. Österr. Archäol. Instituts, Bd. XXI./XXII. Wien, 1920, Holder. M. 60. 131 illustrations] (Pagenstecher, †Aug. 1921). P. presents, in the form of a second report on excavations at Apollonia, etc., a large amount of new material important chiefly for the light it throws on cultural relations between Magna Graecia and Western Greece. Reviewer emphasises close similarity of Apollonian grave-stelae with Syracusan and Tarentine work.—W. Jänecke, *Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Tropaion von Adamklissi* [Heidelberg, 1919, Winter] (Dörpfeld). J. sets out to prove that the inner and outer parts of this Roman triumphal monument in Roumania belong to different periods. Reviewer thinks the controversy can be settled only by excavation.—J. T. Allen, *The Key to the Reconstruction of the Fifth-Century Theatre at Athens, and The Greek Theatre of the Fifth Century before Christ* [University of California Publications, Vols. V. and VII. Berkeley, 1918 and 1920] (Dörpfeld). The 'key' lies in the tangential relation of certain lines in the stage buildings to an inner and outer circle in the orchestra. D. claims that A.'s observations go far to prove theory of a wooden proscenium (no stage) immediately behind the orchestra.

LINGUISTIC.—F. Sommer, *Vergleichende Syntax der Schulsprachen (Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch, Griechisch, Lateinisch)* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. M. 10+120¢] (Köhm). Most valuable, stimulating, and instructive; indispensable to teachers of languages. Reviewer adds suggestions.—H. Gerdau, *Der Kampf ums Dasein im Leben der Sprache* [Hamburg, 1921, Gentz. M. 3] (Hermann). G.'s originality is stimulating, but reviewer

disagrees entirely with his theories.—K. H. Meyer, *Slavische und Indogermanische Intonation* [Heidelberg, 1920, Winter] (Hermann). Marks a real advance in our knowledge of Indo-Germanic accent; includes Greek and Latin; M. seems to prove that acute and circumflex in 'Ur'-Indo-Germanic were not restricted to final syllables.—F. Sommer, *Lateinische Schulgrammatik mit sprachwissenschaftlichen Anmerkungen* [Frankfurt, 1920, Diesterweg] (Müller-Graupa). A first-rate book; arrangement good, skilful choice of parallels from other languages; will be most welcome to teachers who have not had a philological training.

PALAEOGRAPHY.—J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften* [Wien, Prag, Leipzig, 1920. M. 600. 52 plates] (Gardthausen). A splendid work.—C. Wendel, *Die griechischen Handschriften der Provinz Sachsen* [Leipzig, 1920, Hiersemann] (Gardthausen). W. deserves our gratitude for his self-sacrificing work.

CLASSICS IN EDUCATION.—W. Jaeger, *Humanismus und Jugendbildung* [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. M. 3] (Helck). J. considers Classics 'the kernel of European education.' Reviewer praises warmly his clear judgment and depth of thought.—F. Boll, *Sinn und Wert der humanistischen Bildung in der Gegenwart* [Heidelberg, 1921, Winter. M. 3+] (Helck). B. insists that Classics must be treated in a more living way in school teaching; compares German with American and English experiences; penetrating and deep.—A. Dresdner, R. Gaede, O. Wichmann, *Neues Leben im altsprachlichen Unterricht. Drei Preisarbeiten* [Berlin, 1918, Weidmann. M. 6] (Ziehen). Very stimulating; importance of wide reading, of covering ground by help of translations, of reading aloud, and many other questions discussed in the light of the authors' own experience.—R. Meister, *Der Bildungswert der Antike und der Einheitsschulgedanke* [Graz, 1920. Bezug durch Buchdruckerei J. Zellmayer, Wien. M. 5+150%] (Becher). Includes chapters on the educational value and object of classical teaching and on the opposition to it; deserves warm thanks.

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK). (1921.)

ANTIQUITIES.—Oct. 17. H. Diels, *Antike Technik*, Ed. 2 (M. W. Humphreys). Praised: the work deals with all branches of Greek engineering, machinery, and chemistry.—Oct. 24. J. T. Allen, *Greek Theater of the Fifth Century B.C.* (D. M. Robinson). 'An admirable and sane discussion': the author seems to have made a new discovery as to the theatre-buildings at Athens.—Nov. 14. F. Poulsen (trans. by G. C. Richards), *Delphi* (D. M. Robinson). 'Full of most fascinating and suggestive observations on Greek art.' Reviewer discusses many details at length.—Nov. 28. J. R. Crawford, *De Bruma et Brumalibus Festis* (H. W.

Wright). A convincing discussion of the origins of a Byzantine festival.—Dec. 5. J. Hambidge, *Dynamic Symmetry: the Greek Vase* (T. L. Shear). An application of mathematical principles to the analysis and interpretation of Greek design. H. T. Bossert, *Alt Kreta* (A. D. Fraser). Nearly 300 beautiful illustrations, published with an adequate introduction at a relatively low price.

BIOGRAPHY.—Oct. 3. I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (W. S. Ferguson). A life of Solon, with an edition of his poetic fragments: scientific, but lacking in constructive imagination: sceptical of all information not derived ultimately from the poems.—Dec. 5. Alice H. Byrne, *Titus Pomponius Atticus* (W. D. Gray). 'Has contributed many valuable ideas and observations.'

LITERATURE.—Oct. 31. A. Gudeman, *P. Cornelii Taciti Germania* (B. L. Ullman). Reviewer discusses the alterations from the American edition introduced into this (German) one.

RELIGION.—Nov. 28, E. W. Hopkins, *History of Religions* (C. H. Moore). Praises the chapters on Greek and Roman religion.

SYNTAX.—May 16. G. J. Laing, *The Genitive of Value in Latin* (A. L. Wheeler). 'Opens up a wide field.' Reviewer argues at length for the origin of the construction from the genitive of quality or description.

The issues of Nov. 28 and Dec. 12 contain lists of articles on classical subjects in non-classical periodicals.

LE MUSÉE BELGE.

(APRIL, 1921.)

AUTHORS.—*Aristotle*: P. d'Héronville has observations on the exactness of A. as a naturalist.

INSCRIPTIONS.—*Greek*: P. Graindor contributes Part II. of *Kykladica*, the first part of which appeared in *Mus. Belg.*, 1914, pp. 97 ff. From Tenos come three; from Ios one (early Ptolemaic), and several pre-Hellenic antiquities; several from Ceos; he gives a detailed account of the Acropolis of Karthaia, with the temples and pottery; an inscription *στοιχηδόν* from Poiessa, of the latter half of the fourth century B.C., and a section on the *Συνοικισμός* of the cities of Ceos. The rare word *ἐχέβαρος* appears in an inscription of the third century B.C.—*Latin*: J. P. Walzing continues his articles on Latin Inscriptions in Roman Belgium: two funerary inscriptions and one dedication. The Celtic name Ocosuonius appears to be a variant of Cosuonius, known from the same district (Luxembourg).

LEXICOGRAPHICAL.—E. Merchie writes on the use of *Simia* as a masculine noun.

STYLISTIC.—*The Cursus in Greek*. A contribution to its bibliography, by L. Laurand; references are given to books and articles on the *Clausulae* in Classical authors, in the later Sophistic, and in Byzantine authors.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

** * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

- Bailey (C.)** Aristophanes: The Clouds. 7½" × 5". Pp. 134. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- Baldwin (J. M.)** Le Médiat et l'Immédiat. 9" × 5½". Pp. xii + 324. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1921. Fr. 20 net.
- Bechtel (F.)** Die griechischen Dialecte. Pp. vi + 478. 9½" × 6¼". Berlin: Weidmann, 1921. M. 78.
- Boissonnade (P.)** Le Travail dans l'Europe chrétienne au Moyen Age. 9" × 5½". Pp. ii + 430. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1921. Fr. 18 net.
- Buscher (E.)** Greek Vase Painting. Pp. xii + 180. 10¼" × 6½". London: Chatto and Windus, 1921. Cloth, 25s. net.
- Carpenter (R.)** The Esthetic Basis of Greek Art. Pp. viii + 264. 7" × 4". Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr Coll., 1921. \$1.50.
- England (E. B.)** The Laws of Plato. Vol. I. Pp. x + 642. Vol. II. Pp. vi + 670. 7½" × 4¾". London: Longmans Green, 1921. Cloth, 10s. net each.
- Farnell (L. R.)** Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality. Pp. xvi + 434. 9" × 5¾". Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Cloth, 18s. net.
- Fränkel (H.)** Die Homerischen Gleichnisse. 10" × 6½". Pp. iv + 120. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1921. 4s.
- Graves (C. L.)** New Times and Old Rhymes. 8" × 5½". Pp. 128. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921. Half cloth, 6s. net.
- Heath (Sir Thomas)** A History of Greek Mathematics. Vol. I. Pp. xvi + 446. Vol. II. Pp. xii + 586. 9" × 5½". Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Cloth, 50s. net.
- Heinemann (Fritz)** Plotin: Forschungen über die plotinische Frage, etc. Pp. xxiv + 318. 10" × 6½". Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1921. 10s.
- Ilberg (Professor Dr. J.)** Aus einer verlorenen Handschrift der Tardae passionis des Caelius Aurelianus. 10" × 7". Pp. 819-830. Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1921. M. 0.50.
- Jespersen (Professor O.)** Language: Its Nature, Development, and Origin. 9" × 5½". Pp. 448. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1922. Cloth, 18s. net.
- Kießling (A.)** Q. Horatius Flaccus. Pp. xlviii + 348. 8½" × 5¼". Berlin: Weidmann, 1921. M. 24.
- Kosten (W. A.)** Xenophon's Politeia as Evidence of Lacedaemonian Institutions. Thesis for Doctorate. Pp. xvi + 128. 8¾" × 5¾".
- Leaf (W.)** Little Poems from the Greek. 8" × 5¼". Pp. 94. London: Grant Richards, 1922. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Livingstone (R. W.)** The Legacy of Greece. Pp. xii + 424. 7½" × 5". Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Löfstedt (E.)** Zur Sprache Tertullians. 10" × 6½". Pp. viii + 118. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1921.
- Maas (P.)** Die neuen Responsionsprechten bei Bakchylides und Pindar. 9¼" × 6¼". Pp. 22. Berlin: Weidmann, 1921. M. 16.
- Meister (K.)** Die Homerische Kunstsprache. Pp. viii + 262. 11½" × 7¾". Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1921. M. 180 (4s.).
- Meuli (K.)** Odyssee und Argonautica. Pp. 122. 8¾" × 5¾". Berlin: Weidmann, 1921. M. 16.
- More (P. E.)** The Religion of Plato. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xiv + 352. Princetown: University Press. Oxford: University Press, 1921. Cloth, \$2.50.
- Naylor (H. D.)** Horace: Odes and Epodes. 9" × 6". Pp. xxxii + 276. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 20s. net.
- Perromat (C.)** William Wycherley. (Sa Vie, Son Oeuvre.) 10" × 6½". Pp. 468. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1921. Fr. 20.
- Plotinus.** The Ethical Treatises, translated by Stephen Mackenna. Vol. II. Pp. viii + 158. 11¼" × 8". London: P. Lee Warner, 1921. Cloth, 16s. net.
- Powell (J. U.) and Barber (E. A.)** New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature. Pp. xii + 166. 9" × 5¼". Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Rennie (W.)** Demosthenis Orationes, II. ii. 7¾" × 5¼". Chapters XXVII.-XL. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 3s. 6d. net.
- Salonius (A. H.)** Die Ursachen der Geschlechtsverschiedenheit von dies. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. 32. Helsingfors: Centralltryckeri, 1921.
- The Journal of Roman Studies.** Vol. IX., Part II. 11" × 7¾". Pp. 111-240. London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1919.
- The Loeb Classical Library: Allinson (F. G.)** Menander. Pp. xxxii + 540. **White (H. G. E.)** Ausonius. Pp. vi + 368. **Smith (C. F.)** Thucydides. Vol. III. Pp. vi + 376. **Harmon (A. M.)** Lucian. Vol. III. Pp. vi + 492. 6¼" × 4¼". **Mair (A. W.)** Callimachus and Lycophron, and **Mair (G. R.)** Aratus. One volume. Pp. viii + 644. London: William Heinemann, 1921. Cloth, 10s. net each.
- Tromp (S. P. C.)** De Romanorum Piaculis. Dissertation for Doctorate. 6½" × 9¼". Pp. viii + 160. Leyden: G. F. Theonville, 1921.
- University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature.** Vol. VI., No. 2, Part 1. Pp. 168. No. 3, Part II. Pp. 169-338. 11" × 7". Illinois: The University, 1920. \$1.50 each.
- Ure (P. N.)** The Origin of Tyranny. 9½" × 6". Pp. xii + 374. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. Cloth, 35s. net.

The Classical Review

MAY—JUNE, 1922

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

THE Report of the Prime Minister's Committee has, we believe, brought home to many people who are not classical scholars the danger of allowing Classics to die out in our schools and universities. We are glad to call attention to the following manifesto, which appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* last March over the signatures of no less than thirty-three professors and lecturers of the University of Glasgow in subjects other than Greek and Latin:

Seeing that there is real danger that the study of Latin and Greek in the schools may soon be confined to a small and select class, and because it may be thought that only the teachers of those subjects are seriously concerned with their place in general education and would consider their disappearance a disaster, we, the undersigned professors and lecturers of Glasgow University in subjects other than Latin and Greek, desire to put on record our view that the exclusion or undue restriction of these subjects would mean a great intellectual loss to the country, because, apart from their intrinsic value as a branch of human knowledge, a serious study of them at school forms an almost indispensable basis for some, and an admirable training for all, of the subjects which we represent.

We are delighted to hear that there is to be a Greek play at Bradfield this summer. The *Antigone* is to be performed by members of the College, with Dr. Roughton's music, on June 24 and 29, and July 1. We wish the producers and actors all success, and the fine weather which makes the Bradfield theatre so pleasant.

The eagerness with which Greek plays in English are welcomed is encouraging. The Greek Play matinée, organised in February by the Chiswick Education Committee, in conjunction with Sir Oswald Stoll, at the Chiswick Empire Theatre, was remarkable not only for the size of the audience—more than two thousand people—but also for the evident intelligence and appreciation with which the performance of the *Agamemnon* and the last scenes of the *Choephoroe* was received. Mr. Trevelyan's translation is uncompromising and faithful, and the performance was a serious attempt to show an English audience by an English version something of the austerity and simplicity of the original.

GREEK VERSION OF TWO EPIGRAMS.

Ich leb' und weiss nicht wie lang,
ich sterb' und weiss nicht wann,
ich fahr' und weiss nicht wohin:
mich wundert dass ich fröhlich bin.

Ζῶ—μέχρι τοῦ ; θνήσκω—πόθ' ; ὁδοιπορέω—τίνα δ' ἐς γῆν ;
θαυμ' ὅτι τῶνδ' εἰδὼς οὐδὲν ἄρ' εἴμ' ἱλαρός.

What I saved, I lost ;
What I spent, I had ;
What I gave, I have.

Ὦν κτεάνων μὲν ἐφείσω, ἀπώλεσας · ὦν δ' ἀπελαύσω,
εἶχες · τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις εἴ τι ν' ἔδωκας, ἔχεις.

H. RACKHAM.

LAMPADEDROMIA GRAECA.¹

LIKE runners in a race, the writers of these books hand on to a new generation the torches of the old Greek learning, trimmed and bright and burning. What Alexandrine scholars did in Egypt in the third century before our era, and Florentine scholars in Italy four hundred and fifty years ago, is being done again—with the old zest, but with a new purpose and in a new way—by English scholars to-day. Their purpose is new, because they are not writing for the professed student only, as their predecessors did, but for the general mass of their countrymen; and the way in which they work is new too, in the sense that they place their reliance on the mother tongue, and on translations of Greek authors into the mother tongue, for the communication of their own passion for Greek studies to the great majority of their readers. The Greek message for all: the Greek message in translation, if it cannot be had in the original—this, in a rough epitome, is the object of these books.

Of the three torches which here pass under review *The Legacy of Greece* has the largest and intensest flame. Many experts have joined in its making; and if the chapters on religion, philosophy, natural science, literature and art stand out, with a capital pre-eminence and fascination, before the reviewer's eye, the other chapters have all their eminence and their charm. Mr. James' first volume on *Our Hellenic Heritage* (a second is promised shortly) is a serious and successful attempt 'without the medium of the Greek language to communicate through general education something, and that the best, of the works of the Greek spirit.' He tells (κομψῶς καὶ χαριέντως) the tales of Greek mythology, the romance of Greek archaeological discovery, the story of Troy as told by Homer, and the story

of the Persian War as recounted by Herodotus. His book should run like fire through secondary and continuation schools. Mr. Ure's little volume on *The Greek Renaissance* carries the story of Greece to the age of the tyrants in a series of brief but most illuminating sketches. He gives some admirable illustrations; he has admirable chapters on Hesiod, the early Greek thinkers, early Greek art, and 'the rise of the capitalistic tyrants.' He writes *παύρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως*: his book is short in space, but exceedingly rich in suggestion.

The defence of Greek studies has ceased to be conducted by the vindication of privilege for the Greek language. No University now makes a knowledge of Greek the condition of entry for students. It may prove to be true that the loss of privilege has been the emancipation and the augmentation of Greek studies. The teacher of Hellenism must now put his trust in the persuasion of his own subject, which is above the persuasion of any other. He must publish abroad its charm; and I, for one, believe that when he does so he will be embarrassed by his own success. That is no reason why the legacy of Greece should not be inherited, in greater or less degree, by all who share, as children or adolescents or adults, in our national system of education. That system is only fifty years old, at the most. We have not settled what it is to be or what it is to include. It is clear that the English language will be the only language of the great majority of those who come under it. But the English language may be made to convey many things. And one thing which it can, and should, be made to convey is some knowledge of the finest things in Greek mythology, in Greek literature, and in Greek history. I can still remember the fascination it was to me, when I was a boy of about twelve, attending an elementary school, to read Dr. Smith's smaller history of Greece. I am perhaps Utopian; but I should like to learn by experiment whether others would not feel the same fascination.

¹ *The Legacy of Greece*. Essays, edited by R. W. Livingstone. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Our Hellenic Heritage. By H. R. James. London: Macmillan and Co.

The Greek Renaissance. By P. N. Ure. London: Methuen and Co.

In many ways the omens to-day are propitious to the survival of the Greek tradition in England. We have been fortunate, during the last fifty years, in a number of translations—especially of Homer and Plato and Euripides—by scholars who have shown themselves masters of style, and have given us renderings which attain the dignity and the felicity of an authorised version. More recently the Oxford Library of Translations and the Loeb Classical Library have added to our riches. Texts, even in translations, need their commentaries and interpretations; and a singularly rich and stimulating series of works of interpretation—by Burnet, Murray, Zimmern, Bevan, Farnell, and many others—has illustrated almost every aspect of Greek life and thought. Archaeological discovery, with all its wonderful finds, has increased both the sum of knowledge and the fascination of study. A new generation of classical schoolmasters is arising, to whom classical studies are not merely a matter of grammar and construe and composition, but include an interpretation of life through art and history and literature and thought. The tutorial classes, managed by joint committees of University men and trade unionists, afford the classical teachers of our Universities an opportunity for carrying to working men the treasures of which they are guardians.

We must not be too readily sanguine. Greek studies will wither unless they are rooted and grounded in a knowledge of the Greek language itself. It is conceivable that the great bulk of students of Greek life and thought may be unversed in the Greek language, and yet profit immeasurably by their studies. It is even conceivable that a number of teachers of Greek studies may have very little Greek. But it is certain that we need for our Universities an annual supply of (let us say) five hundred students, who know some Greek when they come; who will learn more Greek while they stay; who will go forth, when they have finished, to teach what they know in all places of higher learning. It is vitally necessary, therefore, that every scholarship, every prize, every incentive, that is given or

can be given to encourage the study of the Greek language should be preserved and perpetually devoted to such study. The classical scholarships of the two older Universities, in particular, cannot be diverted to other uses or studies. Nor can the State, in its grant of State scholarships, afford to be oblivious of Greek. The Greek tradition matters as much to its life, on the most modest computation, as natural science or modern languages. These have their obvious uses. The use of an understanding of Greek civilisation may be less obvious; but when one reflects on the spiritual affinities between that civilisation and our own, one realises that its understanding may be the cause and the giver of the profoundest of spiritual benefits.

The affinity between Greek civilisation and our own is indeed a remarkable thing. How often, during the late war, did the funeral speech of Pericles over the fallen Athenians come home to Englishmen as the fundamental exposition of their own deepest convictions! I have seen sentences from it carved round the public library of a northern town: I have seen phrases from it carved on memorial crosses and memorial tablets. This is not due to the classical scholar's aptitude for quotation. It is due to a far deeper cause—to men's realisation that, in the revolving of the ages, the great Greek age has come parallel and close to our own, and stands as its counterpart and fellow. Croce has taught us how each age has its analogue in the past; how it can understand its analogue with a peculiar and sympathetic understanding; how it understands itself by understanding its analogue. There have been ages in our past, such as the Puritan, when our analogue was Hebrew; there have been other ages, such as the eighteenth century, when it has been Roman. To-day is the day of the Greek analogue; and because it is, Greek history is for us contemporary history—our own history, writ in simple understandable letters. I would subscribe entirely to some pregnant words in Mr. Livingstone's preface to *The Legacy of Greece*. 'For these reasons we are to-day in a position, as no other age has been, to

understand Ancient Greece, . . . and in studying the ideals and fortunes of men with whom we have so much in common, to gain a fuller power of understanding and estimating our own.'

We must study the history of Greek democracy, because we are repeating, 'as in a glass,' its vicissitudes and its problems. We must study the history of Greek philosophy, because, as the Dean of St. Paul's explains, in his essay on Greek religion in Mr. Livingstone's volume, it is part and parcel of our Christian thought; because again, as Professor Burnet shows in another essay in the same volume, it stood in those relations to science, to mysticism, and to the practical life, in which philosophy is coming again to stand in our own days. But while we have thus to study the Greek past because it is like us, we have also, at any rate in one field, to study it because it is unlike us. This is the field of art. Greek art had its canons of beauty; and at its best it followed those canons—alike in temple construction and in statuary; alike in dramatic and in musical composition—with an undeviating simplicity and austerity. Philosophers might dispute about the custodians and arbiters of these canons: Plato might contend, as he does in the *Laws*, that the judges are only 'the best and the most educated,' and Aristotle might rejoin, as he does in the *Politics*, that 'the many are better judges of musical compositions and works of poetry.' In any case the canons were there: the issue only concerned their application. It would be hard to say that we had any canons at all to-day. Architecture strays hither and thither: the standard of the drama varies with the writer: painting oscillates from one 'ism' to another: poetry makes excursions into free verse. No doubt the fixed canons of the Greeks—

prescribing exactly what a Doric temple should be, or what a tragedy should be like—might limit imagination: no doubt their absence in modern times makes all manner of inventions possible. But freedom, after all—alike in the world of politics and in the world of art—has to make its accommodation with law, and flourishes most when it moves most definitely in the area of freely-accepted restraint. We need rules alike for our statesmen and our artists; and here we may well go to school with the Greeks.

If the few need rules—the few who produce—still more do the many who consume. It would not be easy for Aristotle to ascribe a faculty of artistic judgment to the many of these days. It is a new many who have emerged—from mine and forge and workshop—into the upper air, to look at the world of art. They have come without canons, or knowledge of canons. The many of whom Aristotle spoke could readily judge a play in the theatre. We cannot say that of our modern many. We cannot say it of the middle class, with its taste for revues and musical comedies. We are in a state of chaos in these matters, without form, or conception of form. We are a long way below France; we are below Germany. We all need to go humbly to school. If we do so, there is one schoolmaster of art, who has fixed the form and set the canons through all the centuries. He may be beyond us, or incongruous with us. Greek restraint, Greek severity, Greek irony, may not suit our Gothic tastes, or our more flowing and luxuriant genius. But they are eternally worth understanding. If ever they deserved study, they deserve it to-day. If we would be saved from chaos, we must turn to their study.

ERNEST BARKER.

THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE OF SHIPS.¹

FROM the heights of Olympus Mr. Allen has condescended to launch his bolts against me! I, poor mortal—lower

indeed than a mortal, a mere 'modern financier' (p. 158)—what can I do but quail before the 'fulminantis magna manus Jovis'? Yet amid the hurtle I look about me and still hold up my head: 'impavidum ferient ruinae.'

¹ *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*. Edited with a Commentary. By Thomas W. Allen. Oxford, 1921.

For when I come to look, I find that Mr. Allen is writing not for this despicable earth, but for that world of the gods whose ways are not as our ways, whose logic and whose rules of evidence bear no relation to ours, a world of relativity which scorns the limits of our Euclidean space. Facts are stated as facts which to us appear to be true only in transcendental regions, if indeed in them; conclusions are drawn in one direction from premisses which to us poor worms seem to lead directly to the contrary, and indeed to be mutually self-destructive. One can only gaze and wonder, without attempting to argue on matters where we have no common basis of evidence or logic.

Let us take an instance. In Olympus, it would seem, the Boeotians and Thessalians are regarded as Dorian tribes. That, of course, is not so in our terrene sphere. 'By Dorian,' says Mr. Allen (p. 22), 'I understand the race which we find the governing clan in Thessaly, Boeotia, Megara, Argos, Lacedaemon.' Then comes some Olympian evidence; we are referred to certain passages in Pindar which, according to our Jove, declare 'that Spartans and Thessalians are the same stock.' But mortals have their way of looking up quotations; and to our humble intelligences the passages in Pindar say something wholly different. They say that the Herakleid nobility of Thessaly and Boeotia are akin to the Herakleid royal families of Sparta—as is indeed obvious enough. This appears to be sufficient for Olympus; but down here we have to ask whether two important links in the chain are not missing. It is generally held here in the first place that the royal families of Sparta were not the 'governing clan'—the ephors were there to see to that—and in the second that they were not Dorians. I do not know if Herodotus is admitted to the higher circles; Thucydides plainly is not. But if he is, I might suggest to Mr. Allen to look up the familiar words which are recorded to have been spoken by one of the most famous of Spartan kings, ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός. Note the first ἀλλά, the pained surprise of Cleomenes that even a woman could

be guilty of so elementary a mistake as to think he was a Dorian. So that Pindar, to our mortal understanding, seems to prove conclusively, if proof be needed, that Thessalians and Spartans were not of the same stock. Let us further notice that if Mr. Allen can prove Thessalians and Boeotians to be Dorian, he will at the same time triumphantly refute his main thesis, that the Catalogue, in which they undoubtedly appear, is pre-Dorian.

Thucydides plainly, I say, is not admitted to the fellowship of the gods, or regarded as in any way worthy of consideration where matters of Greek history are at stake. In *Homer and History*, p. 196, I quoted from Thucydides his view as to the power of Agamemnon, giving the passage in full, and arguing at some length in favour of it. When Mr. Allen comes to discuss the question (p. 71), he serenely (or, shall I say, with a modified serenity) wholly ignores Thucydides. But he goes further than this; for on p. 170 he writes that the view which I had expressly said was taken from Thucydides is 'a misapprehension of Meyer's, and has been exploited for his purposes by Mr. Leaf.' It may suit Olympian canons of fair dealing to suppress the name of Thucydides in order to raise against me the prejudice of copying a new-fangled theory 'made in Germany.' But in this world it is hardly regarded as playing the game.

But with the gods it is vain to argue, so I pass on, merely asking those who are interested in the subject and wish for advance in our knowledge of it, not in any case to accept Mr. Allen's statement either of facts or arguments without first testing them in comparison with mine. I have no fear of the result.

So let us get to serious matters. Mr. Allen has in his book two new points which deserve thorough consideration. The first concerns the position of Corinth in Mycenaean Greece; and on this Mr. Allen publishes the highly interesting and important new evidence which Mr. Wace has obtained by his association with the American School at Athens in their research for prehistoric sites in Corinth and its neighbourhood.

When *Homer and History* was written, the only prehistoric site known in the district was Corinth; now no less than nine new sites have been discovered.

The first thing that strikes one is that the situation as regards Corinth itself is unchanged. Mr. Shewan was clearly misinformed when he wrote (C.R. XXXII. p. 2) of 'the promising Mycenaean settlement recently uncovered at Corinth.' It is plain that no such settlement has been uncovered. 'Very few Mycenaean sherds have been found,' writes Mr. Wace. 'We must wait for more research before we can say with certainty that the Atridae inhabited the same spot,' adds Mr. Allen. Mr. Wace suggests that 'probably the Mycenaean layer has been much, if not entirely, upset by temple-builders.' But it must be remembered that what Mr. Allen wants is not a mere settlement but a 'central acropolis,' Agamemnon's capital, compared to which Mycenae was a mere 'summer-palace.' It must be therefore at least as big as Mycenae, with walls and palaces; and all the evidence we have goes to show that 'the temple-builders' on such a site did not touch the walls, and could not annihilate the palaces, whether at Mycenae or Hisarlik, any more than the Byzantine church-builders could at Tiryns. However, as Mr. Allen is content to wait, I am willing to do so with more confidence than ever. A settlement which could be wiped out by a single temple will not in any case prove much; and repeated examination has made the probability of its discovery very remote indeed.

But the new evidence goes much further than this. Let us see how Mr. Allen treats it. This is what he says: 'that a dynasty and race who built ports and valley and hill-villages round a central acropolis inhabited the acropolis is a moral certainty. Even without the excavations, the argument would have been as true.' If this is meant to apply to the pre-Mycenaean dynasties and races, it is perfectly irrelevant; for the existence of a pre-Mycenaean settlement at Corinth is agreed on all sides, though whether it is what can be called a 'central

acropolis' is still to be proved. I think it unlikely, for so far as I know no fortifications have been found, and the site of Corinth is ill adapted for an acropolis. But if it is intended to refer to Mycenaean times, then it is a case of what the gods, it would seem, call logic, but men call begging the question; for the existence at that time of a 'central acropolis' is precisely the point at issue.

But no thunderbolts must deter mortals from looking at the evidence which Mr. Allen thus airily brushes aside. And the result of a single glance is surprising. For, so far as the evidence goes, it appears that of the ten sites found only three give evidence of occupation in Mycenaean times—those at Korako, Gonia, and the site on the Longopotamo which, as I learn from Mr. Wace, is named Aietopetra. In other words, 70 per cent. of the sites in the district which were inhabited in pre-Mycenaean times seem to have been abandoned in the Mycenaean period.

Now observe the enormous strength which this fact adds to the previously negative evidence from Corinth itself. Corinth is no longer an isolated case of a site which was deserted in Mycenaean days; it is one of a number, and the evidence shows that some large cause was at work to reduce the population of the whole district in the days of the Pelopid dynasty. Now put the evidence into Mr. Allen's pronouncement, and see what it becomes: 'that a race and dynasty who abandoned ports and valley and hill-villages round a central acropolis abandoned the acropolis is a moral certainty.' In that form the logical process is, I think, impeccable, and for Mr. Allen cogent.

But we may examine the evidence a little more closely. It would seem to indicate that the population of the district was on the whole similar to that of the present day, with its deserted Corinth. There is one centre of population at Korako, corresponding to New Corinth, which is not far from Korako on the same seashore. There is a village at Gonia, just as to-day there are villages scattered over the more fertile parts of the plateau. But there

is one new fortress found at Aietopetra, and to this I would direct special attention.

It may be remembered that an essential part of my theory was that in Mycenaean times the place of Corinth was taken by the Homeric Ephyre. After a full examination of the available evidence I came to the conclusion that Ephyre was a short distance from Corinth in the direction of Sicyon, in the valley of one or other of the streams which flow between the two, the stream which Strabo calls by the Homeric name of Selleis without giving enough information to enable us to identify it exactly (*H. and H.* 218). I therefore left the exact position of Ephyre open in my text. But when I came to make my map I had to be definite—for I did not wish to leave out so important a name as Ephyre—and after full consideration chose the stream nearest Corinth, the modern Longopotamo; and on the right bank of this, about four miles from the mouth, where the hills fall to the plain, I put my 'Ephyre?' as anyone may see.

Now it is exactly at this spot¹—on the small scale of the map I hardly think it could have been nearer—that the Americans and Mr. Wace have found at Aietopetra 'a fine acropolis . . . with early Helladic, Minyan, and Mycenaean pottery.' Could I wish for anything better? Mr. Allen kindly suggests that my maps may be improved. I agree with him; I think it will be a distinct improvement to omit the note of interrogation after 'Ephyre.' And I may suggest to Mr. Allen that he has here got what he so much needs, the 'acropolis' for which Corinth so persistently declines to give any proof. And here I must leave Corinth with my best thanks to Mr. Wace for supplying evidence which so unexpectedly confirms my theory in every detail. It is a real satisfaction to have found Ephyre with the Minyan pottery to bear witness to Sisyphus and the Mycenaean to Homer's Euphetes (*Iliad* XV. 530). It almost makes me wonder

whether even poor Mr. Leaf and 'people of this mental habit,' as Jove so majestically thunders (p. 110), may not have their moments of intuition.

But Mr. Allen has another novelty to give us. For some reason which is not plain he has a grudge against the sea; and in particular, undeterred by the pre-Homeric legend of the Argonauts, has made up his mind that Homer knew nothing of the Euxine. But he was face to face with the awkward fact that the Trojan Catalogue names several towns in Paphlagonia, all of which are maritime. He boldly determines to expunge them from the text in the interest of his preconception. It has been pointed out to him that, in the course of a long list of geographical blunders which Strabo imputes to Apollodorus following Eratosthenes, he mentions that of saying that the communications of Paphlagonia with the Troad in Homeric times lay overland and not by sea—precisely what Mr. Allen says. Finding himself in the same dock with the accused, Mr. Allen tries to defend them, and himself, by the bold hypothesis that Apollodorus and Eratosthenes did not read the lines. But as that would be no defence for him, he has to go further, and say that the lines (*Iliad* II. 852- or 853-5) were not in the vulgate text at all in the days of Eratosthenes, but only crept in between the days of Apollodorus and Strabo.

For all this he does not give one shred of evidence. Strabo does not say that the criminals at the bar did not read the lines; on the contrary, his case is that they did read them, but did not understand them; or plainly there could be no accusation of geographical ignorance. They had the lines, but did not know that the towns named in them were maritime—that is his case. So Strabo is a witness against Mr. Allen.

And Mr. Allen cannot say that Strabo is not a competent witness to the text. For it happens that at this very point he devotes particular attention to it. It is exactly here that he notes two lines which Callisthenes, an older critic than Eratosthenes, proposed to introduce into the text, but which

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Wace for information as to the exact site. It lies a little east of the river instead of being actually on the bank.

never got into the vulgate; so that he was clearly on the watch for the foisting in of unauthorised additions. And it is moreover at this very point that he names the authorities on which, as a cautious critic, he relies—namely, the ancient MSS.; after noting various conjectural readings on 857 he adds ἡ μεταγραφὴ δὲ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων τῶν ἀρχαίων πίστιν καινοτομουμένη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον σχεδιασμῶι ἔοικεν. Until Mr. Allen can produce the transcendental authority on which he relies, we need hardly concern ourselves with his new discovery. It is hardly worth while even to point out that the addition of a couplet to the vulgate between the days of Apollodorus and Strabo is not merely unexampled; it is revolutionary, and would involve a re-writing of all that has been ascertained about the history of Alexandrian criticism. Under the circumstances one may admire Mr. Allen's daring, but need not greatly concern ourselves with it. Even Olympus, it would seem, has its mare's nests.

But Mr. Allen gives us an Apparatus Criticus of the Catalogue, in the course of which he has to do with these particular lines; and as he is basing a revolutionary theory on them, it is to be assumed that at this point he will show a meticulous accuracy in his critical foundation. Let us see. We will have the lines and the Apparatus concerning them before us:

Παφλαγόνων δ' ἡγήτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ	851
ἐξ Ἑνετῶν, ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων,	2
οἱ ῥα Κύτῳρον ἔχον καὶ Σήσαμον ἀμφενέμοντο	3
ἀμφὶ τε Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον	4
Κρῶμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλὸν τε καὶ ὕψηλοὺς Ἑρυθρίους.	5

'852-5 non legerunt Eratosthenes et Apollodorus ap. Strabonem 298, 553. 852 ἐξ Ἑνετῆς Zen. 853 κύδωρον qu. Eu. 854 ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο Strabo 590 Eu. 855 Αἰγιαλὸν τε] Κωβιάδον τε v.l. ap. Strab. 545, Steph. in Αἰγιαλός Eu. κωβιάδον sch. Ap. Rhod. ii. 942: Κωβίαν Steph. n v. Αἰγιαλός: κωβιάδον κρῶμναν τε καὶ ἰλλήντα ἰκτύωρον Apollodorus ap. Strab. κρῶμναν Zen. Eu. 147. 28.'

Now the first thing to notice is that Mr. Allen starts off by stating as a fact, 'non legerunt,' what is at best a guess. But an Apparatus Criticus which confuses facts and conjectures is an offence against the very foundations of criticism. That is bad enough; but it appears that Mr. Allen himself does not believe in

his own statement, for when he comes to defend it on p. 157 he speaks not of 852-5 but of 853-5, and on p. 158 he adds: 'The original Paphlagonian entry appears to have consisted of lines 851 and 852 only.' So that line 852 in one place is 'not read,' while in the other it is part of the original entry. Which does Mr. Allen really mean? Till he can convince himself it is not likely that any appearance of confidence on his part will convince anyone else, and in the meantime he leaves a positive statement in his Apparatus which he denies in his text.

Possibly one can see ground for his vacillation. On line 852 there is a duly recorded and very interesting variant of Zenodotos—Ἑνετῆς for Ἑνετῶν. Now if Zenodotos had a variant on the line, it is clear that he had the line; therefore it was in the text before the days of Apollodorus or Eratosthenes. If that is Mr. Allen's reason, it is curious that he should not have thought of such a simple test of his hypothesis before recording it in his Apparatus.

Now let us pass to the last item in the Apparatus, merely noting on the way as a defect in craftsmanship the wrong lemma on 855: it should be τ' Αἰγιαλόν, not Αἰγιαλόν τε. How about the entry 'κρῶμναν, Zen. Eu. 147. 28'? Here Mr. Allen errs by defect; though he specialises in MSS., he omits to give the MS. authority for this variant. If he has not got it in his own collations, he was at liberty to take it from mine, where it is duly recorded. Then the reference to Eustathius is wrong—at least, there is nothing remotely bearing on the name of Kroma or Kromna at the given page and line of the Roman edition, which should, by convention, be used. Nor can I, in the three printed editions I have consulted, find any sign that Eustathius did read κρῶμναν in the only passage which bears on these lines. Still, it is highly probable he did so; for one of the MSS. which give it is my 'J' (B. M. Harley 1771), and this, as I have pointed out, is a representative of the text which Eustathius used. So I only ask for a correct reference to show that Eustathius had the variant.

What Eustathius read is, however, not of much interest. But it is otherwise with 'Zen.' A new variant by Zenodotus is always of interest, and this is a new variant. I can find no trace of it in the places where one would have expected it; I have consulted the facsimile of A, and it is not there. Mr. Allen himself knew nothing of it when he published his 1908 edition of the text and Apparatus Criticus of the *Iliad*—at least, he did not record it. Where does it come from? I await the answer with great interest, because, if it appears that Zenodotus really had this variant, it will follow that the theory of the non-existence of line 855 in the vulgate in the days of Eratosthenes will be finally confuted, and out of Mr. Allen's own mouth.

But this is not the unkindest trick that has been played on Mr. Allen by the Genius of Error who presides over his studies. It is needless to challenge him to contradict himself, for he has done it without a challenge. We look back half a line, and find to our amazement that Apollodorus, who 'did not read' line 855 at all, is quoted in full—'Apollodorus ap. Strab.'—for what appears to be meant for a variant of it. At all events it is clear that he knew the names of two at least of the Paphla-

gonian towns which Mr. Allen is anxious to prove that he ignored, and with that, it would seem, Mr. Allen's whole conjecture about lines 852 (or 853, whichever he means) to 855 goes by the board.

But I am not sure that the case is so simple. Mr. Allen gives no reference to the page of Strabo where this remarkable statement occurs, and I cannot verify it; but I can give him a reference to a passage where there do occur the very words he attributes to Apollodorus. They are to be found in Apollonius Rhodius ii. 942, and are in fact the line which Mr. Allen has just named when quoting the scholion on it. One might charitably suppose that the substitution of Apollodorus for Apollonius was a printer's error, were it not for the addition of 'ap. Strab.' It can hardly be imagined that 'ap. Strab.' is a mere misprint for 'ii. 942.'

The tangle is a mystery to me, and I must leave it to Mr. Allen to explain. I can only suppose that in the aetherial plane on which Mr. Allen works, the plane where Thessalians are Dorian, Apollodorus and Apollonius have attained a transcendental identity, and that in non-Euclidean regions contradictions are resolved in some astral harmony.

WALTER LEAF.

DR. VÜRTHEIM'S *STESICHORUS*.¹

IT once marked the boor not to know τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου; it now almost passes the wit of the learned to distinguish οἱ τρεῖς Στησίχοροι. The evidence, given by Wilamowitz in his *Sappho und Simonides*, seems to him to indicate, first, Stesichorus of Himera, contemporary with Phalaris; secondly, Teisias of Locri, called—after him?—Stesichorus, who migrated to Greece in 485, wrongly called of Himera; thirdly, a poet calling himself Stesichorus, who 'won at Athens' in 369. To which of these are we to ascribe the extant fragments? It is easy to rule out number three; Wilamowitz

hesitates between number one and number two; Dr. Vürtheim throws over the *Marmor Parium*, eliminates number two, and plumps, as we should all like to do, for number one. And yet, however we settle this question, we are left lamenting. The same fate that has denied us clear evidence of the man's identity has preserved us so little of his work. The interest of what remains lies in the sphere of sources, art - parallels, mythology—questions such as, Who invented the εἶδωλον Ἑλένης?—furnishing excellent pabulum for our modern Didymuses, but a poor meal for the humanist who simply wants to know why his more fortunate brother 'Longinus' called this poet Ὀμηρικότατος, and how it was that the

¹ *Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie*, von Dr. J. Vürtheim, Ord. Prof. an der Universität, Leiden, 1919. 16 × 23 cm. Pp. 112.

elder Pliny could approve a story which likened his song to that of the nightingale.

What there is to do Dr. Vürtheim has done extremely well. His book is a complete annotated edition of all the existing fragments, with the contexts in which they are quoted and all the passages which throw light on the poems wholly lost, and includes an excellent βίος containing all the important data. If we may take as our standard of comparison Bergk's posthumous edition of the *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, Dr. Vürtheim's work, apart from the Life, differs from Bergk's in laying greater stress on the exegesis and less on the textual criticism, in fuller reconstructions of the contents of the various poems, and in more serious attempts to find sources in the poet's predecessors and derivatives in his successors. Among the lesser—and therefore more quotable—notabilia we may mention these: On fr. 9 of the 'Ιλίου Πέρσις (72 Bergk) the editor concludes that the composer of the Δευτέρα Νέκυια used the poem of Stesichorus. In fr. 9 of the 'Ορεστέα (42 Bergk), Clytemnestra's dream,

τῇ δὲ δράκων ἐδόκησε μολεῖν κάρα βεβρωτῶμένος ἄκρον·
ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῦ βασιλεὺς Πηλεΐσθευιδᾶς ἐφάνη,

he takes the puzzling βασιλεὺς Πηλεΐσθευιδᾶς neither as Agamemnon nor—definitely—as Orestes, but as 'a king of Pleisthenes' line,' not, that is, of the new dynasty of Aegisthus. The Καλύκα, 'Ραδινά, and Δάφνις he holds with Mancuso to have been genuine poems of Stesichorus. On fr. 7 of the Ἑλένα (32 Bergk) he points out that Horace's *perambulabis astra sidus aureum* (*Epod.* 17) indicates that Stesichorus thus apotheosised Helen, comparing Eur. *Hel.* 1666 and *Or.* 1636; and that the supplication (*victi prece*) was Helen's to her brothers, who were regarded by the Romans (schol. Pers. 2. 56) and apparently by some of the Greeks (Suid. s.v. Φορμίων; Rendel Harris, *The Dioscuri in Christian Legend*, p. 1) as healers. In No. 27 of the unplaced fragments he suggests that 'Αἴος (ὄνομα παρὰ Στησιχόρῳ) is the ἥμε Φοῖβε of *Il.* 15. 365 which Boisacq explains as *matutinus*. On the Σκύλλα fragment (13 Bgk.),

Στησίχορος δὲ ἐν τῇ Σκύλλῃ Λαμίας τὴν Σκύλλαν φησὶ θυγατέρα εἶναι, where Cod. Laur. inserts εἶδους τινός before Λαμίας, Dr. Vürtheim rightly rejects Waser's view (in Roscher's *Lexikon*) that εἶδους is equivalent to εἰδώλου and that εἰδῶλον can mean a monster, and reads Εἰδοὺς τινές as a gloss meaning 'according to some authorities, daughter of Eido (i.e., Eidothea).' The identification with Eidothea is due to Bergk, but his reading Εἰδοὺς τινός as part of the text is surely impossible.

The reader will find agreement more difficult in the following passages. In fr. 4 of the Ἀθλα (4 Bgk.)

χειροβρῶτι δεσμῷ

Dr. Vürtheim sees a reference to Prometheus, suggesting βέλτιον δὲ τὸν <τοῦ Δεσμώτου Προμηθέως> δεσμὸν ἀκούειν τὸν ἀποβιβρῶσκοντα τῷ χεῖρει, ἐδέθη γὰρ ἐν τινι πέτρῃ. This fails in not accounting for the MS. reading πετραίῳ, which Bergk's ἐν τινι πέτρῃ ἢ Τυρῷ does. It is true that Bergk's suggestion is based on a corrupt passage in *Anth. Pal.* 3. 9,¹ but Tyro, as being the mother of Pelias, has a *prima facie* connexion with the theme of the poem, and we cannot say the same for the sufferings of Prometheus. Fr. 5 of the 'Ιλίου Πέρσις (20 Bgk.) is a scholion on Eur. *Andr.* 10 (ἦ τις πόσιν μὲν Ἐκτορ' ἐξ Ἀχιλλεύς | θανόντ' ἐσεῖδον, παῖδά θ' ὄν τίκτω πόσει | ῥιφέντα πύργων Ἀστυάνακτ' ἀπ' ὀρθίων), 'Lysanias [MSS. *Λυσίμαχος*] finds fault with Euripides for taking wrongly Homer's phrase ἦ τις Ἀχαιῶν | ῥίψει χειρὸς ἑλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου (*Il.* 24. 734), which [insert δ] is not actually going to happen, but is conjectured by Andromache as possible, just as she might have said "the child will be burnt to death," or the like'; and then Ξάνθον δὲ τὸν τὰ Λυδιακὰ συντάξαντά φασιν ὅτι Εὐριπίδης σύνθηες προσέχειν περὶ τοῖς Τρωϊκοῖς . . . τοῖς δὲ χρησιμωτέροις . . . φοῖς. Στησίχορον

¹ We should perhaps emend the first couplet thus: ἦνιδε μητρυνοῖσιν (adj.) ἐπὶ σπειρήμασι Τυρῷ | Σαλμωνεῖ γενετῇ τῷδ' ὑποτασσομένα (MS. μητέρα τρηχέοισιν ἐπὶ σπείρημα σιδήρῳ and ὑποτασσομένῳ), taking σιδήρῳ, i.e. Σιδηρῷ, and μητέρα as incorporated glosses. We must have a verb, or its equivalent, if we do not presume a lacuna. See further *Bursian's Jahresberichte*, 1920, pp. 192-3.

μέντοι ἱστορεῖν [MSS. Στησίχορος and ἱστορεῖ] ὅτι τεθνήκοι καὶ τὸν τὴν Περσίδα συντεταχότα . . . ποιητὴν ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχους ριφείη. The passage is of course corrupt and mutilated; but the first clause can hardly mean 'nun behaupten zwar manche, dass Xanthos in seinen Lydiaka die Troika ganz in euripideischer Weise behandelt hatte.' Is it not rather, 'But it is said that it was Xanthus whom Euripides [reading Εὐριπίδῃ] generally relied on for [the facts of] the Trojan War'?

The following corrections should be made in a second edition: On p. 21 (l. 2 from bottom) read 'Suid. s.v. ἀρύβαλλος,' not 'ἀρύβαλλος,' which is a different article. On p. 94 (l. 1) for ὀρχησται read ὄρχηται. On p. 93 (bottom) ἀτέρυπνος, which appears as the editor's suggestion, really occurs in the latter part—not quoted—of the same article in the *Etymologicum Gudianum*. On p. 46 (top) the statement about Stesichorus' representation of Heracles is not due to Aelian—as the reader might suppose—but to Megacleides *ap.* Ath. 12. 512 f.

Dr. Vürtheim takes the Παλινωδία to have been a continuation of the Ἑλένα. The present writer inclines to the view that it was a new προοίμιον to it, and would combine the famous

Plato fragment (32 Bergk) with those preserved by Zonaras and Aristides (47 and 46 Bergk). The new poem, or rather the corrected poem, would then begin—after something in the nature of a vocative—thus:

μάτας εἶπον *¹ μέτειμι δ' ἐφ' ἕτερον προοίμιον.
οὐκ ἔστ' ἔντυμος λόγος οὗτος·
οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν εὐσέλμοις
οὐδ' ἔκεο πέργραμμα Τροίας.

This view is not really incompatible with such expressions as ὁ πρότερος λόγος used by Philostratus, *Apoll.* 6. 11, or Dio Chrysostom's ἐν τῇ ὑστερον ᾠδῇ (11. 40), whereas Dr. Vürtheim has to take the former as 'the earlier part of his poem,' and for the latter to read ἐν τῇ ὑστέρᾳ ᾠδῇ, and take it as 'the later part.' But these are matters of opinion. The reader rises from the perusal of Dr. Vürtheim's book with a far clearer—or shall we say much less obscure?—notion both of the poet's works and of their place in the history of Greek literature; and after all that has been written on the subject,² to produce this effect is a real achievement.

J. M. EDMONDS.

¹ MSS. here εἰπὼν: Miller *Mél.* 212 εἶπεν

² See the bibliography given by Mancuso, *La Lirica Classica Greca in Sicilia e nella Magna Grecia*, Pisa, 1912, p. 155.

THE XENOPHONTINE CYNEGETICUS.

I.

THE *Cynegeticus* appears at first sight to be a well-ordered and systematic treatise. It begins with an elaborate and highly artificial prologue, and ends with an equally elaborate and hardly less artificial epilogue. On examining the technical part that lies between these two extremes, one is astonished to find a complete absence of arrangement and orderly sequence in the various topics with which the author deals. At the outset he does not say what branches of hunting he proposes to explain; incidentally, and as it were by accident, he mentions the hare for the first time in c. iii.¹ He does not say whether the breeds of hound

recommended in c. iii. are for hare-hunting only or for hunting in general. In his description of boar nets (c. x.) he gives details that must have applied equally to the nets employed in hunting the hare (c. ii.). The keeper of hounds (κυναγωγός) is mentioned only in connection with the red deer (c. ix.); like the net-catcher's cudgel, his existence is overlooked in the section on hare-hunting. In c. ii. the author sets out to describe and explain the use of everything needed for (hare) hunting, but he does not fulfil his promise. In a corrupt passage in c. xiii. § 6, he apparently admits his lack of literary skill.²

² οὐ λανθάνει δέ με ὅτι <τὰ μὴ> καλῶς καὶ ἐξῆς γεγραμμένα φήσει τις ἴσως τῶν τοιούτων οὐ καλῶς οὐδ' ἐξῆς γεγράφθαι· ῥάδιον γὰρ ἔσται αὐτοῖς <τὸ> ταχὺ <καὶ>? μὴ ὀρθῶς μέμψασθαι· καίτοι

¹ G. Körte, *Hermes* 53, p. 316 f.

Much will be explained by the hypothesis that the *Cynegeticus* gradually assumed its present shape under the author's hand. Probably he began with a pamphlet on hare-hunting. But he must have stated the subject of this pamphlet; for otherwise it is inconceivable that he should describe three kinds of nets (c. ii. § 4 f.) without saying to what branch of hunting they are appropriate. The place for this statement of the subject is c. ii. § 2, where the text shows signs of something lost.¹ Subsequently he jotted down these sections on the red deer and the boar; and probably—again at different times—added the prologue and epilogue.

II.

In order to understand the use of the nets, it is necessary to combine the details given in the sections on the hare and the boar.² For hare-hunting you want—(1) purse nets (ἄρκυες), (2) road nets (ἐνόδια), (3) hayes (δίκτυα). The boar nets are also called ἄρκυες; and whatever applies to boar nets applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to purse nets.

1. The *purse net* was provided with a bag (κεκρύφαλος). The older English commentators—e.g., Dansey and Yates—understood that this apparatus was a projecting tunnel or purse made in the net,³ and was not formed, like the

γέγραπται γε οὕτως ἵνα ὀρθῶς ἔχη. It cannot be maintained after Rademacher's exhaustive studies that this chapter is not by the man who wrote the rest of the treatise.

¹ ὅσα δὲ καὶ οἷα δεῖ παρεσκευασμένον ἔλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸ φράσω. Then, after a Xenophontine remark, he goes on: χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄρκυωρὸν, etc. The transition is so abrupt that we may suspect the loss or deletion of a sentence before χρὴ.

² This was perceived by Otto Manns, whose monographs, *Über die Jagd bei den Griechen* (1888-90), form the basis of all subsequent treatment. But Manns goes too far when he puts together all the details given about *all* the nets, and evolves a description of a hunting net that applies to all kinds, maintaining that there was no difference in principle, but only in size and strength. He therefore thinks that ἐνόδια and δίκτυα, as well as ἄρκυες, were 'fall nets.' The author of the article *Jagd* in Pauly-Wissowa and Dr. Enk in his edition of Grattius do not commit themselves to this view.

³ So Pollux seems to understand; and of course we compare the *cassis* in Grattius.

κόλπος of the boar net, only when the net was set up. The form of the instruction in c. vi. § 7—ἐπαίρων εἰς μέσον τὸν κεκρύφαλον—lends support to this view.⁴

The height of the purse net is not stated; no doubt there was a standard height generally recognised. (The same is true of the boar net.) The measurements given are approximately—*width of mesh*, 6 inches; *length of net*, 45 inches; *length of main supports*, 30 inches. These indications show that the net would stand about 25 inches high; and we may infer that the standard height of the net when fully extended was some 30 inches.⁵

What were the cords—περίδρομοι—of the purse nets?⁶ In all the other nets they run along the top and bottom. But the text contains no instructions for the attachment of such cords to the purse nets. The περίδρομοι are to be attached to the top and bottom selvedge of road nets and hayes (ii. § 6), and to be run through the top and bottom row of the meshes of boar nets (x. § 2). But in the purse nets they appear to have run round the κεκρύφαλος, which occupied nearly the whole surface of the net. The purpose of the big stone (vi. § 8) was to anchor this cord to the ground.⁷

It follows from this explanation of περίδρομοι that purse nets were set up separately, not combined in a series.

Of the main supports (σχαλίδες), the author says (c. ii. 7): αὐταὶ δ' ἐνπερίσπαστοι τὰ ἄκρα καὶ [αὐταὶ] λείαι. This implies that these stakes are to be different from those of the other nets; they are to be grooved at the top, not forked, so that the net will readily fall off. The words that follow, δίκρα ἔχουσαι μικρά, τὰ ἐντμήματα μὴ βαθέα, do not apply to the purse net.

The net keeper is warned (c. vi. § 8) not to drive the stakes too deep into

⁴ Contrast c. x. 7, of the boar net, τῆς δὲ ἄρκυος αὐτῆς μακρὸν προήκοντα κόλπον ποιεῖν.

⁵ According to Manns 5 feet, as recommended for road nets and hayes.

⁶ περικείμεσαν δὲ τοὺς περιδρόμους ἀναμμάτων, ii. § 4. This is the correct version. ὑφέισθωσαν is due to a lacuna, which was filled by a comparison with c. x. § 2.

The author does not say how the περίδρομοι of road nets and hayes were made fast.

the ground, and to make sure that the net is well extended—not allowed to sag excessively.¹

There is a difficulty about the meaning of c. vi. § 7 ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρας (τὰς σχαλίδας) ἴσους τοὺς βρόχους ἐπιβαλλέτω. If the writer means that each pair of stakes is to support an equal number of meshes, he must be thinking of a series of nets joined together. But each net contains only seven complete meshes in its length; it is obvious that the stakes would stand at the juncture of each pair of nets, and that each pair of stakes would support an equal number of meshes. Probably ἴσους means equal in height,² and the reference is to the two extreme meshes in the top row of a single net.

After setting up the nets of all three kinds, the net keeper is to mount guard at the purse nets, going round them to see that none is bending the stake so as to slip off it.³

2. Road nets and hayes were about 5 feet (ii. 5) high. The stakes for the road nets—or at least the largest of them (ii. 7)—are also 5 feet long. Therefore the road nets stood at their full available height—say 4½ feet—at the stakes. The stakes for the hayes were 45 inches long. Therefore the hayes, when in place, stood not more than 40 inches high. The only evidence for the view that the road nets and hayes were intended to fall on the hare lies in the words δίκρα ἔχουσαι μικρά, τὰ ἐντμήματα μὴ βαθέα (ii. 7)—the forks of the stakes are to be small and shallow. Why? so that the nets might fall off the stakes, says Manns. But the length of the nets makes this answer more than doubtful. A single road net might be 30 feet long, and a single haye 180 feet long. Moreover, two or more of these nets were connected in a continuous series (vi. 9). It is, to be sure, by no means clear at first sight to which nets the words just cited apply—to all three kinds, to road nets and

hayes, or to the last only. I think they apply to the hayes only. As we have seen, the stakes of the hayes were only 45 inches long. The larger and deeper the forks, the lower the hayes would stand.

The lengths prescribed for road nets and hayes show that they had nothing corresponding to the κεκρύφαλος of the ἄρκυς.

In two passages, vi. 12, ἰστάναι τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα, and 26, ἀνελόντα τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα, we miss a reference to the ἐνόδια. Now in ii. § 9 A gives αἱ ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ δίκτυα, whereas the rest have αἱ ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα ἐν ἐκατέροις. Probably καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια has dropped out in both the passages cited.

Πηγνύων τὰς σχαλίδας μεταξὺ τῶν σαρδόνων ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἐπιβάλλων τοὺς ἐπιδρόμους (vi. 9). Pollux v. 31 describes the σαρδών as ἀνέχουσα τὸ δίκτυον ὑπὲρ ἣν ὁ περιδρομος ἢ ἐπιδρομος ταῖς σχαλίσι κατὰ τὸ δίκτυον ἔπεστιν. The σαρδών appears to be a selvedge running along the top and bottom of the net. To this edge at the top the rope was attached by loops (ii. 6), and it was the σαρδών that made it necessary to have these loops. Πηγνύων μεταξὺ τῶν σαρδόνων means ‘sticking the stakes between the (top and bottom) selvedges,’ i.e. through the hole below and above them. This arrangement would, of course, prevent the nets from falling off the stakes. Manns takes μεταξὺ τῶν σαρδόνων with ἐπιβάλλων, and interprets ‘passing the cords between the top row of meshes and laying them on the forks.’ But the cord did not pass through the top row of meshes; it passed through loops attached to the selvedge.

3. Boar nets had two features in common with the purse nets—they had a ‘bosom’ (κόλπος) corresponding to the κεκρύφαλος, and they were intended to fall on the boar. The κόλπος, however, was not made in the net; it was formed when the net was put up out of the large bulge of the net. A stout rope ran through the top and bottom row of meshes, and the meshes were 15 inches wide (x. 2). The height of the nets was ‘10 knots from the top.’ What does this mean? Manns says it

¹ στοιχιζέτω δὲ μακρά, ὑψηλά.

² Cf. ii. 7 αἱ μὲν ἀνισοὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑτεροκλινέσι τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα ἴσα τὰ ὕψη ἐξαίρωσιν.

³ vi. 10 φυλαττέτω δ' ἐκπεριών (so A, i.e. ἐκπεριών with Aeolic elision). εἰάν δ' ἐκκλίνη τὸν στοῖχον (so Pierleoni: τὸν στίχον A: στοῖχος BM).

is equivalent to four meshes, so that the height of the net was 5 feet, the same as that of road nets and hayes. But 5 feet is insufficient to allow for the formation of the large κόλπος. It is doubtful whether four meshes can be got out of '10 knots' reckoned on the same principle as the '30 knots' (*i.e.* ten meshes) of road nets and hayes. For the boar net had no selvages; the ropes were run through the meshes themselves. Therefore there was a row of knots at the extreme top and bottom edge, and '10 knots' reckoned on this system give three meshes only, *i.e.* 45 inches. I propose to count the '10 knots from the top' *perpendicularly*, so that the total is nine meshes, or $12\frac{1}{4}$ feet. The author does not give the height of the branches of trees on which the meshes, and of course the rope running through them, were to hang (x. 7); but the size of the bosom requires a good height of netting, since the boar is to charge into it under the impression that it affords an egress.

At c. x. 2 we have ἐπ' ἄκροις δὲ δακτυλίου ἐχέτωσαν (αἱ ἄρκυς), ὑφέισθωσαν δ' (οἱ περιδρομοὶ) ὑπὸ τοὺς βρόχους, τὸ δὲ ἄκρον αὐτῶν ἐκπεράτω ἔξω διὰ τῶν δακτυλίων. The last clause means, I think, 'let the end of the ropes pass out through the (top and bottom) rings (that run down the side of the net).' The author has not explained how the other rings were to be joined so as to form a connected series of nets.¹

In c. x. 7 ὑπὲρ δ' ἐκάστης (ἄρκυος) ἐμφράττειν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τὰ δύσορμα the last word is rightly explained by Manns to mean gaps under the nets due to declivities in the ground.²

The ropes are to be made fast to a tree, not to a bush, συνέχονται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς αἱ ῥάχοι. These words are a puzzle. Probably συγκλῶνται should be read, so that the meaning is 'bushes snap off in the leafless parts.' Such a

corruption is quite possible in the text of this treatise.³

III.

In cc. xii. and xiii. there is every reason to assume that the text of our MSS. is as corrupt as it is in the other parts of the treatise; but here we lack the powerful assistance of Pollux. Several passages which, as they stand, have been justly pronounced absurd⁴ are undoubtedly in need of emendation. The following sentences deserve notice in this connection:

C. xii. 3 ἐν δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα οἱοί τε ἔσονται ἐπιέναι. There is no objection to προσόδοις (for ἐφόδοις) here, since πρόσ-οδος is a hunting term; see x. 22 αἱ πρόσοδοι καὶ αἱ χρεῖαι τοῦ προβολίου in boar hunting.

C. xii. 7 σώφρονας ποιεῖ καὶ δικαίους διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παιδεύεσθαι. Herbert Richards held that ἀληθεία is wrong; but 'the truth' is here implicitly contrasted with the imposture of the sophistic training which professed to fit men for public life. Anyone who reads this passage in connection with Isocrates *Against the Sophists* will hesitate to alter the word.

C. xii. 11 σὺν γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σφύζεται καὶ ἀπόλλυται τὰ οἰκεία ἕκαστου. The writer means that the state is involved in the prosperity and ruin of the citizen. The hunter knows that a good 'economist' is doing his bit for the interest of the state and of his fellow citizens. Therefore he does not neglect his affairs.

C. xii. 17 διὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων (τῶν μὴ πονούντων) οὐδὲν ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι. διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ἅπασαι αἱ ὠφέλειαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡϋρηνται. ἀμεινους οὖν οἱ θέλοντες πονεῖν. The argument imperatively demands that πονούντων should be substituted for ἀμεινόνων.

C. xii. 19 τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατεργάσασθαι αὐτὴν (τὴν ἀρετὴν) ἀδελον, οἱ δὲ πόνοι οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔοντες φανεροί. The words οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔοντες are sheer nonsense in this connection. The point is that toil is inseparable from the quest of virtue. αὐτῇ must be changed to αὐτῷ, *i.e.* τῷ

¹ Manns takes the meaning to be that the ends of the top ropes are to be run through the rings down the sides so as to fasten the nets; but οἱ περιδρομοὶ in this bewildering passage refers to both top and bottom ropes.

² Pollux v. 36 mentions ὕλης ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν ἀναστήματα . . . εἴ τι κοῖλον εἴη περὶ τὸ ἀρκύστατον. In the passage cited above ὑπὲρ δ' ἐκάστης should be corrected to ὑπὸ δ' ἐκάστην: cf. xii. 13 ὑποβάλλονται AB, ὑπερβάλλονται M.

³ In the Oxford text I have given οὐκ ἰσχυραὶ for συνέχονται.

⁴ Especially by Hartman.

κατεργάσασθαι αὐτήν. Terminations are incessantly confused in the MSS. of this treatise (e.g. αὐτῆς for ἐαυτοῦ, xiii. 4). If τούτῳ might be expected, see c. ii. 2 μηδεὶς αὐτὰ φαῦλα νομισάτω εἶναι, v. 8 ὑπὸ παντί, ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς, παρ' αὐτά, and vi. 1 οὐ γὰρ καλῶς τηροῦσι τὰς κύνας οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰργασμένοι τὰ δέρας, where αὐτῶν has been suspected unnecessarily. The incessant use of αὐτός amounts to a mannerism in the author.

C. xiii. 5 ὧν δὲ δεόνται εἰς ἀρετὴν οἱ καλῶς πεπαιδευμένοι ὁρθῶς ἐγνωσμένα ζητῶ λέγειν. A better emendation of πεπαιδευμένοι than those suggested by Richards would be πεπαιδευσόμενοι. The perfect cannot be right.

C. xiii. 10 μὴ ζηλοῦν δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ πλεονεξίας εἰκὴ ἰόντας, μήτ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδιὰς μήτ' ἐπὶ τὰς δημοσίας, ἐνθυμηθέντα ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄριστοι αὐτῶν γινώσκονται μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω ἐπίπονοι τε (read δέ' with Kaibel) εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ πάσχουσι τε κακῶς καὶ γινώσκονται ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω. A much discussed passage. The sequel shows that πλεονεξίαι δημόσιαι does not mean 'advantages for the state,' as Richards thought; cf. especially ἀφαιρούμενοι τὰ τῆς πόλεως in § 11. I do not think that we must seek the clue to οἱ ἄριστοι and οἱ κακοὶ in xii. 9 and 15. By οἱ ἄριστοι the best of the self-seekers in business and politics are meant. But I feel pretty sure ἐπίπονοι is an error for ἐπίφθονοι, due, in part at least, to § 15 μαθήσεις καὶ μελέτας ἐπιπόνους and διὰ τὸ ἐπίπονον. In the

following section, εἰς τὰς κοινὰς σωτηρίας ἀνωφελέστεροί εἰσι, Kaibel proposed τὰ τῆς κοινῆς, but we need not scruple to read τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν.

C. xiii. 16 φωνὴν δὲ οἱ μὲν εὐεπῇ ἰᾶσιν, οἱ δ' αἰσχρὰν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ θεῖα τοῖς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἀσεβεῖν, οἱ δ' εὐσεβέστατοι. Hartman says: 'Quivis alius scriptor sic scripsisset: ὥσπερ φωνὴν οἱ μὲν εὐεπῇ ἰᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ αἰσχρὰν, eaque verba post εὐσεβέστατοι posuisset.' This is not so. In § 15 the writer has mentioned three points in which the practice of hunting contrasts favourably with the pursuit of politics. In § 16 he enumerates three good qualities that distinguish the daily life and conduct of the hunter: freedom from malice and avarice, courtesy and kindness in conversation, and piety. As Sturz says εὐεπῆς might mean 'pulchra et bona' or 'grata et bona.' The latter is certainly the meaning here. The language of a gentleman, not the language of an Isocrates. The αἰσχρὰ φωνή is the reckless language of the politician—νῦν μοι θράσος καὶ γλῶτταν εὖστομον δότε | φωνὴν τ' ἀναιδῆ. The language of the hunting-field is not without its influence on the life and conversation of the hunter, who goes out in silence, pays his vows to the deities of the chase, and says nothing that is not kindly and pleasant.¹ E. C. MARCHANT.

¹ In vi. 17 ἰὼ κύνες, ἰὼ κακός, etc., A omits ἰὼ κακός. Lenz's ἰὼ κακῶς is not right: we must read either ἰὼ κύνες again with Dindorf, or ἰὼ καλῶς.

THE MASSACRE OF THE BRANCHIDAE.

THIS story, which is of considerable importance for Alexander's character, is given by Curtius 7, 5, 28; Strabo 11, 518, and 14, 634; Plutarch, *de ser. num. vind.* 557B; and came in the lost part of Diodorus, book 17 (table of contents). Though many have believed it, it is quite certainly untrue.

Curtius (the fullest version) says that Xerxes, on his return from Greece, had settled the Branchidae in Bactria, because to please him they had violated (*violaverant*) the Didymeion (Strabo says, had betrayed the temple treasure); they greeted Alexander with joy; he

summoned the Milesians in his army, and bade them pass judgment on the Branchidae for their *treachery*, but they could not agree; so he massacred the whole population.—Now the temple and oracle of Didyma had been sacked and burnt to the ground by the Persians in the Ionian revolt, after the capture of Miletus,¹ and therefore in Xerxes' day there were neither priests nor temple nor treasure—*i.e.*, the whole of the presupposition on which Curtius'

¹ Herod. 6, 19; ἱeron δὲ τὸ ἐν Διδύμοισι, ὃ νηὸς τε καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, συληθέντα ἐνεπίμπρατο.

story rests is simply untrue. It was once the fashion to 'reconcile' Herodotus and Strabo-Curtius;¹ but you cannot 'reconcile' good early and bad late evidence when they flatly contradict each other, and Herodotus cannot well be wrong about such a simple event near his own city. Didyma lay waste till the Milesians began to rebuild it, some time after 334; it was anyhow building *circa* 306-293.² —Xerxes was never at Didyma at all; Herodotus says that he returned from Greece by the Hellespont to Sardis, passed the winter there in an intrigue with Masistes' wife, and in pursuance of the same intrigue returned straight from Sardis to Susa.—There was no Milesian contingent in Alexander's army in Bactria. Probably there never had been one, for no contingents from the Greek towns of Asia are known, and doubtless (like Chios) they supplied ships, as they had done for Persia; but in any case Alexander had sent all his Greek allies home from Ecbatana. The judgment of the Milesians was probably copied from that of the Boeotians at Thebes.—The supposed Branchidae settlement made by Xerxes in Bactria (really Sogdiana according to Curtius' itinerary, but it was the Bactrian *satrapy*) is merely a confusion of two real settlements made by Darius; Herod. 4, 204, he settles the captive Barcaeans in Bactria, and 6, 20 he settles the captive Milesians at Ampe, at the mouth of the Tigris. Note that Alexander never meets with any of the real settlements made by Darius; presumably they had become merged in the native population.

The internal evidence, then, disposes of the story quite conclusively. It is a peculiarly naïve and clumsy fabrication.

The external evidence is no less conclusive. The most important matter

here is the silence of Ptolemy and Aristobulus; and unfortunately many writers have adopted Grote's extraordinary contention that the silence of these two does not 'impeach the credibility of the narrative' (XII. 26, n. 1), because they merely wished to save Alexander's reputation. Grote really constructs a critical canon to the following effect (see XI. 364, n. 2): whatever is not in Ptolemy is true, provided it be damaging to Alexander. Before coming to Ptolemy's real attitude, I may notice the other cases where he (Ptolemy) passes over an alleged 'atrocity.' One is the torture of Batis at Gaza (Curt. 4, 6, 29). This can be traced; it is from Hegesias (fr. 3), a sufficient guarantee that it is a rhetorical invention designed to parallel the Achilles story. The other is the crucifixion of Arimazes, Oxyartes' supposed commander on the Sogdian rock, after his surrender (Curt. 7, 11, 28; Curtius has the story of the siege hopelessly misplaced and confused). This is certainly untrue, though the source cannot be traced.³ For the result of this atrocity is supposed to have been that Oxyartes came in himself and proceeded to procure the surrender of Chorienes by persuading him of Alexander's justice and good faith (Arr. 4, 21, 7); even in Curtius Oxyartes persuades Sysimithres (Chorienes) by parading Alexander's *fides* (8, 2, 27), for Curtius had not even the wit to see that his two statements are mutually exclusive. It was the fashion of his time to discredit Alexander; anything did.

Somewhat different is Arr. 1, 8, 1, with which Grote (XI. 264, n. 1) made great play; even Niese, generally sensible, has followed him (1, 57, n. 2). Ptolemy says Perdicas attacked Thebes without orders; this is supposed to be Ptolemy trying to save Alexander's reputation again by representing that he did not wish to storm Thebes. (Why he should not storm Thebes, if

¹ References in F. Cauer, *Branchidae* in Pauly-Wissowa.

² See generally B. Haussoullier, *Études sur l'Histoire de Milet et du Didymeion* (1902); and notes to *O.G.I.S.* 472. It was waste in 332/1; Callisthenes ap. Strabo. 17, 814. Haussoullier suggests that Callisthenes' story of the spring gushing forth again means that the Milesians had already begun to clear the site. But see *post.*

³ To Arrian, Arimazes is unknown; while Diodorus is lost. But Polyæn. 4, 3, 29, which differs considerably from Curtius' version of the siege, probably represents the Cleitarchean tradition; it knows nothing of the supposed crucifixion.

at war with her, is not explained.) Unfortunately the vulgate also represents that Alexander would have spared Thebes if he could;¹ and he also desired to spare Halicarnassus (Arr. 1, 22, 7). The attack on Thebes agrees with Perdiccas' headstrong character, and is no doubt true; but the point is, that the matter is not one which can possibly affect Alexander's reputation one way or the other; that is a question, not of the taking of Thebes, but of the subsequent destruction of the city.

Now, what was Ptolemy's real attitude in the matter of saving Alexander's reputation? (I am not concerned with Aristobulus, who is hardly in the same class.) It is quite simple. He never does try to save Alexander's reputation. He probably would hardly have understood what the phrase meant. He belonged, not to the nineteenth century A.D., but to the Macedonia of the fourth century B.C., to a place and a time in which you could not be a king in kid gloves. Kings as he knew them had to do certain things; and if Alexander did the sort of things that he, Ptolemy, afterwards did himself, he probably thought it very natural, and certainly related it quite simply; his great merit is, that he does not garble his facts. Four instances of this may suffice here. He gives the death of Parmenion as simple murder; while the vulgate knows of a treasonable letter of Parmenion's (Curt. 6, 9, 13), and says that the army condemned him (Diod. 17, 80, 1). He alone relates that Alexander tortured Callisthenes and put him to death, as against the legend (Chares, Aristobulus) that he died in prison. He relates that Alexander scourged, pilloried, and mutilated Bessus (precisely as Darius I. had treated *his* rebels); while in the vulgate Bessus is handed over to Darius' relatives for torture (Diod. 17, 83, 9; Just. 12, 5, 11) or simply put to death (Curt. 7, 10, 10). Above all, he not only gives quite frankly, with the vulgate, the Massaga massacre, but adds (as the vulgate does not) the unsatisfactory official explanation (prob-

ably from the Ephemerides), an explanation which, by the addition of a couple of words, he could have made perfectly good, according to the standard of the time; he had only to say, as he does *not* say, that the Indian mercenaries had taken the oath to Alexander.

If historical criticism has any meaning, Ptolemy's silence about the Branchidae massacre would be conclusive, even if the internal evidence were not.

It remains to ask how such a baseless story arose.

It will be noticed that in Strabo the Branchidae *betray* the temple treasure, while Curtius has joined the betrayal story to another version in which they *sack* the temple themselves (*violaverant*). Where the betrayal version comes from is unknown; it is sufficiently foolish, for had there been a temple and had Xerxes been there he needed no 'betrayal'; his guards had only to walk in and take. The other story comes from Callisthenes, who relates (Strabo 17, 814) that Apollo deserted the place because in Xerxes' time the Branchidae medised and sacked the temple. Further back than Callisthenes it cannot be traced; but whether he invented it himself or not is immaterial, for as we have seen it is untrue (Herod. 6, 19). But the oracle which Callisthenes based on this untrue story (Strabo *ib.*) is untrue also; this is shown, not by Strabo's (? Erathosthenes') comments, but by the fact that the oracle 'foretold' the battle of 'Arbela' and the death of Darius, *i.e.* it was composed by Callisthenes himself after 330. The whole of Callisthenes' story about Didyma, the point of which is that the deserted oracle had in 332/1 hailed Alexander as son of Zeus, is then simply an invention; and it was from this invention that there arose the story of the massacre of the Branchidae.

How it arose is quite obvious, and can be seen from the story of the massacre as given in Curtius. The Branchidae had wronged Apollo, and Apollo had done Alexander a good turn (so far Callisthenes); clearly therefore Alexander must do something for Apollo, and what better than to avenge him on the Branchidae. Who it was who took this up and actually invented

¹ Just. 11, 3, 6, 'eadem indulgentia usurus,' etc., which is certainly not Ptolemy.

the massacre, whether Cleitarchus, Hegesias, or another, is as immaterial as it would be to enquire whether it was Onesicritus or somebody else who actually invented the equally baseless Queen of the Amazons story. Certainly the inventor of the massacre knew little of the relevant facts. For the *motif* of the story, as often noticed, is Alexander's piety towards Apollo of Didyma; and unfortunately in actual fact Alexander had no piety towards Apollo of Didyma at all. Didyma was not among the temples which, it was alleged, he was going to rebuild when he died (Diod. 18, 4, 5); he had passed the deserted site without notice, though he had found time to plan a temple to Zeus at Sardis (Arr. 1, 17, 5); and though he sent back to Athens the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, he did not send back to Miletus the bronze temple statute carried off from Didyma by Darius; it was left to Seleucus, whom legend made Apollo's son, to restore the statue¹ and favour the rebuilding. That Alexander should think nothing of Didyma was natural enough, seeing its very small importance till after his time.² Sogdiana was of course the natural place to locate the massacre, as appears again in Theoplylact's story

of Alexander burning 120,000 Sogdians alive; for Darius *had* settled Greeks on the Oxus, and Alexander *had* treated the revolted Sogdian fortresses, Cyropolis, etc., with unusual severity. One thing about the massacre story can be said with fair certainty. Justin's silence shows that it formed no part of the anti-Alexander tradition common to Trogus and Curtius; and there can therefore be little doubt that, as E. Meyer has suggested,³ the inventor of the story thought that he was glorifying Alexander, just as Hegesias thought that his story of the torture of Batis made Alexander a second Achilles. This relieves Callisthenes of the odium of the invention. True, we do not know exactly where his history ceased, and he was not put to death till early in 327; but after the proskynesis affair he became Alexander's enemy, and we may safely ascribe the massacre story to some writer of a subsequent generation. This is the more certain because the same writer (Diod. 17, 110, 4) relates that Alexander in 324—*i.e.*, long after Callisthenes' death—encountered in Kelonai a similar bilingual community, Boeotians this time, of course also settled by Xerxes.

W. W. TARN.

¹ Paus. 1, 16, 3; cf. *O.G.I.S.* 213, 214.

² Wilamowitz, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1914, p. 72.

³ *Kleine Schriften* (1910), p. 286, n. 1.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THEOPHRASTUS.

In a papyrus (*Pap.* 2242, 24.5 × 11 cm.) recently presented to the British Museum by Professor F. W. Kelsey, of Michigan, is preserved a fragment relating to the natural history of the dog, and apparently belonging to the lost work of Theophrastus, *περὶ ζῴων*. Reasons for this ascription are given below in the notes. The correspondence with Aristotle's *H. A.* VI. 20 is in many places almost verbal, and one statement (see l. 17) seems to be the result of too brief a compression of Aristotle's words. Theophrastus was regarded by antiquity as second only to Aristotle in authority. Aelian, for example, quotes them by name in the proportion of fifteen times to forty-nine in

his *Natural History*, and also borrows on occasion without acknowledgments (see ll. 20, 27). Theophrastus has been already represented in papyri, *P. Oxy.* 699 giving a scrap from the *Characters* and *P. Hib.* 16 fragments attributed by Blass to the *περὶ ὕδατος*.

Palaeographically the papyrus is interesting from its resemblance to the script of the famous *Bacchylides MS.*, especially in the small *o*, the narrow *ε* and *σ*, the broad and shallow *μ* and the *τ* with long cross stroke to the left. The documents which accompanied the papyrus and belonged presumably to the same find ranged in date from the end of Augustus to the second half of Claudius, and derived chiefly from the

archive of the γραφεῖον (public notarial and register office) of Tebtunis and Kerkesouchon Oros, with a certain number from that of Talei and Theogonis (villages in the Arsinoite nome, division of Polemon.) As carefully written literary papyri would doubtless be kept some time before being thrown away the chances are that such papyri are older than the non-literary papyri of the same stratum.

Col. I.
 τα · ἄρχεται δ' ὀχεύειν
 ὁ μὲν ἄρρην γεν[ό]
 μενος ἐνιαύσιος ἡ
 δὲ θήλεια βαίνεται
 5 ὀκταμηνιαία · ἐπι
 βαίνει δ' ὁ ἄρρην [ο]ῦ
 πᾶσαν ὥραν ἅλλα
 τὴν τῆς σκυζήσε
 ως. ὅταν δ' ἄρχηται
 10 σκυζᾶν ἡ μὲν φύ
 σις αὐτῆς διοιδεῖ
 τὰ δὲ καταμήνια
 ῥεῖ ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ
 εἴτα μετὰ ταύτας ἅλ
 15 λας ἐπτὰ σκυζαῖ ἐν
 αἷς ἡ σύλληψις γεί
 νεται · τὰς γὰρ πᾶσας
 δέκα καὶ ἐπτὰ ἡμέ
 ρας σκυζᾷ <ι>. λέγεται
 20 δὲ ὡς πολὺ δρομή
 σαντες οἱ κύνες πο
 λὺν μᾶλλον ὀχευτι
 κ[ώ]τεροι γίνονται.
 κ[ύ]ει δὲ μῆνας δύο
 25 ο[ῦ] τίκεται δὲ τὰ πλεῖ

Col. II.

[
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 α[
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 κ[
 ·[
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 λ·[
 α[
 α[
 ο[
 κ[
 ·[
 ν·[
 τιο[
 τ·[
 τ[
 νδ[
 ··[
 φθ[·]ρ[

στα δύο καὶ δέκα καὶ
 τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κα
 τὰ τὸν πατέρα ὅμοι
 [α τ]ὰ δ' ὕστερα κατ' αὐ
 30 τὴν · κατέδετα δὲ
 τὸ χόρειον εὐθέως
 πρὶν ἢ τῆς γῆς θι
 γ]εῖν. ὀχεύει δὲ καὶ ὁ
 χε]ύεται ὁ κύων τὸν
 35 τοῦ ζ]ην αὐτοῦ χρο
 νον ἄρ[χετ[αι] δὲ αἰ]
 τον[
 νογ[
 δε·[
 κοτ[
 δοι·[
 ειν[
 χη·[
 τουτ[
 σαεμ[
 αλ[··][
 φῆ[

Col. I.: L. 17, Aristotle has the fuller statement τὰς γὰρ πᾶσας δοκεῖ σκυζᾶν ἡμέρας τέτταρας καὶ δέκα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τισι καὶ περὶ ἐκκαίδεχ' ἡμέρας γεγέννηται τοῦτο τὸ πάθος. L. 20, δρομήσαντες, cf. Aelian N. H. IV. 40. Aristotle, followed by Pliny X. 178, has πονήσαντες. L. 22, the comparative occurs again in Theophrastus, Fr. 183, but nowhere in Aristotle. Ll. 27, 28, not in Aristotle, cf. Aelian IX. 5, Pliny X. 178. L. 30, not in Aristotle, but alluded to in Theophrastus, Fr. 175. L. 35, η, υ, and τ are all uncertain. η is represented by a stroke which might equally pass for ι or the right limb of ν. There are two spots which give υ the appearance of ν, but which may equally well be the top of two letters of the succeeding line, in which case ἄρχεται would be an impossible reading. τ would have to be read ψ. Aristotle has ἔως ἂν ζῶσιν.

Col. II.: L. 9, γ or π. L. 23, δ might be α or λ.

HERBERT J. M. MILNE.

MAGADIS.

THE word μάγadis occurs seven times in Greek verse. According to Liddell and Scott the first syllable is short everywhere, save in Sophocles, Frag. 217:

πηκταὶ δὲ λύραι καὶ μάγᾶδιδες
 τὰ τ' ἐν "Ελλήσι ξόαν' ἠδυνμελῇ.

Meineke here postulates μάγᾶδιδες; but before we accept μάγᾶδιδες it seems worth while to look at the other six places where the word occurs in verse.

It is found first in Alcman 91:

μάγαδιν δ' ἀποθέσθαι.

This seems to be a perfectly good Pherecratean, with the first syllable of

μάγαδιν long. The Pherecratean metre and the μάγadis suit one another, and they recur together in Anacreon 18:

ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι <Λυδὴν>
 χορδαῖς μάγαδιν ἠχέων,
 ὦ Λεύκασπι· σὺ δ' ἤβᾶς.

In line 2 I have written ἠχέων for the MS. ἔχων, and have followed Bergk in adding Λυδὴν (Λυδὸν Bergk) at the end of line 1. I have also changed the χορδαῖσι of the MSS. to χορδαῖς. Otherwise I have altered nothing (I suppose that no one any longer will challenge the form χορδαῖς or defend χορδαῖσι). (χορδῆσιν μαγάδην ἔχων Bergk; but μαγάδης -ου

is his own invention. *χορδαῖσι μάγαδιν ἔχων* Kaibel, against both metre and dialect.)

In Telestes 4—

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλαν κλαγγὰν λείψ
κερατόφωνον ἐρέθιζε μάγαδιν
[ἐν] πενταρράβδιω χορδᾶν ἀρθμῷ
χέρα καμψιδίαυλον ἀναστρωφῶν τάχος,

no correction is needed save *ἡρέθιζε* for *ἐρεθιζε* (so Bergk already; but Kaibel will have none of it). The second line is then a normal iambic trimeter.

Frag. 23 of the tragedian Ion appears in Athenaeus in the form

Αὐδὸς τε μάγαδιν αὐλὸς ἡγείσθω βοῆς.

Here the first syllable of *μάγαδιν* looks as short as it can be. But the editors of Athenaeus have forgotten to mention that the line is preserved in Hesychius, s.v. *μαγάδεις* in a quite different form. Hesychius offers

ἡ μαγάδης αὐλὸς ἡ γηθηβοῆς,

i.e.

ἡ μαγάδι σ<ύν>αυλος ἡ γήθη βοῆς.

ἡγήθη is perhaps a suspicious form, and the *ἡγείσθω* of Athenaeus may be right. But Hesychius is, I think, nearer to what Ion wrote than Athenaeus [*σύναυλος* was, no doubt, written σ' αὐλος. 'ἀντὶ τοῦ συνάδων τῇ μαγάδῃ,' says Hesychius (*lege* *μαγάδι*)].

The comedian Anaxandrides offers us (Kock ii. 149) what might be an iambic trimeter (if one could believe in *μαγάδι*), but what may equally well be a part of a trochaic tetrameter:

— μαγάδι λαλήσω μικρὸν ἅμα σοι καὶ μέγα

(*μαγάδι* Meineke: *μάγαδιν* MSS. The correction is in any case certain. There is the same blunder from the same cause, the dative being misunderstood, at Xen. *Anab.* vii. 3, 32: Athen. 151e).

Here then are six passages of Greek verse which seem to agree in support of *μάγαδιν*; and in view of these a reasonably prudent person will be inclined to suppose that at Diogenes i., Nauck, p. 776,

ἀντιζύγοις
ὀλκοῖς κρεκούσας μάγαδιν, ἔνθα Περσικῷ
νόμῳ ξενωθεὶς αὐλὸς ὁμονοεῖ χοροῖς,

there is something amiss with the text. I would suggest that the true reading here is *μαγάδ' ἔνθα*. The *μαγὰς* is the *δόναξ ὑπολύριος* (Aristoph. *Ran.* 229: cf. *κάλαμος λύρας*, Soph. Frag. 33; and Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* 7, 4; Pollux iv. 62). Liddell and Scott's *μάγας* has no more justification than their *μάγαδιν*.

This is all that the remains of Greek verse have to tell us about the quantities of the word *μάγαδιν*. It has, however, to be added that the word *μαγαδίζειν* occurs in a fragment of the comic poet Theophilus, Kock ii. 475:

πονηρὸν υἱὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα
ἐστὶ(ν) μαγαδίζειν ἐπὶ τρόχου καθημένους.

Here in line 2 *ἄμα* has, I think, been lost before *μαγαδίζειν*, and the gap filled by *ἐστὶ(ν)*.

The most recent editor of Athenaeus seems to care about the gender of *μάγαδιν* as little as he cares about its quantity. Liddell and Scott give the gender correctly as feminine. But Kaibel, at Athenaeus 634d 2, has not only not troubled to correct the blunder τὸν *μάγαδιν*, but, though the word is everywhere else feminine, at 634e 1 (misled, I suppose, by such expressions as *ὁ δὲ μάγαδιν καλούμενος αὐλός*) he has altered *μάγαδιν* to <ὁ> *μάγαδιν*.

H. W. GARROD.

EMENDATIONS OF QUINTILIAN AND THE ELDER SENECA.

THE subjoined emendations were written by the late J. J. Wiles for a report to the electors of the Charles Oldham Classical Scholarship on work done in 1913. The outbreak of the war—during which Mr. Wiles held a commission—interrupted his study of Seneca's *Suasoriae* and *Controversiae*; on its termination he returned from India, where he had been stationed, and was for a short time a master at Rugby. Unhappily his health gave way, and he died early in 1920, his work being thus prematurely cut

short. The MS. was sent to me in 1920, but owing to my own ill-health, and my inability to find a friend with sufficient leisure to undertake the subject, it is only now that I have been able to make a digest of the emendations. I can pretend to no special knowledge of the subject, but some of the proposals appear to me to be quite valuable, and all worthy of being placed upon record.

J. R. WARDALE.

QUINTILIANI DECLAMATIONES XIX. MAIORES,
LEHNERT (TEUBNER TEXT).

P. 4, l. 8 read : *quo diligentia sollicitior . . . , hoc magis (for quae).*

P. 90, l. 6. The advocate is speaking of a young man who refused to support his father on the ground that his father had ransomed his brother from pirates instead of ransoming himself. It is never suggested that he ought to have ransomed his brother. Further, the imperfect subjunctive and pluperfect indicative, introduced by the same *si*, is unpleasant.

Read '*... impleverat ! si pasceret patrem, redemerat fratrem.*' If he supported his father, he would by so doing show his approval of his brother's ransom; for a similar thought cp. p. 183, line 5 ff., '*quidquid est istud . . . tu praestitisti.*'

P. 99, l. 20 ff. *Impatientia* for *inpatientiam* has already been suggested. This improves matters, but is not enough. Why should the father be in such a hurry to strike a bargain with the pirates before their cruelty decreases? Read *antequam impatientia tam saeva decrescit humanitas*. 'Cruel kindness' is an oxymoron that well describes the conduct of the pirates in releasing one captive, but retaining the other.

P. 109, l. 4. The fact that the young man understands that he cannot deny the claims of his father's misery, and the fact that he conducts his case as if he were not obliged to support his father, are two *contrasted* facts. Read *etsi sic agit* (for *et sic agit*), 'He cannot deny the claims . . . and so (*itaque*) he says that he is *unable* to help us.'

P. 127, l. 25. *Verum haec*, etc., the plural *debuissent* and *poterant* can have no subject but *haec*; but it is absurd to say that if certain considerations were equal on both sides, those same considerations ought to weigh more on one side than on the other. Read *debuisset* and *poterat*; the subject of *poterat* being *filius* understood, of *debuisset* the clause *quod poterat*, etc. (Abrecht reads *poterat*).

P. 128, l. 16. *quamquam id agas*, etc., is impossible, as the act described in the phrase *novum induisti rigorem* is the same as that described in the phrase *id agas ut merita tua iniuria vincas*. Read *tamquam* (assuming that the corruption has arisen from *quamquam* in the previous line) and write the whole passage :

Et ego sic ago tamquam hoc tantum filius propter me fecerit ? Quamquam in hoc litigatu quodammodo tibi ipsa excidisti et (tamquam id agas ut merita tua iniuria vincas) novum induisti rigorem, non prohibeo tamen testimonium.

P. 161, l. 27. An antivivisectionist is contending that you cannot learn how to cure one man by dissecting another. *Alius languor est, alius aeger* can only mean 'one man is ill, another man is ill.' Read <*si*> *alius aeger*, 'Where the patient differs, the illness differs too.'

P. 198, l. 13. *Iudices* is not vocative plural, but a verb, as shown by the singular verbs that surround it. Read *nolo iudices, nolo corripas*, etc.

P. 223, line 17. The best MSS. read *Festina, dum supersunt quibus legationem renunties*.

Festina, dum mori ultimum est. Festina dum superest quibus legationem renunties. Frumento digni sumus, etc. Later MSS. (which Lehnert follows) omit the third sentence *festina . . . renunties*. Rather omit only *superest quibus legationem renunties*, leaving *festina dum frumento digni sumus*; this will account for the corruption, and greatly improve the sense. 'While we are still worthy to be fed with corn' (i.e. before we became cannibals, as they had been forced by his tardiness to become).

P. 239, l. 8 ff. *Patrocinium* is the subject of *valeat* of line 11. Delete *iusta*; some copyist supposed that *supervacua* went with *denuntiatio*, and that the stop followed there. To make sense of the following words he inserted *iusta* to balance *iniusta* and transposed *non*, and so wrote *si non licuit, iniusta, si licuit, iusta*.

P. 261, l. 27, MSS. read *etiam de eorum potetis* or *posteris*; *posteritas* (Lehnert) is very unsatisfactory. When did the posterity of the gods receive the bees in, or except them from, their dominion? And how would that be an excuse for the proceedings of men?

Read : *Non illas libido progenerat ; domitrixque omnium animalium Venus, utque homines in excusationem sui fabulis tradiderunt, etiam deorum potens, has regnis suis exceptit.*

SENECAE RHETORIS CONTROVERSIAE.

Book I. 6, § 3. *Quamdiu non sumus* = 'before our birth,' for which compare the parallel *sortimur genus, non eligimus : nec ante nos nostri arbitrii sumus*. Quintil. Declam. p. 438, l. 24 (Teubner text).

Book II. 1, § 8. The words *inter divitias suas exempla*, which in the MSS. follow *istam*, have been transferred to the preceding line to follow *corruentium*, with a stop after *exempla*. But the words *corruentium inter d. s. exempla* occur above (§ 4) at the beginning of the quotation from Fuscus. It is unlikely that he repeated the phrase word for word here : omit all the words *corruentium* to *inter divitias suas exempla*, as a marginal note, to explain *sescenta alia praetereo*, which has crept partly into one line and partly into the next.

Book II. 6, § 2. The repetition of the name *Blandi* is obviously indefensible. Gruppe omits it in the second case. This would, however, involve ascribing the same epigrammatic phrase twice over to Blandus—*ante me desisti, ante me coeperas*, and *si prior desisti, prior coeperas*. Evidently it is an instance of plagiarism by Blandus. Either delete the first *Blandi*, and tack on the remarks to those of Fabianus which precede, or assume that in one or other place *Blandi* has displaced some other name, no longer recoverable.

Book VI. 6. Thema. *Crudelitatis*, Müller. Read *cruditatis*, cp. IX. 5 Thema. Declam. Min. p. 252, 11 (Teubner). Calp. Flacc. p. 32, l. 2.

Book X. 1, § 13. Cp. Calp. Flacc. Decl. V. There the pandar *denuntiavit ne accederent*; probably it is right to follow those editors of Seneca who here read <*ne*> *in lupanar accederent*
J. J. WILES.

NOTE ON THE BOEOTIAN LEAGUE.

It is just possible that Thucydides' account (Book IV., c. 93) of the numbers of the Boeotian army present at Delion throws a ray of light upon one of the terms of the Federal compact.

We know from the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (XI. 4) that each of the eleven *μέρη* into which Boeotia had been subdivided for League purposes was bound to contribute *περί χιλίους μὲν ὅπλιτας ἱππέας δὲ ἑκάτον* to the Federal army, thus giving to the latter a total strength of approximately 11,000 hoplites and 1,100 cavalry, with whatever light-armed troops were also sent. Thucydides tells us that at Delion there were present about 7,000 hoplites, 500 peltasts, 1,000 horse, and above 10,000 light-armed troops. The 500 peltasts were in all probability contributed by some *μέρος* or *μέρη* in place of so many hoplites; the total number of hoplites present may therefore be reckoned as equivalent to 7,500 approximately.

Now Delion was obviously an occasion which called for a full muster of the Boeotian army, since the Athenians had moved against them with far-reaching designs and *πανόημι*, bringing with them even their *μέτοικοι* and *ξένοι* (Thuc. 4. 90). The Boeotian cavalry certainly are present in practically full force (1,000 out of 1,100); perhaps because cavalry were useful in preventing the Athenian *ψιλοί* from plundering the country. But the hoplites are 3,500 short. Where were these 3,500? No doubt they were retained as guards throughout the cities, in several of which pro-Athenian intrigues were well advanced. But on what principle, if any, was it decided that just so many (7,500) should come to Delion, and just so many (3,500) should remain on guard at home?

The analogy of the Spartan League may help us here. From Thucydides (2. 10; 2. 47; 3. 15; 5. 57) we gather that in the terms of the Peloponnesian *ἐνυμᾶχία* it was provided that on league expeditions each of the allies was to contribute two-thirds of its forces, except in the case where the war was to be waged in the territories of some member of the alliance, in which emergency this particular ally must turn out *πανστρατιᾷ*. If we assume that this provision had been borrowed in Boeotia and made a condition of their League, we can explain Thucydides' figures. The *μέρος* constituted by Tanagra, having been invaded, must turn out with all its hoplite forces, *i.e.* 1,000 strong. From the other 10,000 available in the remaining 10 *μέρη*, two-thirds (*i.e.* 6,666) must come; so that the total hoplite force assembled should have been about 7,666. Since, according to Thucydides, if we reckon the 500 peltasts as substitutes for hoplites, there were actually present about 7,500, the assumption of some such clause among the terms of the Boeotian Confederacy does not seem altogether unjustifiable.

P. A. SEYMOUR.

ΕΙΑΡ: BLOOD?

- (α) Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1480 *νέος ἰχώρ*.
 (β) Aeschylus, *Frag.* 459 (Sidgwick) *τίροπῶτις*.
 (γ) Homer, *Il.* T. 87 *ν.λ. εἰαροπῶτις Ἐρινύς*.

(β) A conjecture is given: *εἰαροπῶτις* (Bergk).

(γ) Dr. Leaf's note says that *εἶαρ* was a Salaminian (Cyprus) word for 'blood.'

(α) W. Headlam conjectures (with the approval of Verrall) *ἱχαρ* (*ἱχανῶν*), 'fresh in appetite'; strongly contesting the view that *ἰχώρ* can admit of the extended meanings 'bloodshed' or 'deed of blood' as they are applied to *αἶμα*.

If the word *εἶαρ* was in any way associated with the *Ἐρινύς*, and the *Ἐρινύς* corresponded in any way with the Vampire of later mythology (*cf. Ag.* 1189, *Eum.* 264 ff.), is it possible that Aeschylus wrote *νέον εἶαρ*?

In the previous lines the words *δαίμονα γέννης* and *ἔρως αἱματολοιχός* (together with the fact that the *Orestieia* is full of allusions to the *Ἐρινύς*, and to *αἶμα* in all manner of connotations) seem to suggest that *εἶαρ* might admit of the wider meanings, desiderated for the admittedly unsatisfactory *ἰχώρ* of the text.

Such a meaning as 'fresh blood to suck,' or 'another banquet of blood' (for the *Ἐρινύς*), corresponding to, and expanding *ἔρως αἱματολοιχός*, would seem to suit the tenour of the whole passage.

ARTHUR SYKES.

[ὥς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν] τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο
 μῦθος.

THIS phrase occurs four times in the *Odyssey*—ρ 57; τ 29; φ 386; χ 398. The traditional interpretations may be divided into two classes: (α) Those which assign the *μῦθος* to the previous speaker; (β) those which assign the *μῦθος* to his hearer—*i.e.* (α) that the speaker's *μῦθος*, having no wings with which to fly away, remained in the hearer's mind—*non evolabat sed haerebat in memoria*; (β) that the hearer's *μῦθος* never took the wings of utterance—remained unspoken. As a parallel for this use of *μῦθος*, ν 254 is quoted—*πάλιν δ' ὃ γε λάξετο μῦθον*—and translated, 'He took back his (unspoken) word'—*i.e.*, did not utter his thought. The main objection to interpretation (α) is that a strong phrase is used four times—and four times only—where it has no special point; to (β) that it involves an awkward change of thought: the *μῦθος* would *naturally* be that of the subject of *ἐφώνησεν*. Nor does either interpretation account for the fact that in the first two instances certainly and in the second two probably there is a second meaning in the speaker's words which does not reach the hearer.

Is it not possible that the *μῦθος* should be assigned to the speaker and that the

phrase should be translated quite literally, 'His speech was wingless to her'? The interpretation then is that the full meaning of the speaker's words does not wing its way to the understanding of the hearer, the metaphor being from a bird or (more probably, as I think) from an arrow (Herodotus uses the word of arrows—VII. 92). Thus in ρ 57 Penelope does not know what is really in Telemachus' mind when he gives an indirect and offhand answer to her question—*i.e.*, that Odysseus is already in the house; in τ 29 Eurycleia does not know why Telemachus wishes to have the $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ with him when he puts away the arms; in ϕ 386 she does not know or ask when, where, or how Odysseus is to kill the suitors, though she may guess that that will be the cause of the noise; nor in χ 398 does she know what is the $\tau\iota$ which Odysseus wishes to tell her.

According to this view $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ means rather the thought or content of the speech than the actual words—*e.g.*, the $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\alpha$ might be $\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$, while the $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ remained $\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$. In later Greek $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ tends to gain this meaning, and it is found definitely in Homer in *Odyssey* χ 289 and probably in ν 254, which becomes easier.

In Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 276 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \eta \sigma' \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \phi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma$; the $\phi\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma$ is, then, a rumour whose real meaning has been misinterpreted by Clytemnestra.

M. L. JACKS.

ARISTOPHANES, *FROGS*, 1202-4: A METRICAL JOKE.

$\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma \acute{\omega}\sigma\tau' \acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\rho\mu\acute{o}\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\nu \acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\nu,$
 $\kappa\alpha\iota \kappa\omega\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \lambda\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \theta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu,$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \iota\alpha\mu\beta\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma.$

Is not the substitution of $-\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ for the normal (or, universal) iambus at the end of ν . 1203 simply and solely a metrical jest, suggesting that, in the way of resolved feet, Euripides was 'capable de tout'? The ground is artfully prepared for the final shock, so that the $\sigma\kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\mu\alpha$, when it comes, is $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ (not $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$) $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$, and $\kappa\omega\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ makes exactly one-third of the line, and $\lambda\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omicron\nu$ another third, and then there is nothing for it but that the remaining (and equally trivial) third shall, with comic inevitability, complete the metrical tragedy. In the fatalistic phrase of Richard Bentley's county, *it mun be so*.

It does not seem necessary to abate the catastrophe by explaining, with the late Pro-

fessor W. R. Hardie (*Res Metrica*, p. 74), that 'the deviation from rule is similar to that which is sometimes necessitated by a proper name.' Nor need we seek for parallels elsewhere in the comedians, when the rhythm of the sentence which encases ν . 1203 is designedly tragic. In his admirable handbook Hardie rightly discards the view, which he had I believe at one time held, that in this passage the first syllable of $\theta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ is short. Porson's ' $\theta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, ut notum est, *primam semper producit*' seems to hold true of classical Greek. Besides, the symmetry of the triplets would be broken in $\kappa\alpha\iota \theta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$, as it is also in $\kappa\alpha\iota \theta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu$ as given by the Oxford editors of Aristophanes. The scholium in the Venice Codex seems to favour $\theta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$, and so does Suidas. Moreover, $\theta\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota\omicron\nu$ is the manuscript reading in the text of the *Frogs*. 'Insigniter corruptus est locus,' says Porson. Immo, *εὐτραπέλιαν* illam Aristophaneam redolet.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

PLAUTUS, *CASINA* 68-72: SERVILE MARRIAGES IN APULIA.

'Quaeso hercle, quid istuc est? Serviles nuptiae?

Servin uxorem ducent aut poscent sibi?
 Nouom attulerunt, quod fit nusquam gentium.'
 At ego aio id fieri in Graecia et Carthagini
 Et hic in nostra terra in Apulia.

THE last line is clearly short of a syllable. But before attempting to emend it I want to know what the logic of the passage demands. Does the writer of this prologue mean to say that servile marriages took place in Italy generally, Apulia being mentioned only as an illustration? Or does he mean that they took place only in Apulia? Light would also be desirable on the question whether the writer is reporting fact about Greece, Carthage, and Apulia or not. It is, I believe, generally held that slaves had no right of marriage either in Greece or in Italy. Whether there is evidence to the contrary outside Plautus (*e.g.* in Buddenhagen's *Περὶ γάμου*, the first part of which was reviewed by Professor Rose in *C.R.* XXXV., p. 75) I do not know. Ussing refers to the Law of Gortyn II. 27; but is this to the point as reflecting Greek practice generally? In Plautus, it is true, we have one passage, which if taken at its face value, implies a *ius connubii* for slaves (*Mil.* 1007-9); Lorenz does not take it at its face value, adding that it is not till the time of the Empire that the terms *uxor* and *coniunx* are used of female slaves. Another Plautine passage, *Stich.* 448, contains no explicit allusion to marriage, unless *amare* = *uxorem ducere*.

In any case we must be careful not to make the writer say more than he actually does say—*viz.*, that Apulia is a place where servile marriages take place. If so, I propose to insert the word *nempe*, which is often equivalent to 'videlicet,' 'namely,' 'I mean,' *e.g.* *Merc.* 776 *Scio iam quid velis: nempe me hinc abire vis*. The line in the *Casina* will then run—

Et hic in nostra terra, *nempe* in Apulia.

The use of $\cup - \cup$ (in $\text{Ap}\acute{\upsilon}$) to represent an anapaest presents no difficulty in Plautus. It is curious that a few lines further on we have the word *Apulus* ($-\cup\cup$), which reminds one of the passage in Horace which has been emended by reading with the best MSS. *Pulliae* for *Apuliae* (*Od.* III. 4. 10)—a reading which, well supported as it is, is aesthetically unattractive to me, even if we read *Nutricis* for *Altricis*; the jingle of *Apulo* and *Pulliae* is displeasing.

E. A. SONNENSCHN. E.

OBSUTUM MAENAE CAPUT.

Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 571-582, describes the spells which are worked on the day of Feralia by an old hag to counteract the spirits of the dead, 'one of a thousand savage spells,' as is the view of Fowler, *Roman Fest.* 310. Amongst other things she takes the fish, *maena*, covers its head with pitch, sews its mouth up with a needle of brass and roasts it on the fire, pouring wine over it: the rest of the wine she herself or her companions drink off.¹

The cathartic character of the black pitch, the ritual and sepulchral character of the bronze are well known, but to the sewing up of the mouth we have an excellent parallel in the customs of the Givari in South America: they prepare the heads of fallen enemies, drying them and reducing them in size; then, after a very impressive ceremony, they sew up the mouth, 'that they may not return the insults offered upon them by the victors'; then they use them as trophies or even (in spite of the closed mouths) as oracles, see Colini, *Osservazioni etnogr. sui Givari (Atti d. acc. dei Lincei XI. 1883, 26)*. The Romans of imperial times really did know this barbarous method of punishing dead enemies to render their wrath harmless, cp. Sen. *ep.* 47, 4 (*servi*) *quorum os non consuebatur, i.e. 'slaves who are allowed to speak freely with their husbands.'* This is, so far as I know, the only testimony for such a usage among Romans; and if the colloquial phrase does not refer to customs of barbarian peoples, known to the Romans of the time of Nero (cp. the means of punishment of the Germans after the victory of Arminius, Flor. IV. 12=II. 30: *aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant, uni os obsutum, rescisa prius lingua, quam in manu tenens barbarus 'tandem, ait, vipera sibilare desisti'*), it certainly may refer to the ritual of the Feralia, mentioned by Ovid. Neither Gell. VII. (VI.) 4, where the Carthaginians sew up the eyebrows of Regulus (*sursum ac deorsum diductas insuebant*), nor Verg. *georg.* IV. 301 (where modern editors read *obstruitur*, not *obsutur*), is relevant in this connexion.

In Ovid the sacrifice of the *maena* is a holocaust, and the deity, to whom the whole ritual applies, is the late abstraction *Dea Tacita* or *Muta*, i.e. the Σιγή (Pap. Far. mag. 557 and Stob. *Ecl.* p. 393, 15, where Phobos, *Sige*, Hypnos and Mneme are the daughters of

Selene) of Hellenistic times, cp. the hero Hesychos. As to the silence of the ghosts, see Headlam, *Class. Rev.* 1902, 55; and as to the tying up of the mouth to prevent the ghost from escaping, see J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*³, *Taboo* 31 and 33, *Spirits of the Corn* II. 267. We know a similar practice from Old Norse mythology: the mouth of Loki was pierced by the dwarfs. Perhaps this explanation may hold good for the tying up of the jaws of the corpses with the Greeks (Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.* 3. 3332) and for the coin of Charon placed on the tongue of the dead.

S. EITREM.

CATO DE AGRICULTURA I.

Est interdum praestare mercaturis rem quae-rere, nisi tam periculosum sit, et item fenerari si tam honestum sit.

So Keil. As it stands, the first clause can only be construed, 'It is possible that seeking a living by trade may sometimes be preferable, if it were not so risky, etc.,' a hispid awkwardness which one hesitates to attribute even to this author. In the sections which follow, the thoughts worked out are—(i) the profession of usurer is to be ruled out in any case, because our ancestors regarded usurers as twice as wicked as thieves; (ii) we are left with commerce and husbandry from which to choose our ideal: both are praiseworthy, but the former is to some extent discounted by the element of hazard from which it is inseparable, though both evoke energy and demand respect. The clumsiness of style in the first clause is due to the two juxtaposed infinitives, and those who are content to heap on to the shoulders of our author those solecisms at which they themselves can feel no pang, will adopt the sound principles of conservative criticism, and do nothing here. Smooth sense is given, however, by the alteration of *praestare* to *praestans*: merchants can claim a glamour for their calling, and usurers even (were theirs not illegal) might do the same; but (§ 4: *at ex agricolis et viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pius quaestus stabilissimusque consequitur minimeque invidiosus, minimeque male cogitantes sunt qui in eo studio occupati sunt.*) husbandry is a calling both honourable and safe.

J. C. HOWE.

¹ The whole practice aims at this effect, v. 581: *hostiles linguas inimicaque vinximus ora.*

THE SECOND VIRGILIAN

PRIAPEAN, ll. 6-9 :

I propose the following reading :

'mihi corolla picta vere ponitur,
mihi rubens arista sole fervido,
mihi virente dulcis uva pampino,
mihi coacta duro oliva frigore.'

The first three lines are sound. For the fourth, Vollmer adopted the text of Muretus :

'mihique glauca duro oliva frigore.'

But *que* is a sheer conjecture, and the real cure is rather to be found in the manuscripts themselves. At the end of the line in *R* is found *coacta*, while *H* and *A* give *cocta*, and *B* has *cocta frigo*. Thus some scribe seems to have replaced *coacta* 'wrinkled,' describing the ripe olive berry, by *glauca*, a stock epithet of the olive leaf, the true reading being added in the margin. Being a dull fellow he desired a specification of colour corresponding to *picta*, *rubens*, and *virente* above, and he failed to see that *coacta* connoted *blackness*.

Virgil was amusing himself by parodying himself and by characterising the four seasons in a symmetry of four lines. This trick of versification, an extension of his frequent anaphora, is the same that he is said to have used in the famous quatrain :

'Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves,
sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves,
sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes,
sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves.'

We see it again in lines like 58-59 of the Fourth Eclogue :

'Pan etiam Arcadia mecum si iudice certet,
Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum.'

In his youth he sowed with the whole sack. At a later time he confined himself mainly to vague paraphrases and fleeting verbal reminiscences of familiar verses. Yet the allusiveness of his mature style had its antecedent in mere parody, as in Catalepton X., and in the extended anaphoras above.

NORMAN W. DEWITT.

POLAR BEARS AT ROME.

Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecl.* VII. 65-6 :

aequoreos ego cum certantibus ursis
spectavi vitulos.

Has it ever been suggested that these were probably polar bears (*Ursus maritimus*) ?

Bears, always plentiful in the spectacles, are not referred to elsewhere in connexion with seals or water, though water exhibits usually got special mention—*e.g.*, the crocodiles and hippopotami of Scaurus and Augustus. Nor do I know any bear that would enter water to hunt the seal except the polar bear, of which it is the usual prey.

The *negotiator ursorum*, or fur-trader, who got such a treasure to Rome would be asked how to show it to the best advantage. What better suggestion could he give than to provide a tank, stock it with seals, which were cheap and plentiful, and turn the bears amongst them—assuring to the spectators a fine exhibition of natation with the certainty of a good noisy fight at the finish ? That Calpurnius does not draw special attention to the rarity of the bears in no way vitiates the argument ; the whole show was a marvel to him and all the wonders equally wonderful.

We have no evidence of the exhibition of animals from the distant North in the time of Nero, but they become increasingly common from Gordian I. onwards ; therefore these lines from *Eclogue* VII. may help to fix Calpurnius' date.

GEORGE JENNISON.

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REVIEWS

DAS HOMERPROBLEM IN DER GEGENWART.

Das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart. Prinzipien und Methoden der Homenerklärung. Von ENGELBERT DRERUP, Professor an der Universität Würzburg. Pp. xvi+510. (Being Vol. I. of *Homerische Poetik* in three vols.). Druck und Versand : C. J. Becker, Universitäts-Druckerei in Würzburg. DIESER BUCH, I regret to say, 'ist ein Kriegsbuch,' and the *Krieg* in

question is not an ordinary war, but a Jihad against 'rationalists' and 'Analytiker,' who either blasphemously deny the unity of the Homeric Poems, or, with more subtle impiety, try to trace their sources and divine any parts of the process by which the Poems have been formed. I regret this, because the spirit of a Jihad, though enlivening to the casual reader, does not make

for understanding. Again and again throughout the book one finds a denunciation where an explanation would be more profitable. For example, at every few pages one meets the words 'petitio principii.' Whenever a critic tests his hypothesis, and argues that it holds good as an explanation of the phenomena, Dr. Drerup utters a cry of 'petitio principii.' Yet in most cases this is the only possible method of argument in dealing with a question where there is so little direct historical evidence, and there is nothing whatever improper about it. Again, while Dr. Drerup is extremely emphatic about unity, he makes no study whatever of the problem presented by a unity which is built up from various sources, or a unity which persists through various successive versions, or the unity of a poem which is recited in slightly differing form by different rhapsodes, or of the same entertainment given by different actors. This is the real problem, but it involves very tolerant and delicate study, and that is not Dr. Drerup's method.

He passionately maintains, and quite rightly, that Homer can only be understood 'poetisch.' He points out well the frequency of contradictions in works which are certainly by a single author, for example, in the *Aeneid*; and he follows up the excellent observations of Tycho von Wilamowitz on the use of 'momentary motives' by Sophocles—i.e., motives extemporised for some occasion irrespective of the main thread of a drama. Yet, after all, there are some contradictions, not always the largest ones, which do spring from diversity of authorship: the treatment of the Burgundians in the *Nibelungenlied* is a typical instance, and Dr. Drerup makes no attempt to analyse the difference.

He shows excellently the absurdity of many accepted phrases—e.g., the complete 'objectivity' currently attributed to Homer, or the statement made by so good a critic as Andrew Lang that a primitive poet never archaïses. Dr. Drerup makes excellent use of the well-known difference between the similes and the narrative: in the similes we hear of fish-eating and trumpets and crowns, but in the narrative such things

are avoided as unsuitable for the Age of Heroes. Yet I fear Dr. Drerup has some *a priori* notion of 'das Poetisch' which severely limits his imagination. The Catalogue of Ships, for instance, is considered by both Allen and Leaf to represent largely an alien work, either older or younger than the rest, incorporated in the Homeric Poems. This to Dr. Drerup is utterly 'unthinkable,' because a true poet does not incorporate in his poem the work of anybody else. It is extraordinary that anyone should argue like this in view, for instance, of notorious facts about the sources of Shakespeare; and one would not expect such a learned man as Dr. Drerup to ignore the great difference between the ancients and the moderns in the treatment of their sources. We are always making a demand for something which we call originality; but in the days before the existence of a large reading public a learned man who was fortunate enough to possess the book of a previous learned man was apt to copy it out with his own additions and corrections. I have given many instances in the *Rise of the Greek Epic*. In much the same way a poet handling a received legend had to be exceedingly careful in his modifications of it, because the legend was the common property of himself and his audience, and one of the partners could not transform it without the consent of the other. These points and others like them have been expounded by Mr. J. A. K. Thomson with a power of exact language and a range of historical imagination from which I can only wish that Dr. Drerup had profited more.

Dr. Drerup's repugnance to the spirit of over-confident and mechanical conjecture, which has, no doubt, at times been visible in works on the Homeric Question, makes him deny the existence of problems that are obviously there. In the Homeric treatment of the Gods, for instance, there is clearly a problem. There may be a sceptical Ionic spirit; there may be traces of something primitive, not assimilated to the culture of a more advanced age; there may be that irreverence which in a polytheistic system each pious community is apt to have for the gods of its neighbours;

but Dr. Drerup sweeps away all explanations by the statement that the poet happened, on purely technical grounds, to like using his gods for comic relief. This habit of going straight to the peculiar character of the unknown poet as to a first cause reaches lengths in Dr. Drerup which are really surprising. For example, the similes, which to most readers bear unmistakably the marks of a tradition, are to Dr. Drerup a proof of Homer's originality; he happened to be a man with a peculiarly strong taste for similes! And it will scarcely be believed that the mixture of dialects and the mixture of different cultures (*Kultur Mischung*) are equally ascribed to the poet's personal tastes. Dr. Drerup's attitude in his last chapter reminds me of a lecture I once heard on a picture in an Italian monastery. The sky, instead of being blue, was a rather thin, dull red, and the lecturer explained with enthusiasm that this was due to the 'ascetic nature' of the painter, who would not allow himself the sensuous indulgence of a blue sky. But a painter who was present pointed out to me that the thin, dull red was the usual ground which was used for ultramarine. The sky was red because, for some reason, the last coat had not been put on. Ultramarine was an expensive paint, and perhaps the monks could not afford it.

Dr. Drerup's own view is that the incomparable poet lived in the eighth century, and himself wrote down the text as we have it. True, the earliest papyri all vary greatly from the received text: that is because all the papyri we know are bad ones; those we do not know were quite different and would, if known, exactly corroborate the text as now printed! The most salient proof which Dr. Drerup gives of the exact preservation of the text is an odd one: that the poem was composed for recitation by rhapsodes in stretches of a manageable length, and the existing text

under Dr. Drerup's fingers comes exactly apart into eighteen rhapsodies. This argument leaves me wondering. If it were true, it would prove nothing, because obviously a poem that has been long in the hands of rhapsodes might easily fall apart into eighteen rhapsodies by the action of the rhapsodes themselves; but, as a matter of fact, it is strikingly the reverse of the truth. Half the trouble of the Homeric Question is due to the fact that the Poems do not fall apart into so many rhapsodies; if they did, how much happier Lachmann would have been!

Now, after all this unfavourable criticism, it will perhaps seem surprising if I add that I personally have found this volume one of the most interesting and valuable books on the Homeric Question that I have read for many years. Its merit does not lie in sound judgment or delicate imagination, but it lies in the immense range of literature and the wealth of parallels over which Dr. Drerup is master. Again and again he corrects convincingly and finally the errors of various scholars, who have applied to Homer the analogy of some particular form of literature which has struck them. His corrections of Chadwick, for instance, are conclusive. In spite of the very high value of Professor Chadwick's work, the parallels between his Northern Epics and Homer are not exact, and Dr. Drerup easily shows that there is no reason they should be. This is a real advance in the study of the whole problem; Dr. Drerup's *Jehad* is, to my mind, a failure. We all believe in the unity of Homer: it is only when we try to explain what that unity is, and how it has come about, that the Homeric Question begins. But, in spite of what seems to me an unfortunate standpoint, Dr. Drerup's wide studies have borne fruit, and he leaves the unsolved Question not where he found it.

GILBERT MURRAY.

EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

Early Greek Philosophy. By J. BURNET. Third Edition. A. and C. Black, Ltd., 1920.

THAT this work, besides having been translated into French and German,

should have reached a third edition in English, is a matter for congratulation not only to the author but to all lovers of good scholarship. To students of the history of philosophy and the sciences it

is an indispensable aid, and the alterations and additions made in its new form will, it is to be hoped, receive from them due welcome and attention.

It is now twenty-eight years since its first appearance, and what were then regarded as its paradoxes have in the main, and largely owing to its convincing presentation of them, become almost commonplaces among scholars. Yet the work has lost none of its interest or freshness. The new edition has been carefully worked over and brought up to date, in a manner which nowhere leaves the impression of discontinuity between the old and the new. Indeed, the main theses of the book stand out from the details even more clearly than before, and the vital arguments have gained in force of appeal. Outside the circle of those whose professional business it is to study the history of Greek thought there still linger survivals of the older '*à priori*,' 'mystical,' (is it harsh to add?) 'Hegelian' misreading of the evidence. To those who approach that subject as theologians, Orientalists, or anthropologists, this work may be commended as an authority to be trusted—so full and accurate is its erudition, so careful and balanced its judgment.

In his short 'Preface to the Third Edition,' Professor Burnet, besides calling the reader's attention to the governing principle of his treatment of the early philosophers of Greece, excites our interest by the announcement of his intention once more to canvass 'the other paradox' with which his name is connected—viz. that 'the Platonist view' (*i.e.* that which finds reality not in matter, but in form) 'goes back to the Pythagoreans, and was already familiar to Sokrates.' The results of 'the fresh interpretation in detail of the Platonic dialogues,' on which he is now engaged, will be eagerly awaited. In this volume naturally nothing is said of it, though the way for its advance is skilfully prepared, or at least cleared of obstructions.

It may be permitted here to suggest a line of investigation which has not been quite sufficiently followed up. It is doubtful if even yet there is quite

clearly realised what may be called the formal side of 'the schools of philosophy' of which our authorities so frequently speak. The gap between the 'caste or guild' and the 'legally recognised corporation' requires filling up. Between the two may be described a type of institution of which the legal recognition is a rather late accident. We are apt to post-date the existence of what are at least in germ universities or colleges, with fairly definite curricula, elementary and advanced, academic exercises, possibly even examinations and diplomas. Continuity seems to depend more upon the persistence of such features than upon either legal identity or adherence to traditional doctrines (though loyalty to the founder does of course play a large part in it). The question of the form of the instruction given in a school is almost as important as its substance; at any rate within the framework of the form there is large room for development or variation of the substance. Hence we should be careful in speaking of the continuity or identity of the doctrine propagated from generation to generation within the same 'school,' and at least it would be wise to distinguish between the conventional *pabulum* imparted in the ordinary courses, and the more progressive, perhaps even revolutionary, developments put forward in the more advanced, or canvassed among the *profectiones*. It is possible that at a time when in the Academy the very foundations of 'the Theory of Ideas' were being reconsidered by its leaders an older version was still being dogmatically taught to beginners. This formal side of the academic life (one might almost venture so to translate *ὁ θεωρητικὸς βίος*) is somewhat dissembled in our literary authorities, and we too often forget it. It would be well to attempt some determination of its history and development before concluding the more difficult task of tracing descent and affiliation of doctrine.

It would be quite impossible within the limits of a review to note the very numerous changes made in this edition, and it is difficult even to make a selec-

tion among them. At the very outset we find in place of the two old paragraphs on 'the primitive view of the world' a most suggestive discussion on 'the traditional view of the world.' The change is significant. Professor Burnet boldly identifies the historical Greeks to whom we owe Greek art and Greek science with the 'Minoans,' whom he believes to have been Greek-speaking and to have been the authors of the Greek civilisation of later days. Thus behind 'Homer' and 'Early Greek philosophy,' lies not a vaguely primitive savagedom, but the tradition of a highly advanced civilisation. In this, and in the rejection of any large borrowings by Greece from Egypt and Babylon, Professor Burnet is surely on the right track. With his usual excellent judgment he recognises the elements contributed to the main stream by Northern invaders and Eastern neighbours, but he does not believe that from either source much came in the form of express ideas.

Recent additions to our knowledge of the history of early mathematics and astronomy are taken account of, and 'unnecessary concessions' as to Babylonian astronomy rightly withdrawn. Due stress is laid upon the great difference in character between the knowledge fairly ascribable to the Egyptians or the Babylonians and Greek science. What is here said cannot too strongly be commended to the notice of Orientalists.

The chapter on 'Science and Religion' contains much interesting new matter, and the changes introduced deserve careful study. Here the back-ground is lighted up by what we have learned from archaeological investigations. The firm rejection of any Indian influence at this early date is to be welcomed. The account of Pythagoras has been revised and filled out. There is no essential alteration of view, but especially the paragraph on 'the heavenly bodies' is considerably changed—and, as usual, improved.

Throughout the new edition there is evidence of the most painstaking reconsideration of the authorities, and the style, which was already a model, is touched up in innumerable small points. Finality in presentation of such a subject is impossible, but in its present form the work is a pattern of what such a work should be. With Diels' *Fragmente* as his text and Burnet's translations and commentaries as his guides, the student is amply provided with all the materials and instruments for attaining a just view of the beginnings of philosophy and science in the epoch-making thought of Greece—a thought which more than any other force has shaped, and still shapes, the world in which we now think and live. This work displaces masses of ill-informed premature, crude, and fantastic speculation, and substitutes for them sober and serious history.

J. A. S.

THE WORKS OF ARISTOTLE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

The Works of Aristotle translated into English. Vol. X.: *Politica*, by BENJAMIN JOWETT; *Oeconomica*, by E. S. FORSTER; *Atheniensium Respublica*, by Sir FREDERICK G. KENYON. Clarendon Press, 1921. 15s. net.

This volume supplies students of political science and of economic history with the whole of Aristotle's extant work on these subjects in a worthy English dress. The translations of *Oeconomica* and *The Constitution of Athens* have already been noticed in this *Review*. With these is now included the *Politics* in Jowett's version, revised by the editor of the series in the light of later work.

'Piety towards Dr. Jowett' (writes Mr. Ross in the Preface), 'whose munificence made possible the production of this translation of Aristotle, suggested that no new rendering of the *Politics* should be attempted.' The decision was undoubtedly right. The pure and simple English of which Jowett was a master is an admirable vehicle for Aristotle's thought; and while ignoring the inelegancies, it preserves the merits of his style—its precision, its not infrequent terseness, and its rare moments of elevation. But considerable correction was called for, and to this great care has clearly been devoted.

The improvement effected appears

even in renderings of single words: *χρηματιστική* is now given as 'the art of getting wealth' instead of 'art of money-making'; *λόγος* as 'rational principle' instead of 'reason'; *ἁρμονία*, 'musical mode,' instead of 'harmony.' Many sentences have been retouched or rewritten to bring the version closer to the Greek; but the grace and ease of Jowett's style have been skilfully preserved.

In some places it may be thought that alteration should have gone further. In particular, Jowett sometimes fails in carrying a train of argument through several sentences. Take 1253a 19 ff., where Aristotle proves the state 'prior' to the individual by arguing (1) that the whole is 'prior' to the part, because the part—e.g. a hand—cannot function, and therefore cannot properly exist, without the whole—e.g. the body; and (2) that the individual is a part of the state in this sense, because, if human, he is not self-sufficing. The translation (and, it may be added, the punctuation) slightly blurs the argument throughout, and disjoins its two halves by ignoring *οὖν* at l. 25; it there runs, 'The proof that the state is a creation of nature and is prior to the individual is that the individual . . . is not self-sufficing.' One might prefer, 'This proves that the state is not only a creation of nature [proved earlier in the chapter], but is prior to the individual; because,' etc. Exception may be taken in detail to the rendering of l. 22, *διαφθαρείσα γὰρ ἔσται τοιαύτη*, 'for when destroyed the hand will be no better than that' [viz. a stone hand]. There is no question of the hand's being destroyed; when the body is destroyed, *ἀναιρουμένον*, the hand is spoiled, *διαφθαρείσα*, incapacitated, and therefore no longer a hand in the proper sense. The context surely requires *τοιαύτη* to mean 'in these circumstances,' i.e. separated from the body; and even if it referred to *λιθινήν*, it would not mean 'no better than a stone hand,' but actually 'of stone'—*τοιούτος* being a mere alias for a preceding adjective.

Similarly below, line 37, *ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν*, 'but justice is the bond of the state,' should rather be 'but justice is an element of the state,' in

fact a product of it. The writer is proving that the state is the greatest of boons; he argues that the state regulates society by *δίκη*: *δίκη* determines τὸ δίκαιον <and so gives a content to *δικαιοσύνη*>: with *δικαιοσύνη* man is the best, as without it he is the worst, of animals.

Mr. Ross bases his recension on the text of Immisch (Teubner, 1909), but sometimes leaves it to return to the MSS., and occasionally to introduce better emendations. A few of these appear to be new: 1268b 1 *δύο οἰκίαις*, 1274a 38 *τοῦ μὲν σύνοπτον τοῦ δ' οὐ σύνοπτον*, 1314a 40 *καλῶς—πρῶτον μὲν δοκεῖν*. All are acceptable. But here again some will think Mr. Ross too conservative—e.g. 1328b 23 Aristotle certainly ought to have written *δικαίων*, not *ἀναγκαίων*, though whether this proves that he did so must be a matter of opinion. Or 1331a 29 *ἐπιφάνειάν τε ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς θέσιν ἰκανῶς*, καὶ πρὸς τὰ γειννιῶντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἐρμυνοτέρως: *ἀρετῆς θέσιν* seems most unlikely Greek, though neither Laminus' *θέσεως ἀρετῆν* nor Jackson's *ἱερατείας θέσιν* can be called certain. The rendering, 'The site should be a spot seen far and wide, which gives due elevation to virtue and towers over the neighbourhood,' is at all events a specimen of Jowett's adroit conciseness.

A few more passages may be taken at random. The reviser deals ably with the crux 1255a 12-21, at 17 suggesting *διὰ γὰρ τὸ . . . εὐνόια* (or *ἐν εὐνοίᾳ*) *δοκεῖν*, 'for it is due to one party's identifying justice with goodwill.' For *ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.* he gives, 'If these views are thus set out separately, the other views have no force or plausibility against the view that the superior in virtue ought to rule, or be master': with a footnote on *ἄτεροι λόγοι*—'i.e. those stated in ll. 5-12, that the stronger always has, and that he never has, a right to enslave the weaker. Aristotle finds that these views cannot maintain themselves against his intermediate view, that the superior in virtue should rule.' This gives excellent sense, though at the cost of making *διαστάντων γε χωρὶς* refer to other *λόγοι* than those which are said *ἐπαλλάττειν* in l. 13.

At 1260a 18 the reviser has 'for his function, taken absolutely, demands a

master artificer, and rational principle is such an artificer.' The article with *ἀρχιτέκτονος* is against this; is it not a general statement—'Any work, taken absolutely, belongs to, depends on, the master craftsman (not the subordinate executants)'? It is hard to reject Thurot's *διανοητικὴν* for *ἡθικὴν*, and his transposition of ll. 14-17 to l. 20.

Of 1300a 10-65 Mr. Ross gives a satisfactory and partly original treatment which is too long to reproduce.

At 1328b 7-10 he has, 'thirdly there must be arms, for the members of a community have need of them, and in their own hands, too [*καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς*, which Jowett¹ ignored], in order to maintain authority both against disobedient subjects and against external assailants.' This is Newman's interpretation of *καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς*, but it is difficult to think it right; nor do citizens 'maintain authority' against 'external assailants.' Rather take *καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς* (explained by the addition of *πρὸς τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀπειθούντων*

χάριν), as opposed to *καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας*, 'as well within the state, and to maintain authority in case of insubordination, as to resist assaults from without.' No doubt *καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπειθούντας καὶ πρὸς κ.τ.λ.* would be sufficient, and more symmetrical; but the expansion and the asymmetry are characteristic of the author.

At 1334b 13 f. the reviser, agreeing with Newman, has 'birth implies an antecedent beginning, and there are beginnings whose end is relative to a further end.' But can *ἀπὸ τινὸς ἀρχῆς* stand for *ἀπὸ τινῶν ἀρχῶν*? Rather 'the end from any given beginning is relative to another end' (a statement as to ends in general, though not of course intended to preclude the existence of an ultimate end). Thurot's *ἀρχῆς* <*ἀρχή*> is tempting.

But the more one reads Aristotle, the more one inclines to think certainty unattainable as to many such minutiae of criticism. In any case Mr. Ross has rendered a service to letters by enabling Jowett's *Politics* to retain its place as a classic. H. RACKHAM.

¹ Perhaps Jowett thought the clause sufficiently represented by the word 'subjects.'

TWO EDITIONS OF MENANDER.

Menandri reliquiae nuper repertae. Iterum edidit SIEGFRIED SUDHAUS. One vol. Pp. 103. Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1914. M. 2.40.

Menandri fabularum reliquiae in exemplarium vetustorum foliis laceris servatae. Cum praefatione, notis criticis, commentariis exegeticis. Tertium edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN, J.F. One vol. Pp. xxviii + 258. Lugduni Batavorum: A. W. Sijthoff, 1919. 4.90 f.

SUDHAUS' new volume is much more than a second edition. Its readings are based on a meticulous collation made both by Sudhaus himself and by his pupil, Christian Jensen. It contains a great deal of new matter, including the fragments of six additional plays. For detailed argument it is necessary to consult the *Menander-Studien*, also published in 1914; but the apparatus here given is not inadequate. Perhaps the most notable discovery is the identification of Z¹ 2

as belonging to the *Epitrepontes*: the name Παμφίλη is clearly found in l. 4 of the recto. Sudhaus can hardly be right, however, in placing them, as he does, in front of the Petersburg fragment: lines 25-26 σαφῶς τε πυθόμενος | ὅπως ἔχει τὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς, βουλευέσσομαι would then clash with the very exact information which Smikrines possesses in Z¹ 2. Z¹ 2 should therefore come in at a later point—probably just after 468.

Some of Sudhaus' restorations will hardly win general acceptance. I do not know what meaning he attached to ἐπάλλετο in *Epitr.* 500-501 πρὸς ταῖς θύραις γὰρ ἔνδον ἀρτίως πολὺν χρόνον διακύπτων ἐνδ[ελεχῶς ἐπάλλετο]. In *Perik.* 423 Polemon is anxious to make peace with his sweetheart, and, according to Sudhaus, he says: ἄγετε [νῦν τὴν μείρακα]. 'De gustibus non est disputandum'; but Polemon had been fond enough of the name of Glycera at 256-7, and I have no doubt Van Leeuwen is right in reading νῦν Γλυκέραν τάχυν. In

regard to *Perik.* 310: ἦν ἐξαλείφαιτ' οὐκέτ' οὐδ'—αἰσχύνομαι, could it be argued that the indispensable ἄν is in the part suppressed? Sudhaus and Leo do not seem to have noted its absence. In *Perik.* 92 ἐκδύσει [λήσ]ει λα[βών] it seems to have escaped the notice of Sudhaus, as it has escaped Van Leeuwen, that λήσει is Middle.

But it would be ungenerous to look too curiously for things of this sort in a work that never received the author's final revision. (See the brief preface dated from Woyen, 12th August, 1914.) Many of Sudhaus' restorations are convincing; many more are ingenious and suggestive. The book marks a striking advance, and will long be indispensable to the student of Menander.

Van Leeuwen's edition is roughly in the same format as his familiar Aristophanes. The two introductory chapters—'De Menandri vita et arte' and 'De exemplaribus manuscriptis'—are especially valuable as being a sort of summation of the last fourteen years of critical study. The course of Menander criticism has had many turns and twists; many theories have been put forward, refuted, retracted, or superseded by fresh knowledge, and one may be grateful for a short cut made by a scholar of Van Leeuwen's competence. The préfaces to the individual plays give all (and sometimes more than all) that can be gathered from the fragments. The commentary is a trifle disappointing. No one who is likely to be using this text requires to be informed that ὑπὲρ may be used for περί, or that adverbial πρὸς = *insuper*, or that ἐς κόρακας = *in patibulum*: I need not extend the list. On the other hand, one does want a grammatical note on οὐ . . . οὐθ' *Samia* 54-55, possibly on τοῖς οἰκέταις πραττόμενον (his reading in *Samia* 86), and certainly on παίζομαι *Fab. Inc.* 26. From Van Leeuwen some more explicit discussion of the antecedents of the New Comedy would not have been amiss; Leo has certainly not underestimated its obligations to Euripides, and some of Leo's followers have indulged in the wildest exaggeration. But the book is undoubtedly the most generally serviceable of the editions of Menander; it embodies a wealth

of scholarship in a dress of the most fluent and charming Latinity.

Samia 53-55.

πατὴρ δ' ἔσθ' ἐστίν, εἴτ' ἐμοῦ,
εἴτ'—οὐ λέγω δ', ἄνδρες, πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοῦτ' ἐγώ,
οὐθ' ὑπονοῶ.

So the Papyrus and Van Leeuwen; but οὐ . . . οὐθ' is clearly impossible. Sudhaus accepts οὐθ' from Wilamowitz, citing from the Ghorân Papyri ΟΥΚ = ὁ οὐκ (*Studien*, p. 40). I dislike οὐθ' = ὁ ἔτι for three reasons: (1) The crasis is a hard one; Wilamowitz himself (*N.J.*, 1908, p. 39) says that Menander is more chary than Aristophanes in his use of crasis. (2) Is ὁ ἔτι ὑπονοῶ = 'which I further suspect' a natural piece of Greek? I should take it to mean 'which I still suspect.' (3) 'I won't say what I further suspect' does not seem to fit the situation. Demeas, in point of fact quivering with excitement, is determined to be calm—I won't say this—I won't harbour the suspicion.' It looks as if the true reading were οὐχ. This is a case for the asyndeton which Demetrius (*περὶ ἑρμηνείας* § 192) notes as characteristic of Menander. As in papyrus documents οὐχ would probably appear as ΟΥΚ even before an aspirate, the change to ΟΥΘ' is not a large one.

Samia 66-7.

ἐὰν γέον
αὐτὸν παραγαγῆν ἐστὶ τοῦ[τους ἐκποδῶν].

So Sudhaus, a restoration on which Wilamowitz is needlessly hard. The cook and his attendants are to go inside, no doubt, but the angry Demeas might phrase it this way. The line might be restored in other ways; but Van Leeuwen's τοὺς ἄνδρας θ' ἄμα is hardly likely of a cook's party, and Wilamowitz's τοὺς μισθομένους is surely impossible. They were μεμισθωμένοι when they left the marketplace.

Samia, 94-5.

μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλ[ω, μὰ τὸν Ἄρη]
μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρα, μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπίον.

So Sudhaus, but Van Leeuwen is right in accepting Headlam's 'γὰρ μὲν οὐ'. The other four were Θεοὶ σωτήρες, but Ares has no place in that galley.

Perik. 191.

ὅταν δὲ τετραδράχμους τοιοῦτ[ους] λαμβάνη.

So Sudhaus. Van Leeuwen alters the text. Neither seems to do justice to the very attractive emendation suggested by Capps in his *Four Plays of Menander*—ὅταν δ' ὁ τετράδραχμος—ὁ τετράδραχμος being Polemon, 'the brigadier.'

Georgos 46.

ὁ Κλεάνθεος παρ' ᾧ τὸ μεράκιον [τὸ σὸν] ἐργάζεται.

Παρ' ᾧ Sudhaus, and (I believe) rightly. The papyrus has γὰρ οὖν. Van Leeuwen retains this, and explains οὖν as 'ubi, in cuius agro, apud quem.' Grenfell and

Hunt's reading γὰρ οὖν τὸ μεράκιον [ἀγρόν] is open to the objection that one would expect τὸν ἀγρόν.

Samia 23.

ταμείον Pap., the ordinary form ταμείον occurring in lines 14 and 21.

Van Leeuwen rewrites the text so as to introduce ταμείον. Sudhaus accepts ταμειδίου from Hense. I believe that Crönert is right with ταμειδίου. Nothing is more common in papyrus documents than the omission of the first of two ι-sounds. Hence εἰς πειν for a *pour-boire*, and the ill-favoured name of the goddess Hygeia.

W. RENNIE.

HELLENISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Hellenism and Christianity. By EDWYN BEVAN. Pp. 275. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1921.

THIS is for the most part a collection of papers written by Mr. Bevan for various reviews and periodicals. Two of the papers deal with Greek literature, with Bacchylides and the Anthology. One is a keen and excellent psychological inquiry into the nature of *dirt*. The rest of the articles hang closely together, and are all concerned with the relations of Hellenism and Christianity in the ancient and the modern world. This is a subject on which Mr. Bevan has good right to be heard. He approaches it in an extremely impartial and even detached spirit, and with much insight and wide knowledge works at and through it, with results which merit careful attention.

Of course, much depends on the meaning which the writer attaches to the two words. By Christianity he understands, not the teaching of an organised Church, but the principles which lie at the root of Christian belief and ethics, as he accepts them; and by Hellenism he understands the great tendency to rationalism and science, which is so often at issue with Christianity. No doubt this is an incomplete view. For example, we do not see where our cathedrals come in, which are surely Christian; and in treating of Hellenism Mr. Bevan hardly speaks of the love of beauty which was

one of the greatest gifts bestowed by Hellas on mankind. But we must remember that this work is not a formal philosophic treatise, but a series of suggestions; and we must rather be grateful to Mr. Bevan for what he gives us, than critical in looking for his omissions.

In his first chapter, on 'The East and the West,' Mr. Bevan tries to show that Kipling's dogma, 'never the twain shall meet,' is based on a very superficial reading of the Oriental mind. He points to the remarkable absorption by the mediaeval Arabs of the philosophy of Aristotle and the science of the Greeks of Alexandria. This is a theme which has been of late much dwelt on by Sir Clifford Allbutt and other authorities. Mr. Bevan maintains that a parallel process is going on now in the minds of a multitude of intelligent natives of Japan and India, who are really absorbing, not only European inventions and conveniences of life, but also a thoroughly Western tone of mind. But he maintains that, as a rule, there is very little Christianity in their acquisitions, but rather the rational outlook on life which was the essential feature of Hellenic civilisation. He sees no reason for fearing that this outlook would be submerged if the East broke away from European tutelage, though it might lead to a kind of civilisation in some respects very different from ours.

The chapters of Mr. Bevan's work

which are likely to be most interesting to Hellenic students are 'The First Contact of Christianity with Paganism,' 'The Gnostic Redeemer,' and 'Between Two Worlds'; the first especially, which treats of a subject much discussed in modern days, but treats it in a fresh and sympathetic way. Mr. Bevan has the rare gift of the historic imagination, and he tries deliberately to think himself back into the conditions amid which Christianity arose. He shows that most people get a very one-sided view of the moral and religious condition of the world in the early Roman age because they regard the literature of the period as setting forth the views generally held, whereas they really set forth the opinions of the best educated, and express even those in accordance with strong literary habits and prejudices. He imagines himself a member of the Church of Thessalonica when St. Paul's first letter was read in public. What would it really mean to the listeners? Incidentally, we may observe how highly the writer values the works of Dr. Glover, who, like himself, combines an ardent belief in Christianity and familiarity with the customs, the rites, the philosophy of Hellenism. Mr. Bevan goes on to speak of the teachings of first century pagan mysticism, which soon branched in two directions, the fundamentally Platonic views of the *Poimandres*, of Iamblichus, and Plotinus, and the varied theological schemes of the Christian Gnostics, who really deeply influenced rising Christianity. On the much discussed question how far the mystic sects recognised the idea of a 'saving deity,' Mr. Bevan is moderate. He rejects the view that Christianity borrowed the notion from Paganism, but he cannot deny a certain parallelism between Hermetic and Christian conceptions of a Redeemer, the great difference of course lying in the historic basis of Christianity, while the Hermetic and Gnostic writers evolve their Saviour out of philosophic ideas. In the absence of conclusive evidence, it is likely that there will always be differences of opinion as to the originality of Christianity in this matter. Mr. Bevan writes (p. 95): 'I do not think that Jesus would disap-

pear if some anticipation of Catholic Christianity were discovered in a pre-Christian papyrus. Yet when it is asserted that, as a matter of fact, the Christian belief in a Redeemer was an element taken over from current Hellenistic theology, I think we may rightly ask for proof of it.' Mr. Bevan points out truly enough the deplorable condition, as regards both text and commentary, of the Hermetic literature—a matter well deserving the attention of scholars.

Perhaps the most original thing in these chapters is a partial defence of Epicureanism in 'A Paradox of Christianity.' A more or less stoical view of life has been accepted from Greek times to our own by nearly all those who were less devoted to Christianity, but who took life seriously, and worked earnestly for the good of mankind. But Mr. Bevan maintains that unless one accepts the Christian paradoxes there is much to be said for the scheme of Epicurus, accepted of course not in a popular, but in a nobler sense. If we accept William James's distinction between the once born and the twice born, Mr. Bevan seems to think that whereas the twice born must struggle on into Christianity, the once born may find refuge in the garden of Epicurus. 'If we are to set out with the principle that cheerfulness is the end of life, and that life means this life only and nothing beyond, it is hard to see that we can much improve upon the teaching of Epicurus, who carried out the consequences of these principles with the straightforwardness and lucidity of a Greek thinker.' 'If this scheme of life is really preferable to the Christian one, it would be better frankly to put Epicurus in the place of Christ.'

In more than one chapter Augustine figures largely, and most appropriately, since no ancient writer exhibits more fully the conflict between Hellenic and Christian tendencies. But Augustine lived at a time when he could not find either of these tendencies in a fresh and progressive phase. Greek religion had decayed, and its place had been taken by the syncretist confusion derived from the East; even the Platonic philosophy which was the most living of Hellenic tendencies was overlaid with superstition and fancy.

On the other hand, Christianity had lost its simplicity and freshness, and was degenerating towards mediaevalism. Augustine was of course a great figure, and had immense influence on the development of the Catholic Church. It is natural that this side of his influence should not appeal much to Mr. Bevan, who regards him rather, on the one hand, as a setter forth of Greek religious philosophy, and on the other as the Apostle of personality—the ‘first modern man’ as he has been called. The Confessions of Augustine are not to be compared with those of St. Paul for depth and fervour, or with those of the great Antonine for clear and calm outlook, but they have undoubtedly had a great effect on the more educated Christian thought in all ages: and since the Reformation have set out on a fresh career of influence.

One question in regard to Augustine Mr. Bevan could not avoid, and he treats it very judiciously: how far is his apparently limpid self-revelation the result of real earnestness of thought,

and how far of the rhetorical tendency which had eaten its way into the roots of European literature at the time? There is obvious inconsistency between the Confessions and the Dialogues, and the letters written to friends while he was a professed Christian. This is a difficult, perhaps an insoluble, question; but its solution would not affect the fact of the influence exercised in the past by the great theologian.

This is scarcely the place to speak of the later chapters of our book, which deal mainly with present day problems in ethics and religion.

In our days, when most people are absorbed in the present, and when scholars familiar with the past are mostly so full of work and teaching as to have no leisure, it is a great gain to have writers like Mr. Bevan who do not hurry their thinking, and to whom past and present are not separate volumes, but closely connected chapters in the history of the human spirit.

P. GARDNER.

P. OVIDI NASONIS FASTI.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum: Liber III. Edited, with an Introduction and Commentary, by CŶRIL BAILEY, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d.

IT has too often been the case, in this country and elsewhere, that such unpretentious editions as this have been mere compilations, often from out-of-date textbooks. Mr. Bailey, who as he tells us in his Preface has made ‘something of an experiment’ with his edition, has aimed higher, and given students a book from which they may get reliable information and, what is better still, fruitful suggestions to guide them to the study of larger works on Roman religion.

Into an Introduction of fifty-one pages has been crowded, without sacrifice of lucidity or interest, a brief account of the importance of the *Fasti*, the salient features of the oldest Roman religion, its development and the influence upon it of Greek belief and thought, the Roman calendar, the problem of the original nature of Mars, and the MSS. and editions of the poem. Then comes the text, conservative but not obscurantist, as one would expect from the editor of the *Oxford Lucretius*; and lastly fifty-nine pages of very good notes, chiefly on subject-matter, the longest and most elaborate being on religious points, as that on the Salii, p. 98 ff. What there is not, but ought to be, is a brief index.

A list of all the passages which the reviewer finds commendable for their sagacity and

commonsense would nearly supply this want. The list of errors is short; p. 25 ff., the account of the Roman calendar is naturally based chiefly on Mommsen. But on one point, the question of the ten-month Romulean year, the great historian’s conclusions have been shaken if not wholly upset by the instances collected by Professor Nilsson (*Ancient Time-Reckoning*) of years which are not continuous, like ours, but end before and begin after a dead season, in which nothing in particular happens and so no account is taken of time.

The astronomical notes in ll. 711 ff. are unworthy of a book written presumably within a few hundred yards of an observatory. Peter says that Scorpio rises on March 16, Paley that it sets; surely the natural thing for a new editor is to ask an astronomer what it really did do, both at the time and place of Ovid’s composition of the *Fasti* and at the date and locality when the calendars which he may be thought to have used were compiled. But controversial points are sure to abound in such a work, and an editor who must be brief can scarcely help appearing to be dogmatic when nothing is further from his intention.

What most wants amending in this book is the title, where *liber III.* had far better have been *libri sex*. It is to be hoped that future publications by the same author will put this to rights.

H. J. ROSE.

THE LOEB AUSONIUS.

Ausonius. With an English translation by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE, M.A., sometime scholar of Wadham College, Oxford. Two vols. Vol. I.: Introduction, pp. vii.-xliii.; text, pp. 398. Frontispiece, 'Wine Boat on the Moselle' (photo of relief). Vol. II.: Pp. 368. With the *Eucharisticus* of Paulinus Pellaëus. Loeb Classical Library. London: W. Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Vol. I., 1919; Vol. II., 1921. Vol. I., 7s. 6d.; Vol. II., 10s.

WHAT attraction Ausonius has for modern readers turns largely on the neatness and fluency with which he versifies his often trivial and unpromising themes. One might say with justice of him what Coleridge said, through ignorance, of Virgil: 'If you take from him his diction and metre, what do you leave him?' And for answer one might turn to the 'Professors of Bordeaux' in the first of these two volumes: the banal remarks and conventional criticism seem hardly tolerable in English.

It is not Mr. White's fault. He has faced his task manfully, and done all that he could to make the book interesting. His translation, which is generally easy and reliable, is supported by brief but helpful notes, whilst an introduction of nearly forty pages deals with the poet's life and literary character and the MSS. The second volume contains, in addition to works of Ausonius, the *Eucharisticus*, generally ascribed to a grandson of the poet's, and certainly most valuable for the picture it gives of the sufferings which the Gothic invasions brought upon the regions which he loved so well.

Mr. White's estimate of his author's literary merits is sane and discriminating. The influence upon him of Statius and the younger Pliny might have been mentioned. The point has some bearing upon two show-passages of the *Mosella*, of which Mr. White gives a capital version, from which I gladly borrow:

How the furrowed sand is rippled by the light current, how the bowed water-grasses quiver in thy green bed: down beneath their native streams the tossing plants endure the water's buffeting, pebbles gleam and are hid, and gravel picks out patches of green moss (63-67).

What a hue is on the waters when Hesperus has driven forward the lagging shadows and o'erspreads Moselle with the

green of the reflected height! Whole hills float on the shivering ripples: here quivers the far-off tendril of the vine, here in the glassy flood swells the full cluster. The deluded boatman tells o'er the green vines—the boatman whose skiff of bark floats on the watery floor out in midstream, where the pictured hill blends with the river and the river joins with the edges of the shadows (192-199).

Ausonius has always enjoyed much credit for the appreciation of natural beauty which these lines suggest, but in the second piece he has done little more than develop two passages from the *Silvae*:

nemora alta citatis
incubuerunt uadis; fallax responsat imago
frondibus et longas eadem fugit umbra per
undas (I. 3. 17-19).
cum iam fessa dies et in aequora montis opaci
umbra cadit uitreoque natant praetoria ponto
(2. 2. 48, 49).

And even in the first passage the pebbles are, I fancy, from Pliny's Clitumnus letter: *purus et uitreus, ut numerare iactas stipes et relucentes calculos possis*. Were the other 'feathers' really his own?

In the account of the MSS. it might have been worth while to note that V is a Visigoth MS., in view of the comparative rareness of classical MSS. in that script, and the fact that Schenkl and Peiper both label it Lombardic. There is a slip at p. xxxviii: the first part of Peiper's split archetype was regarded by that scholar as the ancestor of the V, not the Z, group.

At the end of the introduction Mr. White shows that he regrets having followed Peiper's attempt to amalgamate the editions represented by V (? posthumous) and Z (? 383 A.D.), but does not say what course he would have wished to adopt. It would have been an interesting experiment to print the Z pieces first, secondly the V pieces, and lastly pieces like *Mosella*, which occur in neither. One would have been able then to see at a glance the general aspect of the two editions. Pieces common to VZ would of course have been printed under Z, title and reference to the appropriate page being all that was needed under V.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

Sheffield.

SUETONIUS, LIFE OF DOMITIAN.

C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Domitiani. Edidit J. JANSSEN. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. iv + 96. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1919.

COMMENTARIES on Suetonius are always acceptable, particularly when they are good; and about the excellence of the latest there can be no doubt. Janssen's edition of the *Domitian*—a dissertation from the University of Amsterdam—is a work of many virtues, which deserves more serious attention than most publications of its kind. It has been put together with great care, is written in the Latin which may always

be expected of Dutch scholarship, and is well printed on paper that has been unfamiliar in Continental books since 1914. Of misprints not mentioned in the short list of corrigenda I have only noticed one—*airoū* for *airoū* on p. 59, unless the generally rejected 'manu' in a quotation from Varro *de L.L.* VI. 64 on p. 41 is another.

With textual matters the editor is not much concerned. He gives no critical apparatus, and generally is content to follow Ihm; in the few places where he differs he does so with

reason, as when he rightly refuses Ihm's proposal for the corrupt passage in Cap. III. about Domitia. But his main purpose is to provide a full historical commentary, and here the result is of considerable value. He prints at length a generous selection of parallel authorities, and adds to these his notes on such a scale as often to leave a page with no more than a single line of text. Inevitably in such a mass of matter there are lapses of judgment and even of fact; but in most cases the notes are good and take account of recent work, though it would have been more convenient if the references to Friedlaender's *Sittengeschichte* had been made to a later edition than the sixth. The chief defect of the commentary at large is one to be expected in a dissertation—its tendency to stray. Discursive learning has a charm that is its own, but there is a point, left far behind by Janssen, at which this sort of thing becomes absurd. In Cap. I., for instance, Suetonius casually mentions some tittle-tattle to the effect that Nerva's relations with the young Domitian were not all they might have been; whereon the editorial comment is a profound examination of the discrepancy between Cassius Dio and the *Fasti* of Philocalus on the year of Nerva's birth. The learning is admirable, but here it is buried alive. Again, in Cap. X. the fate of Civica Cerealis—presumably Gaius of that name—leads to an account of his shadowy relative, Sextus, while nothing is said about a much more interesting point, the reason why Suetonius thought it worth the trouble to add that he was put to death 'in ipso Asiae proconsulatu.' But this is a small defect which will not prevent the book from serving as a most useful collection of material for Flavian history.

A short notice is not the place for a discussion of all the detailed points on which criticism might be made, but it may be worth while to end with a few disjointed observations. (1) In Cap. IV. Suetonius says that at the Agon Capitolinus of 86 Domitian presided 'adsidentibus Diali sacerdoti et collegio Flavialium,' on which Janssen's comment is 'adsidebat ei utpote Iovi flamen Dialis, sacerdos Iovis.' If this means what it appears to do, we are entitled to ask, first, for some evidence to support its rather sweeping implication, and,

secondly, for a reason why Domitian, when masquerading as Jupiter incarnate, should have worn a crown bearing figures of the Capitoline Triad. The editor quotes nothing, unless he means support to be found in a reference on p. 63 to the quite inadequate passage of Martial XIV. 1, 2. But probably this is only another instance of the rash talk which too often says on no good ground that various people in Rome, particularly triumphators, were in the habit of personating Jupiter. (2) On p. 39 there is an unfortunate reference to Professor Rostowzew's article 'Frumentum' in *P.-W.* VII. 129. What he says of Rome is applied to Italy in general. (3) Janssen's notes on the army reform are sound, but a reference might have been added on p. 40 to the sacellum of Lambaesis. In addition, it would have been wise of the editor to reject the view that the legions of Egypt were paid on a different scale from the rest—*vide* Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 251. This was very improbable, even before the influence of the exchange was understood. (4) The statement on p. 63 that 'Augustus suam (statuam) poni nisi provinciis non concesserat' seems to have arisen from a confusion with his policy in regard to temples. *Mon. Anc. Lat.* IV. 51 ff. is enough to show there must have been hundreds of his statues in Rome, nor is this denied by Suet. *Aug.* 52, and Cassius Dio. LIII. 22. The only peculiarity of Augustus in this respect was his way of dealing with statues made of precious metal. (5) The notes on Cap. IV. naturally include a discussion of saecular games in general, and here Janssen—as, indeed, he has a perfect right to do—decides that Hirschfeld's account of the Claudian celebration is to be preferred. But he does not reveal the weakness of a case which sets aside the view unquestionably backed by the authority of Tacitus in favour of a piece of gossip recorded by Suetonius (*Claudius*, 21) and implicitly denied by him in the same sentence on the authority of Claudius himself. Nor does he suggest that against the alleged support of Censorinus and Zosimus there may be set in favour of Mommsen the weighty evidence of the officials responsible for the celebration of Pius.

HUGH LAST.

VOLKSMÄRCHEN, SAGE UND NOVELLE BEI HERODOT UND SEINEN ZEITGENOSSEN.

Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen. By WOLF ALY. Large 8vo. Pp. iv, 301+12. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1921. 12s.

HAVE we of late been taking Herodotos too seriously as an historian, and unduly exalting his work as an historical source? Here is a volume to recall us from any exaggerated reverence for the 'Father of History' as such, and to replace in full light the non-natural,

the fictitious, the poetic elements in his immortal museum. There is, no doubt, a deal both of *Dichtung* and of *Wahrheit*, of fancy and of fact, in the packed pages of Herodotos; and, if the two constituents could be so nicely separated throughout, as might seem assumed in the elaborate 'Analysis of the Histories of Herodotos,' which forms the middle trunk of the text in this volume under review (177 pages out of 301), it would not much matter whether we

extracted the facts and treated the remainder as fiction, or extracted the fictions and treated the remainder as matter of fact. But, unfortunately, the problem is not quite so simple as all that. There is much in the work of Herodotos which is matter of fact, in one kind or another; albeit the incidental, the contemporary, the fossilised data furnish the purest history ('in our sense of the word'). There is much in the work of Herodotos which is manifest fiction; albeit such fiction sometimes transmits incidentally a genuine historical point, a valuable historical *aperçu*. But the great bulk of the Herodotean work, even in its most authentic section—that is, the last three books—is neither pure fact nor mere fiction, but is transfigured tradition, largely based on the living voice, and having all but contemporary authority, yet saturated in local prejudice and permeated by afterthought of various kinds. In the story, or stories, told by Herodotos history ('in our sense of the word') hardly ever shows itself pure and undefiled, and the hard antithesis between fact and fiction is beside the point. The attempt to apply it reminds one, to take a major analogy, of Grote's unfortunate dualism between 'Legendary' and 'Historical' Greece: we have long since realised that Legendary Greece is much more historical, and Historical Greece much more legendary, than this grotesque dualism assumed. So, too, the representation of Herodotos as a double nature, a *Dipsychos*, alternately the conscientious and scientific researcher (say, Dr. Jekyll) and the artful and consummate story-teller (or Mr. Hyde), is a trifle crude: especially unhappy appears the notion that he started as the scientific researcher, to be found in the first three or four books, and ended as the triumphant literary artist of the last three books. There are quite prosy or 'scientific' sections and passages in the last three books—for example, the genealogy put into the mouth of Xerxes, which is as exact as the List of the Seven Conspirators in Bk. III., or the Army and Navy Lists, which are as good statistics and ethnography as the List of Satrapies, while the itinerary of

Xerxes might hold its own with the List of Oases in Bk. IV., or the account of the King's Highway in Bk. V. But the varying dominant in the matter (or music) of this or that section of the Herodotean work is surely to be traced rather to the times and places and events and persons represented, and the varying nature of the sources accordingly, than to any inherent *dipsychism*, or duplicity, in the great Logograph himself. Most lovers of Herodotos have conceded to their darling a remarkable simplicity, a high degree of *naïveté*, and will ascribe the variation of style in different parts of his work rather to differences in his materials than to inconsistencies in his nature. The relative closeness of texture in the sections dealing with Babylon, with Egypt, with Skythian and Libyan ethnography, indicate of course that these sections are largely drawn from written sources, whether Hekataios or others. It does not arise from Herodotos having begun his literary career as a man of 'science' or research and having ended it as a man of letters or art, even if you could convince me that the first three or four books were of earlier composition than the last three books.

These observations, which might be indefinitely developed or prolonged, have been evoked by the suggestive and stimulating work of Professor Aly here under review. To describe the work more precisely: its contents are divided into three parts, the middle and largest comprising the analysis already specified, which is accompanied by, indeed mainly consists in, a running commentary, designed to elucidate the elements and items of folk-lore (*Volksmärchen*), of legend, or quasi-epic story (*Sage*), and of dramatic interest (*Novelle*), everywhere visible throughout the work, except in the prosiest passages, such as genealogies, itineraries, inventories, and cartographicalities (all apparently assignable to the 'scientific' or 'historic' Herodotos). This Commentary is illustrated by many just and acute remarks upon the language, style, and literary merits of Herodotos; but its general tendency makes for the depreciation of the historical value of Herodotos, in relation,

for example, to the Age of the Tyrants, or the rôle of Delphi in Greek politics and history, or the domestic and foreign policy of Athens, and so forth; albeit the obvious competence of the writer, and his complete acquaintance at least with the German literature of his subject, dispose one to believe that this tendency may be due to his method and preoccupation, his purpose being to elucidate not the historical value of the work of Herodotos, but the extent to which folk-lore, legend, and romance—in one word, *Logos* (in a limited sense of the word)—has left its mark upon the *Histories*. All the same the two sections anterior and posterior to the Analysis, or Analytical Commentary, make better reading. The former (some thirty pages) proposes the application of the results of the science of Folk-lore (itself, by the way, merely a department of anthropology) to early Greek Literature, including Herodotos' work—a proposal which the proposer proceeds to carry out more completely than any of his predecessors, and as a preliminary establishes the independent origin in Greece, or at least in Ionia, of the prose-tale, fable, anecdote, and so forth, in a way which sheds fresh light upon the beginning of Greek prose literature. With the recognition of the anonymous prose-story as more ancient than the Homeric epos, with the establishment of the primitive prose-story-teller side by side with the rhapsode, the pre-literary age of the *Logos* gains substance, the early *Logopoiói* and *Logographoi* obtain a fresh significance, and Herodotos takes rank not so much as the 'Father of History' (in our sense of the word)—though he is still that in a sense—but as the literary prince of story-tellers, the writer who first gave artistic and permanent form to the

floating corpus of good stories, from divers sources, Hellenic and Oriental, extant round the shores of the Mediterranean in the first half of the fifth century B.C.—the prince, but not the only, nor the first of such story-tellers. And so, in the latest section of the work before us (some ninety-four pages), his literary predecessors are partially reconstructed, and a good case is made out for the importance of Charon and Xanthos—not, indeed, as his masters—that claim is confined to Hekataios—but on their own merits. The art of Herodotos is further detached from the Homeric mirage, and put in closer relation to the tragedians (especially Sophokles), to the early Sophists, and even to the oratory of the Perikleian Age. He is finally, to some extent, rehabilitated as *Pater historiae* (in our sense of the word), though that be a phrase 'which one uses without much meaning attached.'

The volume under review is furnished with four useful indexes (though 'Aesop' is missing), but would be more acceptable if printed in Roman type and on better paper. Such drawbacks may be ascribed to the material and moral effects of the war, to which *per contra* we owe the work itself; for, as the Dedication to Hermann Diels indicates, it was conceived by the author 'during the quiet months of the war of positions (*Stellungskrieges*),' over a Teubner text of Herodotos, a gift from Alfred Körte. Happy in his friends, his labour, and his return from the trenches, the author need not take to heart our exception to his *format*, especially as enough has been said to show that his work is one which no serious student of Herodotos, or of Greek literature and history, can afford to overlook.

R. W. M.

ANCIENT FARM-LABOUR.

Agricola. A study of agriculture and rustic life in the Greco-Roman world from the point of view of labour. BY W. E. HEITLAND, M.A. One vol. Pp. x+492. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. 47s. 6d.

THIS very important contribution to the social and economic history of

antiquity is not light reading; if it proves slightly bewildering to some students, this is not Mr. Heitland's fault, but the inevitable result of the nature of his subject and the method which he rightly adopts in dealing with it. A modern writer on the ancient world whose main object is to be 'in-

teresting' will be well advised to employ the *a priori* method, but Mr. Heitland, while fully aware of the value of parallels from other countries and other periods of history (see the list of books on pp. 470-1), treats such helps as quite subsidiary, and holds that the first requisite is a minute study of evidence. As Croce has recently pointed out, ancient historians did not write of economic problems as such, and thus modern writers on this subject cannot avoid the task of collecting for themselves the relevant material from all extant writings and documents. This book is a much needed reminder of the amount of spadework which is essential before general statements can be made on even quite a small subject.

Mr. Heitland's consciousness of the difficulty of his subject, and the high standard which he sets himself, force him to limit very definitely the scope of his inquiry. Being concerned primarily with the character of agricultural labour in antiquity, he does not profess to deal fully with such problems as the origin of private property in land or varieties of land tenure, and still less with the technical processes of agriculture. Again, with perhaps unnecessary modesty, he avoids a full treatment of rustic labour in the Eastern Mediterranean area on the ground that he could not do more than reproduce the conclusions of such writers as Rostowzew. One cannot help feeling that even a brief discussion of this important subject would have added to the value of the book to young students unfamiliar with German, even if this had involved some curtailment of the treatment of certain writers.

The main subject of the book is the extent to which agricultural labour in antiquity was carried out by slaves. The result of the application of the method of 'putting' his 'authorities in the witness-box and questioning them one by one' is the fairly definite establishment of certain conclusions. As far as agriculture is concerned, Mr. Heitland is prepared to support the old view that ancient civilisation rested on a basis of slave labour. 'Antiquity made the slave its quasi-mechanical drudge; the more or less of slavery at

a given moment simply depended on circumstances.' The recent attempts to idealise ancient slavery he thinks quite inapplicable to the rustic slave, and he emphatically repudiates the parallel drawn by Eduard Meyer between the ancient slave and the modern wage-earner. 'Most significant is the almost complete absence of evidence that rustic slaves had any prospect of manumission.' In rural slavery we find 'the application of an originally domestic institution to industrial ends,' with results which were not favourable to the slave. The improvement which some have noted when, under the Roman Empire, the free *colonus* or tenant farmer becomes prominent is only apparent. Such men employed slave-labour, and their own economic position was so unsatisfactory, even in the days of the younger Pliny, that it was only a question of time for them to be transformed into the serfs of the fourth and later centuries.

As regards free labour, Mr. Heitland admits that its existence can be proved from the time of Homer onwards, but he considers that it played a very unimportant part. He aptly quotes Menander's τὸ γὰρ γεωργεῖν ἔργον ἐστὶν οἰκέτου, and shows that the respect shown for the landed-proprietor, small or great, was not extended to the *μισθωτός* or *mercennarius*. The free man was occasionally required for special purposes, but the bulk of the work was done by slaves. Even the Roman *vilicus* was invariably a slave.

The chapter on Vergil and Horace is one of the most interesting in the book. It is admitted that the absence of references to slavery in the *Georgics* presents a difficulty, and the ingenious suggestion is made that the poet had been instructed by Maecenas to avoid controversial topics. 'It was hardly possible to touch on slavery without some unfavourable reference to the plantation system,' a subject which closely concerned Vergil's wealthy patron. The evidence of Horace shows that farming on a small scale could scarcely be made to pay under existing conditions, and a successful application of the precepts of the *Georgics* was impossible without an economic revolu-

tion for which Augustus and his minister were not prepared. On only two points do the views of Mr. Heitland seem to be questionable. Is he not too unwilling to accept the obvious interpretation of passages in Horace which represent the farmer as an actual worker, an *αὐτοπργός*? Again, is the view that Vergil aimed at supplying much-needed teaching to the disbanded soldiers settled on the land as 'grotesque' as Mr. Heitland thinks? He seems unduly to limit the size of the poet's public.

It is impossible to enter into more detail within the limits of a review. Mr. Heitland has done some work

which it will never be necessary to do again, and has produced an invaluable book of reference. Its appearance is singularly opportune. We have recently been told that 'there is a growing danger that Oxford and Cambridge may cease to be "places of learning" and become centres for mere professional training conducted by overworked teachers' (*The Classics in Education*, p. 200). This book should prove an incentive to younger scholars to maintain a high standard of learning, and should make them realise that it is not only in archaeology that there is room for research.

G. H. STEVENSON.

Der Feldzug von Dyrrhachium zwischen Caesar und Pompeius. Von GEORG VEITH, Oberstleutnant [now Oberst]. Mit 9 Karten und 22 Landschaftsbildern. 10½ x 6½. Pp. xx + 267. Wien: L. W. Seidel und Sohn, 1920.

THE author of this book, an Austrian officer, has already made his mark as a writer on ancient military history. In 1906 he published a comprehensive study on Caesar's campaigns (*Geschichte der Feldzüge C. Julius Caesars*), which, though it was written before he had seen any of the battle-fields, though he was not adequately equipped in scholarship, and though he has since recanted or modified some of his conclusions, is still worth reading. He followed it up by articles in *Klio* (1907 and 1913) on the question whether the cohorts in the three lines (*triplex acies*) that constituted the normal formation fought in close order or were separated by considerable intervals, and on the operations at Corfinium in 49 B.C., as well as by an excellent treatise (the second part of the third volume of the series, planned and partly executed by Professor Kromayer, called *Antike Schlachtfelder*) on various wars in Africa, including the expedition of Curio in 49 and Caesar's campaign in 47-46, which ended with the battle of Thapsus. The present work, based upon personal exploration of the theatre of the operations that ended in the defeat of Caesar near Dyrrachium, begins with an examination of the original authorities, the modern literature, and the available

maps, followed by chapters on the country as it is now, the ancient topography, the rivers (the changes undergone by which Colonel Veith endeavours to determine), the roads, and the climate. Five chapters deal with the events of the campaign from Caesar's landing at Palaeste to his defeat; and the book ends with appendices, the most valuable of which perhaps is a discussion of the influence exercised on Caesar's strategy by the ever-present problem of feeding his army.

It will be seen that the Colonel's aim has not been to narrate, but to settle doubtful points and to add to knowledge. In many respects he has corrected Stoffel, whose exploration of the country was not so far-reaching as his own. He has, for instance, cleared up various questions relating to the direction of the Caesarian and the Pompeian entrenchments on the uplands near Dyrrachium, and by close reasoning he has identified with moral certainty the spot where Caesar, despite the effort which Pompey made to prevent him, effected a junction with the reinforcements that Antony had brought from Brundisium.

On some points I cannot agree with Veith. For example, when he tries to show that Vibullius Rufus started on his diplomatic mission to Pompey (B.C. iii. 10, 11. 1) not, as Plutarch (*Pomp.* 65, 2) implies, from Oricum, but from Palaeste, he misunderstands Plutarch, who says precisely the same as Caesar (iii. 10, 9). Again, when he argues that the place

where Caesar and Pompey encamped on opposite banks of the Apsus was by Kuçi, 32 kilometres in a straight line from Apollonia and 30 from the nearest point of the sea-coast, his conclusion is, I think, irreconcilable with Caesar's narrative (iii. 30, 1. 4). Nor can I accept his view that Caesar, after his defeat near Dyrrachium, concentrated his army and began his retreat to Apollonia (iii. 73, 1; 75, 1) not, as Stoffel and all other commentators hold, close to the scene of his defeat, but at Berzet, some 8 kilometres further south. I have given my reasons fully for differing from Veith on these and one or two other matters in a book which will, I hope, be eventually published; but I strongly recommend his work, which should find a place in every library that provides for serious students of ancient history.

T. RICE HOLMES.

The 'Institutio Oratoria' of Quintilian.

With an English translation by H. E. BUTLER, M.A., Professor of Latin in London University. Vols. I. and II. (Four vols. eventually). 8vo. Pp. I., xiv + 544; II., 532. London: W. Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921. The Loeb Classical Library. 10s. each vol.

We gladly welcome a translation of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* in the Loeb Library, and from the pen of such a distinguished scholar as Professor Butler. Quintilian is one of that series of teacher reformers who each in his own day sought to lay the foundations of a true education. His work certainly merits translation; it contains sound literary criticism, and many shrewd and practical remarks on ideals of education and methods of teaching. We are grateful to Professor Butler for undertaking a somewhat laborious task, and it is in no ungraciously hypercritical spirit that the following remarks are made. We feel, however, that in this first volume the translator has hardly got into full sympathy with his author, and there are signs in it that time was wanting for revision and polish. The English is not always above reproach—e.g. the phrase 'the question as to whether' recurs constantly—and the

translation sometimes lacks precision, partly because too many abstract nouns are used. There are unnecessary and ugly repetitions of single words—e.g. on p. 94 we find the words 'take to fault' (questionable English), followed by 'To sum up then, if all the faults . . .'; and on p. 15 the word 'reach' occurs three times in five lines, where the Latin shows three entirely different locutions. As an example of wordy rendering we may take this from p. 151: for *quae ad eruditionem modo pertinent* we have 'subjects which are concerned with matters of interest solely to learned men.' The translator also puts in words which are not in the Latin, occasionally making quite a different sense from his author. On p. 31, for example, how does he get 'capacity for learning is inadequate' out of *si quid discere satis non est?* and on p. 229 *illuminare* only means 'brighten up'; there is nothing about 'an obscure passage.' On p. 61, 'if the master is a thorough disciplinarian' as a rendering of *si assiduis studiorum exactor astiterit* misses the connection with *negligentia paedagogorum* in the next sentence. Other inaccurate renderings appear on p. 237 (for *sic ut non homini patrocinemur, sed crimini*) and p. 453 (for *si non id quod obicitur factum esse dicitur*; a reference to V. xiii. 7, *non hoc esse quod factum sit*, makes this quite clear¹). On p. 262 Quintilian's point is lost by ignoring the repetition of *et* with chiasmus in *et iucunda in sermone et in causis utilis*. Cases of the same kind occur on pp. 375 and 457. We shall look for a revised edition of this volume. In preparation for it we add a list of *errata*—printer's errors and others. Among the helpful footnotes two need revision: n. 3 on p. 112, *stirps* is usually feminine, and is masculine in the quotation in the text, so that it cannot be put with *palumbes* and *silex* as 'usually masculine'; p. 103, I. v. 5 should stand in n. 3 and I. iv. 24 should be n. 4 with reference in the text to 'termination.' On p. 95, *from devoting* should be *not to devote*; p. 215, *young men, even* should read *young men even*; p. 384, n. 1, Book II. should be Book XI.; p. 423, line 15, delete of

¹ Cf. Cic. *Partit. Orat.* 29. 101.

before *such*; p. 427, *h* is omitted in *something*; p. 432, line 2, delete *I* after *idem*; p. 447, 'I have' should be 'I am'; p. 467, *i* is omitted in *example*. There is also an anacoluthon on p. 437.

Since the foregoing was written Professor Butler has published his second volume, which has all the merits of the first. The translation is eminently readable, and goes well in the main; but there are a good many sentences which a purist in English would like to have recast, and some inaccurate renderings.

M. F. MOOR.

Happy Days and Other Essays. By MARCUS SOUTHWELL DIMSDALE. Edited by ELSPETH DIMSDALE, with a Memoir by N. WEDD. Pp. xvi + 94. Cambridge: Heffer and Son, 1921.

THESE essays are not only the slight monument of a singularly sweet and gracious personality; they also contain some of the fruits of a long and devoted study of the Cambridge country, which should have formed part of a book projected in collaboration with Mr. Arthur Benson. It is seldom that topography is treated by a writer who combines delicate scholarship and an easy and graceful style with intimate knowledge of natural history and of every phase of outdoor life. These papers are a model in their kind.

F. M. C.

Discovery in Greek Lands: A Sketch of the Principal Excavations and Discoveries of the last Fifty Years. By F. H. MARSHALL, M.A. Thirty-eight half-tone photographs and a map. 1 vol. Small 8vo. Pp. xi + 127. Cambridge University Press, 1920. 8s. 6d. net.

THE Greek lands taken into account in this book are the mainland of Greece and Western Asia Minor, with the adjacent islands, but not Sicily or Magna Graecia; the early settlements in Egypt, but not Cyrene or the Black Sea colonies. Even within this limited field Mr. Marshall has had to compress his summary and refrain from telling the story of any site at all fully. Many important finds are mentioned rather than described, so that the educated reader who knows much of Greek history or art may find the book rather meagre fare; but it will whet the appetite of a larger public, the public which needs to be told that *stadion* means a 'racecourse'—would not 'running-track' be nearer the mark, with a word about the separate courses used for horse-racing? A man must have the instincts of a journalist as well as a scholar if he is to make a readable digest of matter so technical and at

times controversial. If Mr. Marshall had been allowed more space he would certainly have written, as he can, with a more lively pen; as it is, he has performed a very difficult task discreetly, observing due proportion and historical sequence. When a second edition is called for the Cambridge Press may be in a position to give better value, and the book should be expanded to 200 pages at least. It would then be possible to explain the significance of some of these finds by correlating them with others; taken singly they tell little.

The opening sentence of the chapter dealing with 'The Earlier Historic Period' mentions 'the tyrannies established in the seventh century B.C. in cities such as Corinth, Argos, and Sikyon,' and a little later we have a description of Pirene and Glauke—'sixth-century Corinth was certainly very well off in respect of fountains.' Here is an opportunity to show what 'tyrants' were—men of large ideas, builders of aqueducts and reservoirs. Samos owed its water-supply to Polykrates, Megara to Theagenes, Athens to Peisistratos, and at each place excavation has revealed their methods. Again, in the following chapter, the tombs of Tanagra are described and the local custom, which reached its height in the fourth century, of burying exquisite terracotta statuettes with the dead; and something should be said of the similar fashion which filled the late fifth-century tombs of Eretria with Athenian white lekythoi, the best that money could buy. Mr. Marshall thinks that the figurines were 'laid by the dead simply as objects much prized by them in life,' but the choice of grave-goods seems to have depended upon local fashion, which made it a customary mark of respect to bring certain articles, as we bring wreaths, and throw them into the grave or upon the pyre. In the chapter on the Later Historic Period there is a useful sketch of the common characteristics of Hellenistic cities, and this method might be carried further; the libraries of Pergamon and Ephesus are mentioned separately, but a comparison would bring out the essential features of such buildings; and the narrow main streets of Priene and Miletus, early experiments in town-planning, should be contrasted with the broad avenues of Ephesus and Roman Corinth. There are one or two slips; the inner colonnade of the Tholos at Epidauros was Corinthian, not Ionic (p. 78); and the author is unfair to Pausanias about the temple at Tegea (p. 50), misled by editors who have altered the *ἐκτός* of the MSS. to *ἐντός* in the sentence *ἐστῆκασι δὲ καὶ ἐκτός τοῦ ναοῦ κίονες ἐργασίας τῆς ἰώνων*. As Thiersch has shown, this refers to two free-standing columns flanking the front of the temple; they appear on a coin of Hadrian, and their substructures are preserved. This is one of several cases in which Mr. Marshall has been content to mention in his text and chronological list only the earlier excavations; he refers only to Schliemann's work at Orchomenos and Mycenae, and omits Wiegand's productive campaigns at Didyma. The first chapter will need some revision in the light of Sir Arthur Evans' new book, but it is an excellent survey of the prehistoric period, written with more enthusiasm and less compression than some

later sections. Pseira and Mokhlos, by the way, appear on the map as islands in the Bay of Sitia; they lie further west beside the Gulf of Mirabello. Otherwise it is a good map. The illustrations, too, are good, and the bibliography will be useful to anyone wishing to prepare himself for a visit to Greece.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

Passio S. Perpetuae: kritische Bemerkungen.
Von A. H. SALONIUS. Pp. iv+81 (Vol. LXIII., Book II. of the Finnish Society Publications). Helsingfors, 1921.

THE good work of this pupil of Professor Löfstedt was mentioned recently in the *Classical Review* (XXXV., p. 112). This treatise uses linguistic evidence against Dean Armitage Robinson's theory that the Latin version of the *Passio Perpetuae* is the original, while the Greek version is the translation. For example:

ab uno morsu leopardi consumer (92, 8).

ἐν ἐνὶ δῆγματι παρδάλεως τελειοῦμαι (93, 8).

'Robinson bemerkt Fussn. S. 93 "consumer"] The Greek translator took this for *consummor*.' . . . Nun wird aber τελειοῦμαι durch dasselbe Verbum in demselben Zusammenhang gestützt (91, 2) καὶ ἐνὶ δῆγματι παρδάλεως τελειοῦσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπεπῶθει . . . der Lateiner hat hier *confici*.' Salenius shows that τελειοῦσθαι was a word appropriate to the death of martyrs. They had 'finished their course' (2 Tim. 4, 7).

The reviewer, immersed in glossaries at present, is interested in the hint that the curious Greek loan-words found in Latin Patristic texts may have come from an Old Latin Bible. From Eucherius' list of Itala words (*Instr.* 2, p. 149, vetus ergo translatio habet speroteres, nova ferulas; calamiscos, calamos; . . . lapidibus acrotoimis, dedolatis, etc.), the pre-Vulgate versions seem to have adopted Septuagint words. When St. Jerome uses a Greek loan-word, may we not infer that he found it in an Old Latin Bible? And since ξιβώνη is a Septuagint word for 'spear,' may we not believe that the Abstrusa Glossary took the curious item (*C.G.L.* IV. 198, 6^a) *Zibinarum aculeis: lancearum* from some Itala Bible (cf. *Class. Quart.* XI. 122)?

W. M. LINDSAY.

The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin, the Sounds and Accents. By E. H. STURTEVANT. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1920. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". One vol. Pp. xiii+225. \$1.50.

THE plan which the author proposed to himself, of gathering and evaluating the evidence which has been discovered since the appearance of the handbooks by Blass, Seelmann, and Lindsay, and putting at the disposal of teachers a clear statement of the basis of our knowledge of the pronunciation of the

classical languages, will command general approval; and as the execution of the plan is no less praiseworthy than its conception, the result is a book which may be recommended to all who are interested in the subject. Without aiming at being highly original, the book brings together and presents in a lucid form information which it would be difficult to find in any other volume of its size.

The five chapters deal respectively with the nature and value of the evidence, the Latin sounds, the Greek sounds, the Greek accent, and the Latin accent, and are supplied with full bibliographies, from which very little of importance seems to be missing, though mention might perhaps have been made of W. Schulze, *Orthographica* (Marburg, 1894), on p. 182, and of the writings of A. C. Juret on the Latin accent. Throughout the book the reader is brought face to face with the spellings themselves and the ancient descriptions of the sounds. The most instructive passages in ancient writers, especially the grammarians, are quoted *in extenso* and accompanied by English translations, and the utilising of the Romance languages is made easy by the provision of concise tabular statements of the development of the Latin vowels in Romance. Once or twice the author has sacrificed too much space to reproducing a passage (as Thuc. II. 54, 1-3 on λιμός-λοιμός, or Catullus 85—*Chommoda dicebat*) which need only have been referred to.

The author refrains on principle from discussing the theories which he rejects, but his notes in most cases sufficiently indicate their existence. His choice of theories is generally sane; only the chapter on the Latin accent gives rise to uneasiness. The theory which Mr. Sturtevant repeats, that Latin had a stress accent, has now been repeated so often that we have almost forgotten that it is only a theory, and some reference ought to have been made to the denial of stress accent in Latin by several competent investigators.

RODERICK MCKENZIE.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).
(1921-2.)GÖTTINGISCHE GELEHRTE
ANZEIGEN. (1921.)

ARCHAEOLOGY.—Feb. 13. G. Dickinson, *Hel-lenistic Sculpture* (D. M. Robinson). 'The best book in English on the subject.' Reviewer contradicts several statements of fact.—Apr. 3. F. Weege, *Etruskische Malerei* (T. L. Shear). Elaborate reproductions, unfortunately not in colour, of the tomb-paintings of Corneto; the letterpress is discursive and hardly describes the plates.

GRAMMAR, ETC.—Jan. 9. Alice F. Bräunlich, *Indicative Indirect Question in Latin* (R. G. Kent). A dissertation 'careful in method and in execution'; the usage occurs chiefly in primary sequence.—Jan. 16. E. H. Sturtevant, *Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (G. M. Bolling). Praised as more up-to-date than Blass, Seelmann, and Lindsay; reviewer wishes more use had been made of technical terms.—B. L. D'Ooge, *Concise Latin Grammar* (H. S. Dawson). Highly praised, but the college student will need to possess a fuller grammar.—Feb. 13. H. Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar for Colleges* (J. T. Allen). The most complete Greek grammar ever published in America.—Mar. 13. C. Pharr, *Homeric Greek: a Book for Beginners* (S. E. Bassett). Based on *Iliad* i.; the author's method of using Homer as a first Greek book is approved.

LITERATURE.—Dec. 19. Mary M. Patrick, *Sappho and the Island of Lesbos* (H. S. Scribner). An account of the poetess, her age and country, with illustrations.—Jan. 9. B. Perry, *The Metamorphoses ascribed to Lucius of Patrae* (H. W. Prescott). A Princeton dissertation. Reviewer reargues the case, and thinks more might be made by examination of the Grecisms in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.—Jan. 30. T. Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul* (C. C. Mierow). A scholarly piece of work.—Mar. 6. G. Norwood, *Greek Tragedy* (H. S. Dawson). 'The best available single volume in English' on the subject. The chapter on Sophocles is especially praised; that on Aeschylus is inadequate. Mar. 20.—W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (C. K.). Highly praised.—Apr. 3. Grace H. Billings, *The Art of Transition in Plato* (H. M. Hubbell). A Chicago dissertation. The investigation is enlightening, but needs further development.—E. Norden and A. Gercke, *Vom Altertum zur Gegenwart* (W. H. Oldfather). Contributions by twenty-six authors, on somewhat similar lines to Livingstone's recent *Legacy of Greece*. 'A noteworthy contribution to classical apologetics.'

The issues for Dec. 19 and Jan. 30 contain lists of articles on the classics in non-classical periodicals.

LITERATURE.—U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Platon* [2 vols.; pp. 756 and 452. Berlin, 1919] (Max Pohlenz). Not written for readers who are merely in search of Plato's philosophic system, but really a biography of Plato based on the development of his thought, with a penetrating discussion of the political background. Each individual work is considered in its relation to Plato's whole career, and revealed as a product of a sharply-marked phase of his life. W.-M. rejects as unauthentic only the two *Alcibiades* and *Hippias major*; two short *Letters* may be doubtful, but the rest of the *Letters*, as well as *Ion* and *Menexenus*, are accepted as genuine works of Plato. Reviewer seriously queries some points of W.-M.'s chronology for the early dialogues, notably the *Protagoras* (regarded as 'pure satire' and dated to the lifetime of Socrates), and is doubtful about his arrangement of some of the middle group, e.g. putting the *Phaedrus* after the *Republic*. But in general the book is masterly in its insight, and is essentially Platonic in its style and charm. Critical apparatus in Vol. II. gives proof of, *inter alia*, 'divinatorische Emendation,' and 'illuminates, or even heals, a number of difficult passages. But above all we feel that he has revealed to the fullest degree not the Platonic system but the Man behind it.'—Lucrèce, *De la Nature, Texte établi et traduit par Alfred Ernout* [2 vols.; Paris, 1920] (H. Diehls). The reviewer can find no merit of any sort in the book. (1) He will not allow E. to demolish the conclusions and reputation of Lachmann; (2) he fails to see what, if any, system guided his handling of the Archetypes; (3) he triumphantly convicts him of ignorance of Latin; (4) he blames his over-loaded and irrelevant Apparatus, in which (5) he fails to find E. adequately acknowledging his indebtedness to Merrill's labours; (6) he finds obscurities in the French rendering. No wonder that in conclusion he finds it matter for congratulation 'that we need not purchase it. For German scholars and students it is worthless.'

HISTORY AND INSTITUTIONS.—W. Leaf, *Homer and History* [London, 1915] (Paul Cauer). 'In details the book contains much that is most welcome, due to a happy combination of wide reading and a practical sense of reality; but in general the construction of a tenable theory is not attainable if the handling of fundamental problems is left to the future.' L. has not satisfactorily faced two great difficulties arising from his position: (1) If the Epics are of Peloponnesian origin, how did the Aeolic, i.e. north-Achaean, element come into their language? (2) Why

is there so little tangible in the portrayal of the land of their origin, in comparison with the vivid pictures of the Thessalian background? And, moreover, how is it possible to reconcile his view that 'the dialect is, on the whole, essentially Ionic' with his view that the Epics are essentially Achaean?—Erwin Scharr, *Xenophon's Staats- und Gesellschaftsideal und seine Zeit* [pp. 321; Halle, 1920; 12 marks] (Max Pohlenz). In spite of its immaturities, typical of an 'Erstlingsarbeit,' this book exhibits breadth of view, independence of judgment, and notable skill in presenting problems. Its weak points consist in the treatment of X.'s various political writings as a whole, without realising how they illustrate different phases of his life and thought; and in the failure to recognise the practical tone of the Pan-Hellenic message contained in the *Cyropaedia*, to which work S. devotes most of his attention.

RELIGION.—S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* [pp. 493. Kristiania, 1915] (Otto Weinreich). The main value of the book lies not so much in E.'s theories as in the accumulation and handling of gigantic masses of material, which proves the author's astonishing range of knowledge both of ancient sources, literary and monumental alike, and of modern folklore literature. Far wider in scope than its title implies, it is an inexhaustible quarry of material for the ritual of Sacrifice, Worship, Healing, and Magic. 'No worker in the field of Ancient Religion can afford to overlook it, nor will the student of modern folklore search in vain in this treasure-chamber.'

PAPYRI.—H. G. Evelyn White, *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*, edited with Introductions, Critical Apparatus, and Commentary [pp. lxxvi+48. Cambridge Press, 1920] (R. Reitzenstein). A welcome publication, showing careful handling of the literary material, with a useful Apparatus, including some restorations proposed by the editor. Its weakness lies in its excessive toleration towards tortured or impossible interpretations, and his lack of the necessary degree of scepticism. 'Wh. is held in bondage by the ideas of a period when we knew much more about these questions than we do now.' The reviewer thinks it most improbable that *Oxyr. Pap.* 1 and 654 can belong to the same MS., and that the editor does not prove that they belong to the same time and place; and adds several notes on questions of text and interpretation.

COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.—*Boghazköi-Studien*. Herausgegeben von Otto Weber [Heft 1-5. Leipzig, 1916-20] (G. Herbig). This new periodical will deal with all questions relating to the cuneiform texts from Boghazköi. The first five parts, except for No. 4 by F. Sommer, embrace the researches of Hrozný into the nature and structure of the Hittite language. The reviewer analyses and comments at considerable length upon the contents, adding instructive tables to illustrate the Indogermanic character of the Hittite

'Formenlehre' (pp. 205-6) and a race-chart of Asia Minor. The expert philologist will find plenty of material in this discussion, which no layman could attempt to summarise here. After analysing the difficulties under which Hrozný's results were published, and a candid tabulation of his shortcomings in temperament and method (pp. 210-1), Herbig emphasises his own contention that the language of nine-tenths of the texts is indeed Indogermanic, but is not Hittite, and should be called 'pseudo-Hittite.' He ends with a vivid sketch of new fields of work to which access is now possible, thanks to the labours of Hrozný and others, and fears that, 'though the harvest is great, the labourers are few.'

ARCHAEOLOGY.—Carl Schuchhardt, *Alteuropa in seiner Kultur- und Stilentwicklung* [pp. 350. Berlin: Trubner, 1919] (K. Schumacher). This learned, handy, and attractive work by the Curator of the prehistoric section of the Berlin Museum is welcomed by the reviewer, who, in spite of a generally appreciative verdict, points out certain unsatisfactory features—namely, a lack of adequate indication of objections or difficulties raised by opponents of his theories, and likewise a lack of distinction between his own original views and those due to earlier workers. He allows the West to overshadow the East unduly, neglects the full importance of independent local artistic developments—e.g. British or Scandinavian gold-work of the Early Bronze Age—and his excursion into Etruria is unfortunate.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLASSISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC.

(1921. REVIEWS.)

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY.—5. C. Robert, *Archäologische Hermeneutik* [Berlin, 1919, Weidmann] (P. Herrmann). Very favourable. 9. A. v. Salis, *Die Kunst der Griechen* [Leipzig, 1919, Hirzel] (F. Studniczka). Severely critical.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.—10. E. Bickel, *Der altrömische Gottesbegriff* [Leipzig, 1921, Teubner] (H. Zwicker). Valuable method of approach, but meagre results.

HISTORY.—9. A. Rosenberg, *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Römische Geschichte* [Berlin, 1921] (A. Klotz). Conveniently arranged, but dogmatic and inaccurate.

EPIGRAPHY.—4. W. Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* Third edition, Vols. I., II., III., IV., edited by H. v. Gaertringen and others [Leipzig, 1915-1921, Hirzel] (A. Körte). Praises some of the changes in this edition, but criticises others, especially undue prominence of Delphi.

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1922.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—E. Fehrle, *Studien zu den griechischen Geponikern* [Leipzig, 1920, Teubner] (Pfeiffer). Examines the relation of the Greek to the Armenian, Arabian, and

Syrian versions; F.'s hypothesis is very plausible.—E. Howald, *Griechische Philologie* [Gotha, 1920, Perthes] (B. A. Müller). Review of publications during the war; brief, but clear.—H. Wirth, *Homer und Babylon. Ein Lösungsversuch der homerischen Frage vom orientalischen Standpunkte aus* [Freiburg i. Br., 1921, Herder. M. 47+] (Sitzler). W., with his wide reading and expert knowledge, shows clearly in how many respects Greek civilisation was influenced by the Nearer East; but reviewer cannot accept his new hypothesis as a whole.—A. P. M. Meuwese, *De rerum gestarum divi Augusti versione Graeca* [Amsterdam Diss., 1920] (Schwyzer). Excellent.

LATIN LITERATURE.—M. Rothstein, *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius, Teil I. Erstes und zweites Buch. 2. Aufl.* [Berlin, 1920, Weidmann. M. 38] (Klotz). Essentially the same as the former edition with some corrections; not handy to use, but contains much of interest.—W. A. Merrill, *Lucretius* [University of California Publications, Vol. IV., 1917] (Orth). Emends the traditional text of his own earlier edition of 1907 very freely; critical apparatus rendered almost useless by the method adopted.—W. A. Merrill, (i.) *Parallelisms and coincidences in Lucretius and Ennius*. (ii.) *Notes on Lucretius* [University of California Publications, Vol. III., 1918] (Orth). (i.) Very instructive; but reviewer is not convinced that Lucretius borrowed as freely as M. suggests. (ii.) Noteworthy addition to M.'s commentary of 1907; but very much yet remains to be done towards a general exposition of Lucretius' thought and language.—H. Hagendahl, *Studia Ammianea* [Uppsala, 1921] (Gardthausen). Careful investigation of A.'s language, especially in its relation to Vergil; contains valuable help for every future editor of A.—M. Petschenig, *S. Ambrosii opera. Pars sexta: Explanatio psalmorum XII.* [Wien, 1919, Tempsky. M. 70] (Weyman). A companion to Vol. LXII. of the Corpus Script. Ecclesiast. Lat., with indices to both volumes. Reviewer is full of praise, and adds many suggestions and parallels.—A. S. Pease, *M. Tulli Ciceronis de Divinatione Liber primus. Pars I. et II.* [University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. VI., 1920] (Philippson). Probably the most exhaustive commentary we possess on any of Cicero's works; language, subject matter, and many kindred questions discussed at length and with sound judgment. Indices are promised in an edition of Book II.

PHILOSOPHY.—G. Kafka, *Sokrates, Platon, und der Sokratische Kreis* [München, 1921, Reinhardt. M. 18] (Seeliger). K. demands of his readers a considerable philosophical training, and also acquaintance with modern philosophy; not always easy to follow. Most valuable portion is that which deals with Plato's theory of Ideas. Reviewer gives complete summary.

HISTORY.—U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Geschichte der Philologie* (Gercke-Norden,

Einleitung in die Altertumswiss. I. 1) [Leipzig, 1921. M. 20] (Schroeder). Contains all that we look for from W. and even more; a rapid survey, in terse yet glowing language, of the history of classical philology from Eratosthenes to Mommsen.—I. M. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* [University of California Publications, Vol. VI., 1919] (Bilabel). On the whole, a correct picture of Solon and his political activity, followed by an edition (praised by reviewer) of the fragments, with careful critical apparatus and complete and copious commentary.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—J. Sieveking, *Hermeneutische Reliefstudien* [Sitz.-Ber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1920] (Gaerte). Acute observations on three reliefs and convincing new interpretation of one of them.—*Saalebürgjahrbuch. Bericht des Saalebürgmuseums IV.* (with 5 plates and 55 figures in text) [Frankfurt a. M., 1921, Baer. M. 80] (Oehler). Important work. Revision summarises with particular care Jacobi's account of different methods of constructing walls of forts, including his interpretation of the much-disputed passage in Caesar, Bell. Gall., 7, 23.—F. Poulsen, *Ikonographische Miscellen* (with 21 figures and 35 plates) [Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1921] (Gaerte). Several portrait heads, notably of philosophers, reproduced for the first time in excellent illustrations; valuable contribution.—M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (with 142 figures in text and 109 plates) [Berlin, 1920, De Gruyter. M. 132] (Doepfeld). Comprehensive survey of subject; well illustrated. Reviewer makes detailed corrections and suggestions.—P. Gössler and R. Knorr, *Cannstadt zur Römerzeit* (with 11 plates) [Stuttgart, 1921, Schweizerbart. M. 100] (Anthes). Important addition to Limes research.—J. Braun-Vogelstein, *Die ionische Säule* with 3 plates) [Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst. XXXV.; Berlin, 1921, De Gruyter. M. 6] (Weickert). Long technical review.

LINGUISTIC.—H. Dausend, *Das älteste Sakramentar der Münsterkirche zu Essen literarhistorisch untersucht* [St. Ludwig b. Dahlheim, 1920, Missionskolleg. M. 25+] (A. L. Mayer). Very valuable for mediaeval philology. Reviewer summarises and calls special attention to D.'s sections on the vocabulary, abbreviations, and literary character of the codex.—A. Heisenberg, *Die Liquida ρ im Dialekt von Samothrake* [offprint from 'Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Γ. Ν. Χατζιδάκις, Athens, 1921] (Maidhof). Exemplary investigation of the development of ρ in every position, based on rich collection of material.—A. W. de Groot, *Die Anaptyxe im Lateinischen* [Göttingen, 1921, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. M. 9] (Baehrens). G.'s results will hardly stand the test of a careful examination.

PAPYRI.—E. Seckel and W. Schubart, *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos, Erster Teil* [Berlin, 1919, Weidmann. M. 4] (K. F. W. Schmidt). Contains text, critical notes, and translation; commentary to follow. The editors have done all that was possible in a first edition.

Reviewer examines the text and adds notes in considerable detail.

NATURAL HISTORY AND SCIENCE.—J. L. Heiberg, *Naturwissenschaften, Mathematik, und Medizin im klassischen Altertum* [Leipzig, 1920, Teubner. M. 3.50+] (Tittel). Recom-

mended as a reliable and easily intelligible introduction.—J. Klek and L. Armbruster, *Die Bienenkunde des Altertums; Varro und Vergil* [Archiv f. Bienenkunde, 1920] (Lammert). Introduction insufficient for the general reader; notes on natural history very welcome.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

*** Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

- Allen* (P. S.) and *Allen* (H. M.) *Opus Epistolarum des Erasmi Roterodami*. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xxxii+632. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 28 net.
- American Journal of Philology*. January, February, March, 1922. Vol. XLIII. I. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Andler* (C.) *Le Pessimisme Esthétique de Nietzsche*. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 390. Paris: Bossard, 1921. Fr. 18.
- Andréadès* (A.) *Le Montant du Budget de L'Empire Byzantin*. $10'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. ii+56. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922.
- Bender* (H. H.) *A Lithuanian Etymological Index*. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. xviii+308. Princeton: University Press, 1921. 21s. net.
- Blegan* (C. W.) *Korakou. A Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth*. $12'' \times 9''$. Pp. xvi+140. Boston and New York: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1921.
- Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum*. No. 28. *Caesar's Gallic War*. Pp. xii+283. L. 10.—No. 29. *Martial's Epigrams*. Books I.-IV. Pp. xvi+143. L. 12.—No. 30. Books V.-X. Pp. 198. L. 12.—No. 31. Books XI.-XIV. Pp. 194. L. 12.—No. 32. *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Books I.-IV. Pp. xii+168. L. 9.—No. 35. *Cicero: In Catilinam*. Pp. xxviii+96. L. 6.50.—No. 37. *Virgil: Georgics*. Pp. xiv+101. L. 5.—No. 38. *Caesar Augustus: Collected Fragments*. Pp. xl+86. L. 13.—No. 39. *Seneca: Hercules Furens, Troades, Phoenissae*. Pp. xxxii+156. L. 12.—No. 41. *Cicero: De Senectute*. Pp. xxxvi+76. L. 8. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Turin: I. B. Paravia, 1921.
- Cruikshank* (A. H.) *Euripides, Bacchae*. $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. iv+82. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 4s. net.
- Damsté* (O.) *Adversaria ad Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica*. $10'' \times 6''$. Pp. 64. Rotterdam: De Gids, 1922.
- Η ΠΡΟΦΟΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΗΣ. ὑπὸ José Luis Perrier. New York: Phos Press. 25 cents.
- Fort* (J. A.) and *Mackail* (J. W.) *The Perivigilium Veneris*. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. 44. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 3s. 6d. net.
- Grenfell* (B. P.) and *Hunt* (A. S.) *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Part XV. $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. x+250. London: Humphrey Milford, 1921.
- Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*. Vol. XXXII. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 186. Harvard University Press, 1921. 6s. 6d. net.
- Hoernle* (E. S.) *Notes on the Text of Aeschylus*. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$. Pp. x+100. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921. 4s. 6d. net.
- Irvine* (A. L.) *κτῆμα ἐς δέλ.* $7'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. vi+160. Godalming: A. C. Curtis, 1922. 3s. 6d. net.
- Lindsay* (W. M.) and *Thomson* (H. J.) *Ancient Lore in the Medieval Latin Glossaries*. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii+186. Oxford: University Press, 1921. 5s. net.
- Locock* (C. D.) *Thirty-two Passages from the Iliad, in English Rhymed Verse*. $8'' \times 5''$. Pp. 80. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1922. 4s. 6d. net.
- Lucas* (F. L.) *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy*. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 136. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 7s. 6d. net.
- Madeley* (W.) *Noctes Latinae Alterae*. $6'' \times 4''$. Pp. vi+166. London: Macmillan, 1922. 2s.
- Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Vol. XXII., fasc. 2, 1919; fasc. 3, 1921. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Page* (T. E.) *An Address given in Charterhouse Chapel*. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6''$. Pp. 12. Godalming: A. C. Curtis, 1922. 6d.
- Petronievics* (B.) *Londoner Archaeopteryx*. $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 32. Genf: Georg, 1921.
- Poulsen* (F.) *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*. $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. x+64. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. 15s. net.
- Salonius* (A. H.) *Zur römischen Datierung*. $10'' \times 6''$. Pp. 60. Helsingfors, 1922.
- Seltman* (C. T.) *The Temple Coins of Olympia*. $10'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. x+118. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1921.
- Slater* (D. A.) *Sortes Vergilianae, or Vergil and To-day*. $9'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 30. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922. 2s. net.
- Smyley* (J. G.) *Greek Papyri from Gurob*. $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$. Pp. 60. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co., 1921. 12s. 6d.
- Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*. Vol. II. Pp. lxxii+180. $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$. Ohio: Adelbert College, 1920.
- Vendryes* (J.) *Le Langage*. $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xxviii+436. Paris: La Renaissance Du Livre, 1921. Fr. 15 net.
- Wilkins* (E. H.) *Dante: Poet and Apostle*. Chicago: University Press. \$1.25.

The Classical Review

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER, 1922

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

THE *Review* has lost in Sir John Sandys a faithful friend and valued contributor. His life was one of fruitful industry, and his kindness will be held in grateful remembrance by many younger men, to whom he always gave sympathy and encouragement. A fine scholar, as his editions of many authors show, he was modest to a fault in his comment where scholars were divided. He was singularly free from the rancour which so easily besets the academic bookman. His *History of Classical Scholarship* is a record of human interest as well as of solid learning. There was something happy in the circumstances of his death, which came suddenly in the courts of his own College when he was on his way, as Orator Emeritus, to the Senate House which he loved and had adorned by the felicity of his speeches.

Bradfield was a success, in spite of rain. We congratulate the College, and look forward to the next performance. It is important that Greek plays in the original should still be produced, though we are not disposed to look with a too critical eye upon the recent ebullition of interest in Greek drama 'in English for the English.' At Glastonbury, in August, a Festival and Summer School have been held, at which Greek plays have been read in translation, the *Trachiniae* performed in English, lectures delivered, and Professor Murray's version of the *Alcestis*, produced by Mr. Boughton as a music-drama, together with Blow's *Venus and Adonis*. Best of

all, perhaps, the students have been encouraged to learn a little elementary Greek.

The resignation of Mr. Rushbrooke from the Headmastership of St. Olave's is an event which must not pass without notice here. No school better illustrates the fact that a strong Headmaster, well supported by his staff, can still maintain a classical tradition. One of Mr. Rushbrooke's former colleagues has sent us an encouraging account of the good work that can be done at school by late beginners in Greek.

It is a sign of the times that the Headmaster of Harrow should report on Speech Day that Greek is beginning to revive in his great school. At St. Paul's the High Master announced that a new form had been added to the Classical Side, because the parents are insisting on Classics for their boys. In the July *Nineteenth Century* Mr. Stewart McDowall, an experienced Science Master, who has recognised that Science by itself is not enough, pleads for Greek, to follow a good Latin preparation, on the Science Side. Everything points to a revived demand for Classics. What matters now is the provision of more teachers.

We desire to associate ourselves very warmly with the congratulations and the tributes of respect which have been paid by their many friends to Professor and Mrs. J. S. Reid on the occasion of their golden wedding-day.

THE IRISH SITUATION.

οὐ δὴ θαυμάσιον στάσεως εἰ μήποτε λήγει
νῆσος, ἐπωνυμίαν ἣν καλέουσιν "EPIN.

H. W.

ROSE AYLMER: W. S. LANDOR.

Quid prosunt quae cuncta in te cumulata fuerunt
Sceptriferum genus et divinae gratia formae?
Ablatam ex oculis quis nil nisi flere relictum est
Pervigil hac saltem maerens te nocte recorder.

J. W. MACKAIL.

THREE EPIGRAMS FROM THE ANTHOLOGY.

(a) 'Αβρότονον Θρήϊσσα γυνή πέλον· ἄλλα τεκέσθαι
τὸν μέγαν Ἕλλησιν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.

A. P. 7. 306.

'A Thracian wench, they called me "Love at Ease":
But still my son was great Themistocles.'

(b) οὐ γλήχωνι Κρίτων ὁ φιλάργυρος, ἀλλὰ διχάλκῳ
αὐτὸν ἀποσφραίνει, θλιβομένου στομάχου.

A. P. II. 165.

'When Stingy has the stomach ache
He does not pennyroyal take;
But draws a penny from his purse
And sniffs it till the pains disperse.'

(c) ὥς κῆπον τεθυκῶς δεῖπνον παρέθηκεν Ἀπελλῆς,
οἰόμενος βόσκειν ἀντὶ φίλων πρόβατα.
ἦν ῥαφανίς, σέρις ἦν, τῆλις, θρίδακες, πράσα, βολβοί,
ᾠκιμον, ἡδύοσμον, πήγανον, ἀσπάραγος.
δείσας δ' ἐκ τούτων μὴ καὶ χόρτον παραθῇ μοι,
δειπνήσας θέρμους ἡμιβρεχεῖς, ἔφυγον.

A. P. II. 413.

'He went among his garden roots
And took a knife and cut their throats;
Then served us greenstuff, heap on heap,
As though his guests were bleating sheep.
Rue, lettuce, onion, basil, leek,
Radishes, chicory, fenugreek,
Asparagus and peppermint,
And lupines boiled—he made no stint.
At last in fear I came away:
I thought the next course would be hay.'

H. C. I. GWYNNE-VAUGHAN.
F. A. WRIGHT.

LATE BEGINNERS IN GREEK.

A WORKING EXPERIMENT.

IT fell to my lot in the April of 1920, as one of the representatives of the English Association, to give evidence before the Prime Minister's Committee on the teaching of Greek. Incidentally I related my experience with beginners in Greek in the Fifth Form of St. Olave's Grammar School, and I afterwards drew up a memorandum on the subject. In a revised form this is printed here by the permission of the President of the Board of Education. I have checked my memories and impressions by consulting the two masters who succeeded me—Mr. T. Kingdom and Mr. W. F. Witton—and by looking at the syllabus actually in use.

The Fifth Form at St. Olave's is the first form in which it is possible to teach Greek in that school. The average age of the boys is fifteen and a half. From the experience of teaching them I strongly maintain that boys can successfully learn Greek if they begin it at this advanced age. This seems to me an important point in view of the lamentable falling off of Greek in schools at the present moment. The early study of the subject is not likely now, except in special schools or with picked boys.

Two factors contributed powerfully to the success of the venture. Before reaching the Fifth, the boys had had a good grounding in Latin, and in the Fifth they started proper Latin prose. English literature was also very helpful. It was taught with care and sympathy throughout the school, and in the higher forms it quickened literary appreciation generally.

The time devoted to Greek was one period a day. We started our first lesson in the autumn term with the Greek alphabet, a first and a second declension noun, and the present indicative active of λύω. Elementary composition began in the first week, with a connected paragraph of easy sentences. The books in use were Sidgwick's *First Greek Writer*, an easy Reader (Beresford or Marchant), and Thompson's *Accidence*. In the first term the boys worked through the grammar up to the contracted verbs.

The oral work ranged from pure grammar tests—such as putting *λύομεν τοὺς ἵππους* into the singular number—to what I may call infant dialogue based on a paragraph in Sidgwick.

From this point they moved forward, finishing the *accidence* and the Sidgwick in the second and third terms, and learning the elements of syntax. In the latter half of the second term they began the translation of an author. I used for this purpose the digression on the Athenian Empire in the first book of Thucydides; but my successors judged this too difficult, and substituted the story of Salamis in Philpott's Atticised *Herodotus*. The first few lessons were demonstrations in translation. The rendering into English I did myself, but accompanied it with a running fire of questions. I helped with the irregular verbs, but I expected them to tell me at sight what parts of εἰσπλέω and τειχίζω εἰσπλέοντι and ἐτείχισαν were. As the work advanced, I withdrew more and more into the background, but I always looked ahead at the next lesson and helped the form over idioms or a difficult passage. They came to grief hopelessly once over ἔστιν ἧ which I had overlooked and which, for them, completely disturbed the structure of the sentence. If a sentence was very difficult, I dictated a full rendering of it and told them to work up the *accidence*. The test was severe, but I believe in it. And certainly it stimulated the boys. There was in it just a touch of adventure, a sense of something to explore, which carried them forward over difficulties.

One of my successors always added some passages from the Greek Testament in the third term. I used this occasionally in the earlier stages, reading, for instance, the parable of the sower; but for working purposes I preferred to rely on Attic Greek.

In the second and (more frequently) the third term I set occasional exercises in original composition. For instance, I asked for a brief account, in Greek, of the plot of any Shakespeare play which they were reading. Their range of

vocabulary was, of course, very narrow, but they used their wits to invent expressions for ideas for which the words failed them. One boy, relating the plot of *The Tempest*, wanted to talk of 'spirits'; he fell back on ἅ οὐκ ἔστιν ὄρᾱν.

From this class boys destined for higher classical study passed in their second year to the Lower Sixth—a small class in which they took 'English subjects' and mathematics with the Fifth, but otherwise they devoted themselves to Greek and Latin. They read a play of Euripides or an easy dialogue of Plato. The first term they omitted the choruses of a play, but I translated them myself; and in the third term the form took them, unless they were very difficult, with help where it was needed. If they were taking the *Alcestis*, they read *Balaustion's Adventure* for themselves; and, with readers at this stage, Professor Murray's renderings were invaluable for giving them a sense of the poetry while they were struggling with the language and the literary form.

Sidgwick's *Introduction to Greek Prose* was used in this class, and I found the preliminary sketch of Greek syntax, with its humanistic treatment, very useful as a basis for further work. It lit up the idioms which the boys met with in their reading.

Sometimes in a summer term, on extra afternoons when we failed to get a half-holiday, I put on a lesson of odds-and-ends. Subjects which I have taken in this way are—the origin of the alphabet, the staging of a Greek play, Greek sculpture with photographic or other illustrations, the geography of Athens, the equipment of the Roman soldier (with a box of lead soldiers designed in Germany), and the rhythms of the hexameter (the effect of the pause illustrated by the pauses in the blank verse of Milton). We called it by the dignified name of Archaeology, but it was anything that turned up, and it had the charm of the unexpected.

I think I may venture to say the results justified the system, even if there was an element of the hand-to-mouth about it. At any rate, it got boys up to scholarship standard. But of course the Latin was much more advanced than the Greek, and without

this firm foundation in the other ancient language success would have been impossible. Further, I always tried to make the work literary. The important thing was to create a sense of style, and here English literature helped them. I never tolerated slipshod English in translation. If a boy translated *matres familiarum*, as he invariably did the first time he met it, by 'mothers of families,' he was cured by being asked, 'Do you mean "the married women"?' I remember as a boy myself how I was struck by Wickham's rendering of *privata* in the Ode on Cleopatra by 'unqueened'; I reflected that I should have rendered it 'as a private individual.' Boys at the outset can be taught something of Latin style—and it reacts on all their work—by making them understand the order of Latin words and the construction of a Latin sentence. They are put on the alert by the old joke about the two travellers in an African forest: if the one wants to tell the other, as a vague piece of advice, that he must look out for a lion, he says '*Cave leonem*;' but if he sees the lion just coming out of a thicket, he says '*Leonem cave*.' Similarly I aimed at getting them to read a Latin sentence in the Latin order of the words, to feel their way forward intelligently instead of skipping about and 'looking for the verb,' which seemed to be their panacea for that particular trouble. It is a good plan to write on the blackboard, word by word, a Latin period of Livy, and make the class take it as it emerges before their eyes; they can even attempt to complete the unfinished clauses by stating what parts of speech are still to seek. This analytical method is very valuable, and will influence their prose.

The English literature of these forms generally reached a high standard, and an attempt was made to teach them the elements of criticism. The comparative method is of great service to the immature. If the boys read the *Alcestis*, they would write an essay on the difference between a Greek play and a play of Shakespeare. I think most of them realised that Greece, Rome, and England have all contributed to the great literature of the world.

PERCY SIMPSON.

PINDARICA.

I. THE DATE OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH OLYMPIAN ODES.

THE old, and rather tiresome, problem of the date of the fourth and fifth Olympian Odes of Pindar acquired a new interest in 1899 by the publication of the Oxyrhynchus List of Olympian Victors (*Ox. Pap.* CCXXII. vol. ii. pp. 85 ff.). But perhaps neither the editors of the Papyrus nor the editor of the Teubner text of the Pindaric Scholia have done much to simplify the problem.

Both Odes are written for the Camarinaean Psauimis—whom the Scholia sometimes call Psammis, and twice (p. 133, 20, 21) Psaumichos. *Ol.* iv. is said by the Scholia to have been written for a victory, *τεθρίππων*, or *ἵπποις*, or *ἄρματι*, in the year 452 (the 82nd Olympiad). This statement used to be generally impugned (iv. and v. being regarded as, both of them, written for a victory, *ἀπήνῃ*). But it would appear to be confirmed by the Papyrus which, against *Ol.* 82, has *σαμίον Καμ . . . τέθριππον*. In view of the variants *Ψάμις* and *Ψαύμιχος* in the Scholia, and the fact that the substitution of *σ* for *ψ* is a known vagary of the *Κοινὴ*, it seems impossible to reject the identification of the *Σάμιος Καμ* <*αρίναιος*> of the Papyrus and Psauimis (Psammis, Psaumichos) the Camarinaean. And if the matter ended with the fourth Olympian there would be no trouble. But the Scholia to the fifth Olympian introduce a confusion which the commentators have confounded. 'According to the Scholia on *Ol.* v.,' say the editors of the Papyrus, 'Psauimis had been victorious, *τεθρίππων καὶ ἀπήνῃ καὶ κέλητι*': and they go on to talk of 'Psauimis' triple victory' (in 452). But the MSS. of the Scholia on *Ol.* v. offer some remarkable variants. Two of Drachmann's MSS. have, as the inscription to *Ol.* v., *τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπήνῃ καὶ κέλητι καὶ τεθρίππων*. But four omit the words *καὶ τεθρίππων*. Three have also the following: *γέγραπται. τῷ αὐτῷ Ψαύμιδι τεθρίππων καὶ ἀπήνῃ καὶ κέλητι νενικηκότα τὴν πβ' Ὀλυμπιάδα*. But the other three reproduce this with the important variant *πε' for πβ'* (i.e. Olympiad 85 for 82). Olympiad 82, so far as a victory *κέλητι* is concerned, is cer-

tainly false, since we know from the Papyrus that the victor *κέλητι* in that year was, not Psauimis, but one Pytho). In face of these variants, it seems to me certain that this last scholion should read *γέγραπται τῷ αὐτῷ Ψαύμιδι τεθρίππων* <*τὴν πβ'*> *καὶ ἀπήνῃ καὶ κέλητι νενικηκότα τὴν πε' Ὀλυμπιάδα*, and that from the first the *καὶ τεθρίππων* of a minority of the MSS. should be deleted.

We have thus two clear and consistent statements by the Scholia: (1) That *Ol.* iv. was written for a victory *τεθρίππων* in 452; (2) that *Ol.* v. was written for a victory *ἀπήνῃ* and a victory *κέλητι* in 440. 'For a victor' would be more exact; for Pindar speaks only of the *ἀπήνῃ*, and has nothing to say of the *κέλης*. No doubt, as editors have conjectured, the Victory Ode for the *κέλητι* event was the commission of some other poet.

The credit of the Scholia has been a good deal enhanced generally by the discovery of the Papyrus, and the date 440 for Psauimis' second victory ought not to be set aside without good ground. Is there any ground for rejecting this date?

One of our MSS., the Ambrosian, at *Ol.* v. 19d has this note:

ὅτι δὲ περὶ τὴν π' ἐνίκησεν Ὀλυμπιάδα ὁ Ψαύμις τῇ ἀπήνῃ, οὕτως συνοράται. καταλείπεται γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀγώνισμα περὶ ὀδοκοστήν ἐ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. τῷ δὲ ἄρματι ἐνίκησε τὴν πβ'. ὥστε τὴν π' Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐνίκησε τῇ ἀπήνῃ ὁ Ψαύμις.

This note confirms the date 452 for the victory *τεθρίππων*. But it is also clear that it is drawn from the *ὑπομνήματα* of some person who knew of a victory by Psauimis *ἀπήνῃ*, but was not aware that he had been victorious *κέλητι* in the same year. This person can date the victory *ἀπήνῃ* only conjecturally. And here, as in the inscriptions to *Ol.* vi. pp. 153-4D, we get valuable evidence to the honesty of our Scholia. *Oll.* v. and vi. are the only Odes of Pindar written for a victory *ἀπήνῃ*. The Oxyrhynchus List does not record such victories; and it is likely, as the editors of the Papyrus have remarked, that those victories had no place in the more easily accessible Victory Records. And both in *Ol.* vi. and at *Ol.* v. 19d the Scholiasts confess themselves at a loss for an exact date.

The scholion just quoted, however, cannot be textually sound. It purports to infer the date 456 for *Ol. v.* from the fact that the victory of *Ol. iv.* took place in 452, while contests with the ἀπήνη were abolished 'about the 85th Olympiad' (i.e. about 440). Clearly the inference involves a complete *non sequitur*. We can only get rid of this *non sequitur* by supposing that what the Scholiast wrote was, not πα', but πα' <ἢ πγ' ἢ πδ'>. That is to say, knowing the date, 452, of *Ol. iv.*, and inferring its priority to *v.* from its place among the Odes, and holding that there was no contest ἀπήνη in the 85th Olympiad, he, quite logically, places *Ol. v.* in either the 81st, or 83rd, or 84th Olympiad. The Inscription to *Ol. vi.* places the abolition of the contest ἀπήνη in either the 85th or 86th Olympiad. Authorities, therefore, differed as to whether the 85th Olympiad was the last year in which the contest took place or the first in which it did not. But, as we have seen, the Inscription to *Ol. v.* places that Ode in the 85th Olympiad. The scholar from whose notes that Inscription is drawn might have found it as difficult as other antiquarians to find a date for a victory ἀπήνη. But he is aware, as the Scholiast at 19d is not, that Psaumis was victorious with both ἀπήνη and κέλης in one and the same year; and the ordinary Victory Lists, therefore, would furnish him, under the victory ἀπήνη, with the date which he sought.

In line 8 Pindar speaks of Camarina as a νέοικος ἔδρα. The Scholiasts say that this refers to its refoundation by the Geloans in the 42nd Olympiad, after its destruction by Gelo; and cite Timaeus. But as Gelo destroyed the town about the year 485, the Scholiasts are patently in error, and would appear to have given the date of the original foundation of Camarina in place of its refoundation. It was founded somewhere about the 42nd Olympiad (see Thuc. VI. 5). It was destroyed in 552, refounded about fifty years later, only to be again destroyed in 485 by Gelo. How long an interval elapsed between its destruction by Gelo and its recolonisation (in which Psaumis bore a part) we have no means of knowing. The date usually given is 461. But nothing

in Diodorus XI. 76 excludes a date some ten years later.

All our evidence, then, seems to me to point decisively to the year 440 as the date of the fifth Olympian. It becomes thus the latest of Pindar's Odes, written when he was close upon fourscore years old. This gives it a new interest for us; and it is only on account of this new interest that I have thought it worth while to try and probe this dull question of chronology. As is well known, this poem had no place in the 'edaphia.' Though it was recognised as Pindaric by the Alexandrians, its authenticity has been questioned by the Germans. In particular, the character of its metre has been thought to point to some other author. But perhaps anything, whether in metre or in diction, which has been thought 'un-Pindaric,' is sufficiently explained when the piece is found to belong to the poet's last years. It is Pindar's last piece; and it celebrates the last occasion in which there was a contest ἀπήνη at Olympia.

II. ISTHMIAN vii. 10.

τῖνε τῶν πάρος, ὦ μάκαιρα Θήβα,
καλῶν ἐπιχωρίων μάλιστα θυμὸν τεδν
εὐφρανᾶς; ἦ ῥα . . . ἀνικ εὐρυχαίταν
5 ἀντείλας Διόνυσον; . . .
8 ἦ ἀμφὶ Τειρεσίαο πυκναῖς<ι> βουλαῖς;
ἦ ἀμφ' Ἴόλαον ἱπποδάμην;
10 ἦ Σπαρτίων ἀκαμαντολογχᾶν;

The genitive in line 10 is said to depend on θυμὸν εὐφρανᾶς in 2-3, and is described as the genitive of cause after verbs expressing emotion. But εὐφραίνω is not elsewhere used with the genitive, and in line 1 it is followed by the dative. The trouble here is intensified by the intervening ἀμφὶ, ἀμφ' in 8 and 9. It is difficult to conceive why Pindar should not have employed in line 10 either a dative, sorting with τῖνι in line 1, or an accusative governed by ἀμφὶ in 9.

Apart from grammar, the epithet ἀκαμαντολογχᾶν is not apt. It does not bring before us what is distinctive in the legend of the Sparti. What is distinctive about them is, not that they were untiring fighters (their conflict was brief—*brevi vitae spatium sortita iuventus*, Ovid calls them: *Met.* III. 124), but that they sprang from the earth in full panoply. That is the first thing

onethinks of in connection with them—and speaks of. Thus, Euripides speaks of the *λόγχη σπαρτὸς* (*Suppl.* 583); and, again, in the *Phoenissae* (670) he has

ἐνθεν ἐξανήκε γῆ
πάνοπλον ὄψιν.

So, too, Ovid (*Met.* III. 105 ff.):

glebae coepere moveri
primaque de sulcis acies apparuit hastae,
mox umeri pectusque onerataque brachia telis
existunt crescitque seges clipeata virorum.

CALLIMACHEA.

(a) *H.* VI., 133:

ταῖσι δὲ Διῷ
δωσεῖ πάντ' ἐπίμεστα καὶ ὡς ποτὶ ναὸν ἱκῶνται

The pronoun *ταῖσι* refers to those initiated women who, owing to age or infirmity, are unable to accompany the procession all the way to Demeter's temple. If they walk as far as they can, the goddess will show them favour. But how precisely?

Stephanus, in his edition of 1577, writes: 'Puto ἀλλείπειν hic particulam ἐάν, quam subaudiendam reliquerit: ut sit sensus, Ceres omnia illis cumulate dabit, et tamquam si ad ipsum usque templum venerint.' Since this view appears to have the support of Professor Mair, as well as other critics, it must receive the respect of notice; but until instances in support of the alleged omission of ἐάν are produced, we can only acquiesce in Blomfield's comment 'quem sensum an ferat lectio vulgata, equidem nescio.' Indeed, even if there be such instances, it seems to me that in this case the preceding context has made it so clear that these women will not reach the temple, that any Greek would have written, not ἐάν ἱκῶνται, but εἰ ἱκοντο. In the same edition grammar is respected by Frischlin's translation: 'Ceres dabit omnia abunde plena ut etiam ad templum perveniant'; but it fails in sense, since it is clear that the aged and infirm will *not* reach the temple. And Ernesti's amended form 'utque post ad aedem ipsam veniant' (whether right or wrong in making καὶ a conjunction) cannot be accepted without an equivalent in the Greek for *post*. Bergk and Meineke thought to counter this objection by reading ποτε (ποκα) for ποτί; but it may still be asked why δωσεῖ is here followed by a final construction instead of an infinitive and whether Demeter is particularly likely to have rewarded her votaries by restoring them to health and strength.

No one seems to have paid any attention to the scholion (ταῖς ἐλθούσαις καὶ ταῖς μὴ ἐλθούσαις ἴσον

If Pindar, instead of calling his Sparti ἀκαμαντόλογχαι had called them αὐτόλογχαι, he would have made them like the Sparti of other poets. And I suspect that he did so, and that we should write here—

ἢ ἀμφ' Ἴδλαον ἱπρόμνητιν
ἢ σπαρτῶν κάμακ' αὐτολογχᾶν;

'The shaft of the Sparti who sprang to birth spear in hand' gives us at once a genuinely distinctive characterisation.

H. W. GARROD.

μισθὸν δώσει), except perhaps G. Hermann, who proposed (ap. Schneider) to read δωσεῖ πάντ' ἐπίμεσθ' ἃ καὶ αἰς ποτὶ ν. ἱ. In the absence of explanation I can only guess that he was introducing an attraction of the relative scarcely to be justified by the examples in Kühner-Gerth, §555, n. 4. I suspect that what Callimachus wrote was δωσεῖ πάντ' ἐπίμεσθ' ὡς καὶ ποτὶ ναὸν ἱκῶνται (= ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνας αἶ). For the omission of ἂν compare II. 10, ὅς μιν ἰδῇ, μέγας οὗτος. I assume an accidental transposition, perhaps facilitated by the resemblance of the abbreviations used for ὡς and καί. If the scribe had ἐπίμεστα unelided before him, the error would be still more natural.

(b) *Epig.* LXIV. 3, 4:

οὕτως ὑπνώσας, ἀδικωτάτη, ὡς τὸν ἐραστὴν
κοιμῶν, ἐλέον δ' οὐδ' ἔναρ ἠντίασας.

If this is right, the poet, as Schneider says, 'pendenti orationi substituit liberam.' The objection is not to this form, but to the sense assigned to ἐλέον ἠντίασας; I should as soon expect to find ἐλέον ἐτυχες used actively. Schneider quotes κατάλεξον ὅπως ἠντήσας ὀπωπῆς (*Od.* 3. 97 = 4. 327); but (1) it is not quite clear that in Homer ὀπωπῆ is an exact synonym for ὄψις, (2) ἀντᾶν is not the verb used here, and (3) one feels that an active use of ὄψεως τυχεῖν (to get a sight of) would be much less surprising than a similar use of ἀκοῆς τυχεῖν, because, I suppose, we are accustomed to desire and receive the one but not the other. Moreover, the fact that ἀντιάζειν is used of suppliants would naturally affect the poet's sense of the word's function. Liddell and Scott illustrate the use of ἀντιάζειν (or, as they will have it, ἀντιᾶν) with the genitive pretty fully, and I fancy that anyone who examines their examples with attention will conclude that ἐλέον ἀντιάω is just an alternative for ἐλέον τυγχάνω. Boissonade's correction, ἠντίασα, is better on palaeographical grounds and more elegant than Hecker's ἀντιάσας, and is doubtless right.

GILBERT A. DAVIES.

PINDAR, PYTHIAN II.

THE interpretation of Greek Lyric Poetry has made much progress in the last hundred years, but all the many explanations that have been offered of

the Second Pythian have led little further to a real understanding of the poem. It is now universally admitted that the ode is no real Epinicion, but

as to its purpose and meaning few commentators agree, and some go so far as to deny it any unity at all. Dissen says that the *motif* of the poem is to be found in ll. 57 ff. Croiset maintains that the whole is a lecture on moderation, *Χρή κατ' αὐτὸν ἀεὶ παντὸς ὀρᾶν μετρὸν*. F. D. Morice declares that Hiero had been acting unwisely, that he was ambitious, avaricious, and suspicious, and Pindar warns him against his faults. Luebbert makes the poem a philosophical disquisition on life. Drachmann dates the ode in 467, and makes it an attempt to heal the breach between Hiero and Pindar. Kleantes finally refers the whole from the beginning to end to Bacchylides, and having forced the poem into this Procrustean bed, says: *οὐδεὶς δύναται νᾶ εἶπῃ ὅτι ἡ συνέχεια τῶν ἔννοιῶν οὐκ ἀρίστη*. It may be so, but the *ἐννοιαὶ* are not Pindar's.

Let us see what happens if we make the whole ode Pindarocentric. This means that Pindar wanted to talk of himself and took the opportunity of a victory to do so. The ode is a sort of letter, which it was left to Hiero's discretion to perform or not; and the introduction of so much personality is not as surprising as it would be in a genuine panegyric.

In form and matter alike we shall find that, with Pindar as the centre, the ode becomes a whole. Just because he did not want the discussion of himself to be too obvious or too blatant, much is left vague and tentative, which Hiero, with a full knowledge of the facts and seeing the abnormal quantity of First Persons used, would have little difficulty in understanding. After the invocation comes immediately the mention of Cinyras, an obvious prelude to the mention of Pindar himself. 'Cinyras is sung by the Cyprians'—'I sing you' must have been expected. Instead there is a slight change: 'The Locrians sing you in gratitude, for all wise people are grateful'—*i.e.*, 'I am not forgetting myself, and I should be a fool if I failed to learn the lesson of Ixion, who is the worst example of ingratitude, made worse by the fact that he was *ἄδρις* and did not know how to keep his place.'

This is, however, by no means the

usual interpretation of the myth, about which there are as many opinions as men. Thus Christ says it is entirely irrelevant, while the lecture on ingratitude is referred variously to the Locrians (Fennell), to others helped by Hiero (Mezger), to Hiero (Boeckh), to Anaxilas (Hermann), to Pindar himself (Thiersch, L. Schmidt).

The myth must be connected with the main thread of the ode, and we may deny at once, as against Christ, that Pindar used any myth which occurred to him or to which he took a fancy. But we must equally deny, as against Dissen, that every part of the myth must refer to some event in the history of the victor, his ancestors or his city; and we may reject the fabrications, which have appealed to many, of the prospective crimes of Hiero towards the wife of Anaxilas, to account for the introduction of Hera. A study of the myths will teach us, always remembering that there was a limited number to select from, that there is also a limited number of types: (1) The city or ancestor myth, *P. IV.*, *O. VI.*, etc.; (2) the 'games' myth, *N. IX.*, *O. X.*, etc.; (3) the 'moral lecture' myth, *P. II.*, *N. VII.* In practically every case, the relevance of the myth is pointed out or hinted at at the end of the story, though sometimes the poet mentions that he has digressed, *P. X.*, *XI.*, but this does not occur in the 'moral lecture' myths.

The Ixion myth belongs to this third class. It is a lecture on gratitude. But what of its end? Does that refer to gratitude? This is a perfectly legitimate objection, but it is easily met, and we can thereby explain a further important point in the discussion of the Pindaric myths. There are some whose application changes in the middle. So here we have, first a discussion of gratitude, which leads naturally in the case of Ixion to the omnipotence of God and the need for acquiescing in His will; (and incidentally the consequence of violating it, here exemplified by the Centaurs).

The lessons which Pindar wishes us to draw are two: (a) I am not ungrateful, so let not Hiero imagine that what I am going to say is a token of it;

(b) the world is a place of ups and downs, according to God's will, as Archilochus knew and told us many times. (The mention of Archilochus is probably due to a verbal similarity in that poet's works and to the recollection of his fate (*cf.* Hauvette, *Mélanges Perrot*, 1901.) So I am not going to be spiteful, if I happen to be 'down,' but will put up with my fortune and avoid the misfortune of Archilochus, who did not realise that wisdom and good fortune are the best things we can have.

This line, whose precise meaning is doubtful, comes so abruptly that it is difficult to trace the connexion of thought exactly. We suspect that the ambiguity is due to the fact that Pindar does not feel quite comfortable in what he is saying, and this suspicion is confirmed by the irrelevant piece of flattery which follows and which the most adulatory of Pindar's enemies would find it hard to beat. It is an interlude while he plucks up courage to reach his climax. It may be that he had Xenophanes in mind and the famous retort of Hiero to him on his complaint of poverty, and Pindar may hint that his remarks are not to be taken as implying any misplaced independence or excess of sincerity. He was an honest man of course, but he did not wish to lose a valued patron. So ll. 57-71 are simply a preparation for the real object of the ode, the expostulation and apologia of Pindar. Anyone who has read the poet with care must feel that he is dealing here with personal matters; *cf.* *P.* IX. 75-96, X. 51-64, and that the agitation of the verse is not affected. Here Kleanthes may be right and Pindar may have feared to be superseded, though there is no reason for suggesting Bacchylides or saying that Pindar was piqued at not getting the order for a poem. The final preparation for the private part of the ode, Strophe D, etc., which can be omitted and still leave the poem performable, comes with *πρεσβύτεραι βουλαί*. Anyone with a knowledge of Court etiquette must have known this was a prelude to something its author feared might give offence. When Hiero is strung up to the highest pitch, Pindar begins solemnly *γένου' οἶος ἔσσι*. 'Du sollst der werden

der Du bist,' as Nietzsche put it, slightly altering the famous *γνώθι σεαυτόν*. The extreme knife-like sharpness of all that follows signifies its importance. *Μαθών* (which Headlam, *inter alia*, takes as qualifying the ape, though why emphasise the learning of the ape, when it does nothing to help the interpretation?) adds to the Nietzschean ideal that of the Dorian 'Erziehungsideal' (for which *cf.* Wilamowitz *Herakles*, I. 287), and being intentionally vague, is meant to imply many things, such as 'when you have learnt the truth about everything,' 'as you have taught yourself to be by developing your own nature' and so on. The definite meaning which Hiero is to bear in mind is: 'Remain at your highest level of wisdom, while you are judging me, for the matter requires a wise judge. Children, you know, call an ape beautiful; they are no judges and are taken in by all sorts of follies on the ape's part. But Rhadamanthys was quite different, for he used his wisdom wisely, so he is now free from all the deceitful wiles of the base; be like him and hope for his reward.' (Comparetti wants to take *καρπὸν φρενῶν* as meaning that Rhadamanthys has the privilege of judging the souls of the blest, but the evidence he quotes is weak, and in Pindar Rhadamanthys is not yet the judge solely of the good.)

The remainder of the ode is taken up with a self-justification and a calm conviction that he will triumph in the end. The good man has his bad times, but as the myth has told us, his bad times will end, and the wicked man will find that all his wiles do him no good, that his prosperity is insecurely established, and that he will be hoist with his own petard. If he is patient, Pindar's lot will change; only as he does not now kick against the pricks, may he always have good men for his friends.

That such is the explanation of the last passage, there can be little doubt. But it has been sadly obscured by irrelevant introductions of *πιθηκισμός*, and fox-myths from Archilochus. The fox is itself a myth in this ode, and Galen is sufficient authority to show that the mention of the ape does not imply flattery. Children, he says, are

foolish enough to find an ape a source of amusement; they lack judgment. Is not this enough without controversies, whether Hiero or the children are to be identified with the ape, and whether the children are pleased with the ape or the ape with the children? Judgment is

the key to the passage, and it is only natural that Pindar should refer to Rhadamanthys, when he wished to claim a fair decision from Hiero on a matter that required calm and dispassionate wisdom for its solution.

E. H. GODDARD.

AN UNRECOGNISED EXTRACT FROM MENANDER'S *EPITREPONTES*?

IN one of the most striking¹ passages of the *Epitrepontes* Menander has portrayed the emotions of the young husband Charisius on overhearing a dialogue between his neglected wife Pamphile and her father Smicrines. She has refused, under great pressure, to leave him, and he is overwhelmed with remorse for his treatment of her. It is not quite certain that any such scene between father and daughter² took place on the stage: but it is clear that Smicrines makes more than one attempt to carry her off, and it is unlikely that Menander refrained from staging a debate so suitable for Euripidean rhetoric. Moreover, we possess a small and mutilated fragment (Z) of the great Cairo papyrus which Sudhaus³ (followed by van Leeuwen and Allinson) believes to come from this very scene: these critics differ only in this, that while Sudhaus would place it in the first act, van Leeuwen and Allinson more plausibly suggest the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth. Z certainly contains scraps of a dialogue between a father and his protesting child, and Sudhaus seems to be right in maintaining that this child is a daughter and that her name is Pamphile. If so, the fragment is almost certainly from the *Epitrepontes*. Almost the first words

used by the father (in Z¹, which Sudhaus and Allinson place before the verso Z²) are these: εἰ δὲ καὶ μὲ δεῖ λέγειν, | ἐτοιμ[ό]ς [εἴ]μι[ν], τρία δέ σοι προθήσομαι. He proceeds to elaborate his case in a ῥῆσις, which Sudhaus calculates to have been rather over forty lines long (more than half has perished). Before he can finish what he has to say, the daughter, despite his protests, retires into the house. If Sudhaus is right in his general interpretation of the passage, he is probably justified in his further inference that the father's ῥῆσις answers and balances a similar ῥῆσις delivered by the daughter at a slightly earlier point.

The object of this note is to suggest the possibility that we possess forty-four lines of Pamphile's ῥῆσις, and have possessed them unrecognised for more than forty years. I refer to the ῥῆσις contained in the Didot papyrus published with partial facsimiles by H. Weil in 1879, and included by Nauck (T.G.F.² 1889) as *frag. incert.* 953 of Euripides. The passage begins ὦ πάτερ, ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖς ἐγὼ λόγους λέγω | τούτους λέγειν σέ. This papyrus, ascribed by Weil⁴ to the second or third century B.C., contains a number of extracts from tragedy and comedy, some epigrams, and some money accounts. The ῥῆσις (which is much the longest extract) is repeated, less correctly, on the back of the papyrus. The papyrus appears to ascribe the ῥῆσις to Euripides, for the second copy (that on the back) is said to be headed ΕΤΡΕΠΠΙΔΟΥ. The principal copy (which alone is shown in Weil's facsimile) has a mutilated heading, which Weil reads as ΕΤΡΕΠΠΙΔΟΥ; and at its

¹ Sudhaus² 494-547; Koerte 457-501 must be supplemented by *Ox. Pap.* X. 1236^v 1-9.

² The view that Pamphile is a *persona muta* has been abandoned by all recent editors. She undoubtedly appears in l. 470 ff. Sudh.²=432 ff. Koerte; cf. Jensen in *Rh. Mus.* 1910, p. 365, and Wüst in Bursian's *Jahresber.* 174, p. 203.

³ See especially *Menanderstudien*, 1914, p. 1 ff. In Koerte² Z is printed with *frag. incert.* before *Georgos*. Rennie (*C.R.* XXXVI., p. 79) accepts Sudhaus' view of the character of Z, but agrees with van Leeuwen and Allinson in putting it at a later point of the play.

⁴ Dr. E. H. Minns has kindly examined the facsimile for me, with Mr. H. I. Bell, and informs me that there is no doubt that the papyrus is earlier than 162 B.C.

conclusion stands a row of letters which Weil reads as ΕΤΡΙΠΙΙΔΗΣΣΜΟΔΡΕ-ΓΑΤΗΣ. Dr. E. H. Minns informs me that when he examined the facsimile with Mr. H. I. Bell, they decided that ΕΤΡΙΠΙΙΔΗΣ and ΕΓΑΤΗΣ were fairly certain: with regard to the intermediate letters, they thought that Weil was wrong in reading a second Σ before the Μ; and that the letter which Weil read as Ρ was something (perhaps Ε), with Ρ or, more probably, Ι written over it. The meaning of what follows ΕΤΡΙΠΙΙΔΗΣ remains an enigma, and no plausible interpretation has ever been offered. Weil ascribed the passage to Euripides, and he was followed by Cobet (*Mnemosyne* VIII., 1880, p. 56), who suggested a satyric drama, F. Blass (*Rh. M.* LIII., 1880, p. 74), and also by Nauck and Kock. Wilamowitz, however (*Hermes* XV., 1880, p. 491, and *Euripides Herakles*, ed. 1, I., p. 41, n. 82) and Tyrrell (*Hermathena* IV., 1881, p. 99) have argued cogently against this view. Apart from the general tone, which is surely not that of fifth-century tragedy, there are several points of metre and language unfavourable to the ascription. The most striking are the ending of l. 10, *καίτοι γ', ὦ πάτερ*; the elision of -αι in the last line (*πειράσομ'*) for which there is only one doubtful parallel in Euripides (*I.A.* 407); and the untragic *τυχὸν ἴσως* l. 9 and *μέχρι* l. 32.¹ Wilamowitz was so angry at the ascription to Euripides, that he refused to see any merit whatever in the passage; he regarded it as a schoolmaster's exercise, and closed his indictment with 'doch genug davon: hoffentlich für immer.' With this I cannot agree. The piece is not tragic, but it is singularly delicate and affecting, and it must be the work of a fine dramatist.

Weil adduced one piece of external evidence favourable to the view that the *ῥήσις* is Euripidean. In the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (II. 24. 38) the following lines are quoted from an unnamed source:

Iniuria abs te adficio indigna, pater;
nam si improbum esse Chresphontem existimas
cur me huic locabas nuptiis? sin est probus
cur talem inuitam inuitum cogis linquere?

¹ But Tyrrell's suggestion that the fourth foot of l. 32 is an anapaest is baseless: the third foot is clearly a dactyl.

The only important variant is 'existimabas,' read by the inferior MSS. in l. 2. Two alternative replies by the father are given a little later, of which one at least, and probably both, are rhetorical illustrations invented by the author of the treatise.

If 'Chresphontem' is sound, this extract must be tragic, and Ribbeck prints it as fr. III. of Ennius' *Cresphontes*. Its resemblance to the Didot *ῥήσις* is obvious, and, since Euripides wrote a *Cresphontes* (of which little is known), the *ῥήσις* (if it is by Euripides) might be supposed to come from that play. But l. 2 of the Latin passage is metrically defective, and 'Ctesiphontem,' suggested by Wilamowitz, is perhaps as plausible as any of its rivals (for instance, 'Cressipontem,' '<hominem>,' '<olim>,' '[esse] . . . existimaueras').

If Euripides be rejected as the author of the *ῥήσις*, the obvious claimant is his greatest follower, Menander:² the metre, however, at first sight, presents an obstacle. It is too free for fifth-century tragedy, but is it free enough for comedy? Tyrrell pointed to a fragment of Damoxenus' *Σύντροφοι* (Kock III., p. 349), which in sixty-three lines has³ very few lapses from tragic metrical standards, and the answer was sufficient for his purpose; but it is not sufficient to justify metrically the ascription of the piece to Menander himself. It is obvious that the general metrical character of the new Menandrea is extremely unlike that of the *ῥήσις*. Yet, besides several shorter passages, there is one scene in the *Perikeiromene* (ll. 349-391), which shows conclusively that, in a Euripidean situation, Menander was prepared to be almost Euripidean for many lines on end. The scene (whose tragic character has been recognised by all critics) is an anagnorisis of father and daughter, and in forty-three

² Ll. 25, 26 of the *ῥήσις*—*τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν με τὸ μέρος ὧν εἶχεν λαβεῖν | τοῦ συναπορηθῆναι δὲ μὴ λαβεῖν μέρος* resemble very closely Menander fr. 404 K (from the *Plocium*) ll. 7, 8—*τῶν μὲν ἀνιάρων ἔχων | τὸ μέρος πάντων, τῶν δ' ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν μέρος*.

³ οὐδὲν *πρῶγμα τὰ | γινόμενα* ll. 31, 32: but Euripides has similar breaks with *οὐδεῖς*: an anapaest in the second foot, l. 56: *ταῦτα προ-σάγω* at the opening of l. 57: *οὕτω συνδοκεῖ* at the close of l. 67.

consecutive lines, mostly stichomythia, there is no violation of Porson's law, and only one doubtful anapaest outside the first foot.¹ It is true that the tone of this passage is different from that of the *ῥῆσις*—it is livelier and more suggestive of parody—but that suits the character of the speakers and the light-hearted atmosphere of the play.

It may further be pointed out that in Z¹ of the Cairo papyrus, which probably comes, as we have seen, from the close of the scene between Pamphile and Smicrines, the first nine surviving lines are in purely tragic metre; indeed the first three, two of which, at least, are spoken by the daughter, are exactly in the style of the *ῥῆσις*: they run *ἀλλ', εἴ με σφύζον τοῦτο μὴ πείσαις ἐμέ, | οὐκέτι πατὴρ κρίνοι' ἂν ἀλλὰ δεσπότης. | λόγου δὲ δέεται ταῦτα καὶ συμπίσεως*. If anyone may speak (in Comedy) the language of Tragedy, who so suitable as a refined heroine in extreme distress?

Apart from metrical points, the piece is admirably suited to Pamphile's situation, and its style and tone correspond strikingly to the indications given by that speech of Charisius to which reference was made at the opening of this article. The speaker of the *ῥῆσις* has been urged by her father to leave her husband. The first five lines are an apology for appearing to set her wits against his. The next thirteen deal with the point that her husband has done some wrong: she replies that, unless he has wronged *her*, it is not her business: that she is not aware that she has been wronged, and that 'have it as you will' (*ἔστω δ' ὃ βούλει*) she is perfectly satisfied. The rest of her speech answers a different line of attack. 'Kind or unkind,' the father has said, 'he is a ruined man: and I propose to remarry you to a rich one' (*ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἐμοὶ μὲν χρηστός ἡπόρηκε δέ, | σὺ δ' ἀνδρὶ μ', ὡς φῆς, ἐκδίδως νῦν*

πλουσίῳ | ἵνα μὴ διαζῶ τὸν βίον λυπουμένη, 19 ff.). Her answer is partly an eloquent plea that she has taken him for richer, for poorer, for better, for worse: partly a Euripidean conundrum as to what is to be done if her new husband is ruined too. Must she be married to a *third*? And if he is ruined . . . ? The speech ends with a dignified protest: *εἰ δὲ μή, σὺ μὲν βία | πράξεις ἂν βούλει, τὴν δ' ἐμὴν ἐγὼ τύχην | πειράσομ' ὡς δεῖ μὴ μετ' αἰσχύνης φέρειν*.

The space given to the financial argument exactly suits Smicrines' character. He is concerned for his daughter and his ducats, but especially his ducats: he resents Charisius' plunge into debauchery as an insult to Pamphile, but what really alarms him is the dreadful expense of it, and the danger to her dowry. He is cousin to the father in the *Menæchmi*, who has no patience with his daughter's complaints of her husband's unfaithfulness, but fires up when he hears that he is giving her jewels to his mistress. This is clear all through the *Epitrepontes*, and especially so in the amusing scene where Smicrines finally attempts to carry Pamphile off, only to find that everything has been comfortably settled. As he enters, he answers the protests of the nurse Sophrona with the exclamation² *ἀλλ' ἢ περιμένω καταφαγεῖν τὴν προῖκά μου | τὸν χρηστὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα, καὶ λόγους λέγω | περὶ τῶν ἐμαντοῦ*. The language recalls the words of the *ῥῆσις*, especially—*ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἐμοὶ μὲν χρηστός (19)—ὦ πάτερ, ἐχρὴν μὲν σὺς ἐγὼ λόγους λέγω | τούτους λέγειν σέ (1 ff.)—εἰ τὰλλα κρίνειν ἔστιν ἀνόητον γυνή, | περὶ τῶν γ' ἑαυτῆς πραγμάτων ἴσως φρονεῖ (11 ff.)*. The slave Onesimus greets Smicrines' arrival with the words³ *τίς ἐσθ' ὁ κόπτων τὴν θύραν; ὦ, Σμικρίνης | ὁ χαλεπός, ἐπὶ τὴν προῖκα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα | ἦκων*. Indeed, Smicrines become the type of such sentiments:⁴ a scholiast on *Odyssey* VII. 225 remarks *κομιδῇ γὰρ σμικρολόγος φαίνεται (Ὀδυσσεὺς) προτάσσων τῶν φιλτάτων τὴν κτήσιν ὡς παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ Σμικρίνης ἐν Ἐπιτρέπουσιν*.

¹ L. 385, *βραχύς τις ἀνάγλυφος*, which Sudh. claims to have read with certainty; but Menander may have scanned *ἀνάγλυφος*: in l. 353, where Sudh. reads *ρόθιον μέγα*, only *ρόθ* is certain. The opening of l. 360 is corrupt: some restorations needlessly violate tragic metre. For further tragic characteristics of this passage see P. Maass in *Rh. M.* LXVIII., 1913, p. 361. The form *τουτί* is used in l. 357.

² Sudh.² 631 ff. = Koerte 525 ff.

³ Sudh.² 644 ff. = Koerte 538 ff.

⁴ Schol. Ambros. *ad loc.* (MSS. *σμικρύνῃσιν ἐπιτρέπουσιν*, corr. Meineke).

It is true that no reference to a re-marriage occurs in the extant remains of the play: but that would be taken for granted. Smicrines¹ would not keep his daughter at home. We may compare the opening scene of the *Stichus* (probably Menandrian), the resemblance of which to the *ῥῆσις* was noticed by Weil. The first hundred and fifty lines of that play are mainly concerned with Antipho's intention of forcing his two daughters to leave their husbands. We have the lamentations of the daughters, and their arguments with their father: yet only one line of the father's (l. 138), and a few lines of reply, allude (but then as a matter of course) to his further intention of remarrying them. It is noteworthy that the *Stichus* and *Epitrepontes* are the only extant comedies (as Legrand remarks) in which daughters of good family appear in conflict with paternal authority.

It remains to point out how well

¹ So in Demosth. *Or.* XLI. 4, when Polyeuctus quarrelled with his son-in-law Leocrates, ἀφελόμενος . . . τὴν θυγατέρα δίδωσι Σπουνδίᾳ.

Charisius' remarks, in the scene already mentioned, fit the *ῥῆσις*. First, as he is quoted, before his entry, by his slave Onesimus: 'ὦ γλυκυτάτῃ' δὲ 'τῶν λόγων οἷους λέγεις' (504 Sudh.), which recalls the opening of the *ῥῆσις*; then in his own speech (addressing himself): ὅμοι]ά γ' εἶπεν οἷς σὺ διενόου τότῃ | πρὸς] τὸν πατέρα· κοινωνὸς ἦκειν τοῦ βίου | παρ' ἄνδρα κ]οῦ δεῖν τὰτύχημ' αὐτὴν φυγεῖν | τὸ συμβ]εβηκός (537 ff. Sudh.), which reads like a summary of ll. 14-26 of the *ῥῆσις*.² Again, the last words of his speech—an imaginary address to Smicrines—recall the σὺ μὲν βία | πράξεις ἂ βούλῃ of its close: τί οὖν ταραττεῖς καὶ βιάζῃ Παμφίλῃν;

It cannot, of course, be maintained that these arguments are conclusive; but I hope to have shown that the *ῥῆσις* fits the scene astonishingly well. Oxyrhynchus has already refuted one attempt to fill the gaps of the *Epitrepontes*. It may yet refute (or confirm) this.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

² Ll. 24-26 of the *ῥῆσις* are quoted by Capps to illustrate this passage of the *Epitrepontes*.

HERODAS II 65-71.

δεῖρο, Μυρτάλη, καὶ σὺ· 65
δεῖξον σεαυτὴν πᾶσι· μὴδὲν αἰσχύνειν·
νόμιζε τοῦτους οὓς ὀρῆς δικάζοντας
πατέρας ἀδελφοὺς ἐμβλέπειν. ὀρήτ', ἄνδρες,
τὰ τίλματ' αὐτῆς καὶ κάτωθε κᾶνωθεν 70
ὡς λεία ταῦτ' ἔτιλλεν ὠναγῆς οὗτος,
δθ' εἶλκεν αὐτὴν καβιάζετο.

'Come here, Myrtale—it's your turn. Show yourself to all; don't be ashamed. Consider that those whom you see trying the case are your fathers and brethren. Look, gentlemen, up and down, at her rents, how threadbare these were rent by this villain, when he mauled and toused her.'

THIS is the translation of Mr A. D. Knox in his recently published completion of Walter Headlam's work; and it is at any rate faithful enough to Headlam's commentary, which represents that the outrage here alleged against Thales by Battarus is damage to Myrtale's clothing. I cannot find that any editor has ever made this mistake before. It is one which argues some innocence of mind and not much attention to the context or to the meaning of Greek words.

Headlam is of course unable to cite any passage where *τίλλειν* or its cognates signify the rending or mauling of garments, and he is obliged to invent an instance: 'the *τιλμοί* with which the Herald threatens the Danaids in Aesch. *Suppl.* 852 include the *πολυμίτων πέπλων ἐπιλαβάς* they apprehend in *v.* 439.' On the contrary, the *τιλμοί* (which he himself rightly translated 'plucking of hair') distinctly exclude the *πέπλων ἐπιλαβάς* (which he translated 'rude clutchings of robes'): *τιλμοί πέπλων* would mean shredding robes for lint. When he comes to *λεία* he says that it means 'plain' as distinguished from *ὑφαντά* 'embroidered' (Thuc. II 97 3), and that Myrtale's garments, originally *ὑφαντά*, had been made *λεία* by the rough handling of her assailant. Rough handling will not unpick embroidery.

And what, by this interpretation, is the ordeal which Myrtale's modesty is summoned to face? Tattered and torn as she may be, she is already present

in court, where anyone could stare at her as he liked: simply to stand forth in her rags is nothing that calls for the encouragement *μηδὲν αἰσχύνειν* or for assurances that the jury have minds as chaste as a father's or a brother's. Such language means that she is required to show *ἃ κρύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀρσένων χρεών*; and this is necessary in order that the jury may see for themselves

τὰ τίλματα αὐτῆς, καὶ κάτωθε κἄνωθεν
ὥς λεία ταῦτ' ἐτίλλεν ὠναγῆς οὗτος,

noluras eius, quam glabra haec (quae iam nudata digito demonstrat) et infra et supra euolsis pilis reddiderit.

The mere sense of the words is rightly understood by Buecheler, whose punctuation I have given, and by others if not by all; but I find no sign that anyone sees the joke, which for Herodas and his first readers was the best joke in the mime. When Crusius *Unters.* p. 42 says 'der Schlaukopf spekuliert wohl nicht nur auf das Mitleid, sondern auch auf die Sinnlichkeit der Herrn Geschworenen,' and Hense *Rhein. Mus.* 1900 p. 230 repeats that explanation, they are far astray.

Had Myrtale been induced to surmount her bashfulness under the eyes of a British jury, they might have believed, at least for the moment, that they had ocular evidence of shocking maltreatment; and their horror at the ruffian's brutality would have been equalled or surpassed by their amazement at his thoroughness. The *λειότης* revealed was complete. But that was no surprise or mystery to burghers of Cos. It was none of Thales' handiwork, but an ordinary feature of the feminine toilet, *munditiae muliebres*, perpetuated in marble and still imposed as a convention on sculptors and painters of the nude by the prestige of antiquity. Any woman of Myrtale's trade who was careful of her person and solicitous to please her customers would be *παρατετιλμένη*. Battarus achieves the height of his impudence when he offers in proof of outrage a piece of evidence which really shows that the particular outrage alleged was an impossible and a proverbially impossible feat: *φαλακρὸν τίλλειν, nudo detrahere uestimenta*, taking the breeks off a Highlander.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

PICUS-WHO-IS-ALSO-ZEUS.

THE well-known passage in Suidas *s.v.* Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς has given rise to a good deal of bold speculation. It has inspired Miss Harrison to bring Picus to Crete,¹ and, relying upon her, Mr. Bailey now brings him back from Crete to Italy.

The conception of an animal deity is foreign to the strictly animistic notions of the old Roman religion, and we may naturally look to an alien origin. In the case of the woodpecker this is not hard to find: there is good evidence of the cult of the woodpecker (*δρυκολάπτης*) in Crete, where he ultimately became associated with the worship of Zeus.²

The statement that 'there is good evidence' is definitely a slip. Strictly speaking, there is no direct evidence at all that the woodpecker was worshipped in Crete at any period of history. The foundation of the hypothesis that the Greeks once worshipped woodpeckers

consists of a line of Aristophanes³ and the occurrence of the name Keleos in Greek mythology (*a*) as the father of Triptolemus,⁴ and (*b*) the only story specifically connected with Crete, as one of the bronze-clad ruffians who entered the cave of Zeus to steal honey, and in punishment were turned into birds.⁵ The line of Aristophanes no doubt refers to a piece of popular lore, but to found such a theory upon it is surely to attempt to break a butterfly on the wheel, and the interpretation of proper names is an exceedingly flimsy, if popular, foundation for hypotheses. Are we, for instance, to deduce from the *dramatis personae* of Varro's treatise on farming that the Romans formerly worshipped domestic animals? Indeed, when shorn of Miss Harrison's per-

¹ J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 100 ff.

² C. Bailey, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum Liber III.* p. 46.

³ Aristophanes, *Birds*, 480 οὐκ ἀποδώσει ταχέως ὁ Ζεὺς τὸ σκήπτρον τῷ δρυκολάπτῃ;

⁴ See Roscher *s.v.* Keleos.

⁵ Antoninus Liberalis XIX.

suasive eloquence, there is little to commend the theory that the worship of the woodpecker was indigenous in Crete.

Further, were it true that a woodpecker god had been worshipped in Crete in the Bronze Age, the Cretan origin of Italian *Picus* would need strong corroborative evidence. The assumption of homogeneity of culture in Italy and the Aegean area during the Bronze Age is often made, but it is hardly warranted. The archaeological evidence is pretty definitely against it.

On the whole it may be said that the evidence for Mycenaean influence in Italy is rather slender. It is beyond doubt that the south-eastern corner of the peninsula carried on a considerable trade with the Mycenaean Aegean, and if the Torcello vases can be trusted, this trade must have been continued up to the north shores of the Adriatic. Beyond this, and the fact that Sicily fell strongly under Mycenaean influence, little can be said.¹ Few who have surveyed the evidence collected by Professor Peet are likely to question his verdict.

The sacred bird of Mars from which the Picentines took their name belongs indisputably to an early stratum of Italian religion. At the same time it should be noted that *Picus* is prominent in mythology and folklore rather than in cult. There is, it is true, the oracle of Mars at Tiora Matiene mentioned at second-hand by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, at which a woodpecker perched upon a wooden post is said to have performed functions analogous to those of the doves at Dodona.² There is no evidence, however, that either the woodpecker or the doves were ever themselves the objects of cults. It is, in fact, extremely difficult to find examples of bird divinities in any part of the world,³ and the comparative evidence is quite conclusive that the attribution of magical or prophetic powers to a bird

or the adoption of a bird name or crest by no means necessarily implies bird worship.

With Miss Harrison and Mr. Bailey I should be disposed to agree that the woodpecker was probably regarded by the Italian peoples as the bird which foretold and even summoned the rain. Throughout Europe it enjoys this reputation in popular belief, partly on account of its cry, partly on account of its noticeable activity when the imminence of rain brings out the insects upon which it feeds.⁴ It was probably these peculiarities, rather than its martial appearance,⁵ which made it the bird of Mars.⁶

In Roman cult *Picus* figures not at all; he springs into prominence in the Augustan Age as the augur king or the rustic deity, and the reason for this prominence would seem to be the poverty of native mythology. Both this poverty and the amazing literary skill of Virgil are well illustrated in the Seventh Book of the *Aeneid*. This is not the place to attempt to analyse how a romantic atmosphere is created out of the most exiguous material by a dexterous ringing of the changes upon the few names available. Even such bloodless abstractions as *Italus* and *Sabinus* are made to contribute to the effect. But in fact the impression of age-long antiquity is so skilfully conveyed that the reader is liable to forget that there are but four generations descending from father to son—*Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, *Latinus*.⁷

Euhemerism had taken firm root at Rome in the days of Ennius, and Virgil's list was no doubt popularly accepted before he set upon it the seal of his authority. Now the identification of *Saturnus* with the Greek *Cronos* was admitted. If *Saturnus* is another name for *Cronos*, it follows that *Picus* is another name for *Zeus*.

That is not, however, the whole story.

¹ Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, pp. 514-515.

² Dion. Hal. I. xiv. 5. This statement would be more helpful if we knew with any certainty what the doves at Dodona were and what they did, but we do not.

³ Borneo supplies examples of definite bird cults, but the actual worship of bird divinities is difficult to parallel elsewhere.

⁴ See Swainson, *Folklore of British Birds*, p. 162; Hopf, *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere*, p. 162.

⁵ Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 21.

⁶ So far as it goes the connexion of *Picus* and the obscure *Picumnus* with *Stercutius* (e.g. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 15) seems to support this view.

⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII. 45 ff.

Picus, who is also Zeus, is first mentioned in a fragment of Diodorus;¹ he is almost always² introduced under this rather cumbrous double-barrelled name; his appearance is uniformly in literature of a particular kind and in a particular context. He is the puppet of the chronographer, not an object of cult nor a factor in religious development. And in passing, an obvious but not unimportant point may be noticed. Πῖκος does not mean 'woodpecker' in Greek. It is the legendary king of Italy rather than the magical woodpecker who occupies the tomb of Zeus in Crete.

At the beginning of the second century B.C., a scheme of world history was proposed, possibly by Zeno of Rhodes, the main idea of which was a succession of four world empires—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman. A subsidiary but favourite feature of the scheme was the synchronising of the fall of the Assyrian empire with the foundation of Rome.³ This point appealed with especial force to Christian writers, for

¹ Diodorus, VI., 5.

² An exception is Pausanias of Damascus, Frag. 4. (*Hist. Graec. Min.* I. ed. Dindorf, p. 179) who tells us that Seleucus sacrificed ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ κτισθέντι ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ υἱοῦ Πίκου καὶ Δανάης τῷ ὄντι εἰς τὸ Σιδωνιον ὄρος. Here the identification with Zeus is, of course, implied, and it is used to form a link between Oriental and European history (see Note 5 below).

³ Trieber, 'Die Idee der vier Weltreiche,' *Hermes*, XXVII. (1892), pp. 321-344. This idea was taken over by the medieval historians. Cf. at the end of the thirteenth century Higden, *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series, London, 1865), II., p. 256; at the end of the twelfth century the second recension of the *De Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome*, London, 1889, pp. 2 and 3) contains muddled reminiscences of the system.

whom Rome was the second Babylon of apocalyptic writing. Euhemerism enabled the scheme to be worked out in a single whole by means of identifications justified by the existing practice of polytheism as regards the identification of foreign with native gods. Thus Picus-who-is-also-Zeus is also Ninus, or the brother of Ninus. It is only, as far as I am aware, in passages connected with the allègèd interrelation of the histories of Assyria and Rome that Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς figures.⁴

The association, therefore, is that of Picus, not of a woodpecker, with Zeus, and it takes place not in Crete, but in the study of the historians. This surely disposes of the value of Suidas as a witness for woodpecker-worship. If it be asked, why then should Crete come into the story, an answer is not difficult to find. The tomb of Zeus in Crete is the foundation-stone of Euhemerist doctrine, and observation suggests that it is difficult to mention Euhemerism without bringing it in. Both Servius and Mr. Bailey provide examples, the former *ad Aen.* VII. 150, the latter on p. 20 of his masterly introduction to the Third Book of the *Fasti*, with a minor detail of which I have ventured to disagree.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

⁴ Diodorus VI. 5; Ioannes Antiochenus, Frags. 4, 6 (*F.H.G.* IV. pp. 542-544); Malalas I. 19, II. 28, 34 (Migne, *Pat. Graec.* XCVII. pp. 85, 95, 104); *Chronicon Paschale*, 36-38, 44 (Migne, *Pat. Graec.* XCII. pp. 143 ff.); *Excerpta Barbari* in Frick, *Chronica Minora*, 243, 25. Picus-Zeus is identified with Ninus, or the brother of Ninus, and is the father of Perseus, the ancestor of the Persians. Faunus, his son=Hermes Trismegistus, and forms the link with Egyptian history. Io also plays a part in this systematisation of history. Antioch was founded on the site of Iopolis, to which she fled to escape Faunus—Hermes Trismegistus.

[ARISTOTLE] OECONOMICA.

It may be hoped that Mr. Forster's useful translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*, noticed in the *Classical Review*, Vol. XXXV. p. 70, will draw attention to that interesting compilation. The Second Book, with its collection of devices adopted by princes and potentates for raising

revenue, seems to have been suggested by *Politics*, 1259a 3 ff., 33 ff., when Aristotle wrote: 'It would be well also to collect the scattered stories of the ways in which individuals have succeeded in amassing a fortune; for all this is useful to persons who value the art of getting wealth. . . . And states-

men as well ought to know these things; for a state is often as much in want of money and of such devices for obtaining it as a household, or even more so.'

The following notes may supplement those of the reviewer :

1343b 10 ff.: πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ φύσις ἐφίεται ἀπεργάζεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ζώων ἕκαστον, '(Our) nature, like (that of) the various (other) animals, desires to multiply, and to reproduce the species': τοιαῦτα means 'like the parent,' as in *Pol.* 1252a 30, of which this passage is a reminiscence.

1344a 30: ἀνείναι, either trans., or intrans., depending on εἶναι: in either case the meaning is 'allow them to get slack' and incapable of work; cf. infr. ὕβριν ἐμποιεῖ . . . ἀδυναμίαν ποιεῖ.

1345a 10: For ὥς read ὥστε. 'That a good copy is impossible without a good example is true of the delegation of authority as in other matters; so that unless the master is careful, it is impossible that the overseers he appoints should be careful.'

1347b 12: ἡγήραζον οἱ στρατιῶται παρὰ τούτων ἀπαντα, 'the troops had to buy all their provisions from these quartermasters'—i.e. were compelled to buy, either by order or by circumstances. The men did not buy out the canteen straight away, but kept on buying there

throughout the campaign, each two months' sales bringing in enough cash for the next two months' pay.

1349a 1: ἐξαγωγὴν ἔδωκαν τῷ βουλομένῳ, 'they allowed anyone who wished to export corn'—viz., from the surplus compulsorily bought up by the State after each individual had retained enough to live on till next harvest. The State sold this to exporters at a price fixed to recoup the cost of the compulsory purchase and yield a revenue in addition. The exporters no doubt made what price they could in the famine districts to which they carried the corn.

1349a 4: τῶν μετοίκων οὐ προιεμένων, 'refused them advances,' cf. *Eth.* 1164a 23, 35, b26. The reference is to metoecus not as payers of an alien tax, but as bankers and capitalists.

1353b 22 ff.: ὅσα δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων φάλην εἶχε προτετακότα, εἶπας ὅτι δέχομαι ἐξαιρεῖν ἐκέλευεν. The object of ἐξαιρεῖν is the cups rather than the statues, the cups being presumably of gold or silver like the tables *supra*, and the clothing and wreaths on the statues *infra*; ἐξαιρεῖν 'to take out of the hand of the statue, in contrast with ἀφαιρεῖν, 'to carry off' the tables. The attitude of the statues suggested *propinatio*, and 'on festal occasions it was often a custom to make a present of the cup to the person pledged,' L. and S. s.v. *propinw*.

H. RACKHAM.

PLATO, *REPUBLIC*, 421A, AGAIN.

εἰ . . . ἡμεῖς μὲν φύλακας ὡς ἀληθῶς ποιοῦμεν . . . ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνο λέγων γεωργοὺς τινὰς καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν πανηγύρει ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πόλει ἐστιάτορας εὐδαίμονας . . .

MR. A. S. FERGUSON writes again in defence of his conjecture χορηγοὺς for γεωργοὺς, as against Mr. R. G. Bury's γεωμόρους.¹ He admits that a reference to the Syracusan γεωμόροι would be not inappropriate, if there were evidence that they were, like the Mikados of old Japan, 'seeming and not real rulers,' notorious for *fainéance* and display. But he finds no such evidence. As against the view that ἐν πανηγύρει here refers to 'a promiscuous gathering,' he argues² that the figure of the over-brilliant eye, the analogy of farmers peacocking in the attire of the stage, and the general contrast of 'men who simulate with men who are,' lead up logically to a contrast between 'real guardians and distinguished nullities whose leanings towards pomp and state may find a harmless outlet in the πανήγυρις.' He adduces, in support of his view, *Rep.* 577a (ὅς . . . μὴ . . . ἐκπλήττεται ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τυραννικῶν προστάσεως ἣν πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω σχηματίζονται)³ and 577b (γυμνός . . . τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς),⁴ and adds:

'Like ourselves, the Greeks used purely ornamental functions to illustrate the side of the ruler's life that appeals to the φιλοθεάμων. Socrates simply draws for the first time in political

theory a firm line between what Aristotle called the φύσις or ἀρετή of a ruler and his χορηγία,⁵ and his examples show that the objector demands, not a real βίος, but an ἡδεῖα διαγωγὴ, an ἀνάπαυσις, not a πράξις. His warning in 421a might be put in Plutarch's words: ὅρα μὴ πομπὴν ἐπαινοῦντι καὶ πανήγυριν μᾶλλον ἢ βίον ζοικας (*De Cupid. Divit.* 527d).

'Of many examples from political literature which might be chosen to illustrate the tenor of Book IV. c. 1 I select one—Plutarch, *Præcepta Gerendae Reipublicae*, c. 31. The whole chapter is worth comparing carefully (especially 822f); I quote the last example (823d): οἱ δὲ πολλοί, κὰν ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον ἀπορρίψωσιν, ὕστερον καταμανθάνοντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἥθος τούτων ἡγοῦνται μόνον πολιτικὸν καὶ δημοτικὸν καὶ ἄρχοντα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὸν μὲν χορηγὸν τὸν δ' ἐστιάτορα τὸν δὲ γυμνασάρχον καὶ νομίζουσι καὶ καλοῦσιν. εἰθ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις, Καλλίου δαπανῶντος ἢ Ἀλκιβιάδου, Σωκράτης ἀκούεται καὶ πρὸς Σωκράτην πάντες ἀποβλέπουσιν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ὑγαινοῦσαις πόλεσιν Ἰσμηρίας μὲν ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ δειπνίζει Λίχας⁶ καὶ χορηγεῖ Νικήρατος, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ καὶ Ἀριστέλης καὶ Λύσανδρος καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ πολιτεύονται καὶ στρατηγοῦσι. The previous example, with exactly the same kind of illustration, was drawn from Phylarchos; comparison with *De Cupid. Divit.* 527b suggests that Theophrastos may be the source of this as of other passages in the tract.'

¹ See *Class. Quart.* XVIII. p. 163; *Class. Rev.* XXXIV. p. 32; XXXV. pp. 17, 81.

² Citing 604e 'for an official Athenian πανήγυρις.'

³ Cf. Isocr. *Nikokles*, 32.

⁴ Cf. Dion Or. IV. 61.

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⁵ χορηγία soon ceased to be felt as a metaphor. For Aristotle's usage see Bywater, *Poetics*, 1453b 8. For Socrates's ironical proof that the χορηγός is the best guardian, see Xen., *Mem.* III., iv. 6.

⁶ Xen., *Mem.* I., ii. 61.

EXCLAMATORY QUESTIONS WITH
UT IN LATIN.

1 'Victamne ut quisquam victrici patriae praeferret?' (Livy V. 24. 10).

2. 'Di magni, ut qui civem Romanum occidisset, impunitatem acciperet?' (Sen. *De Beneficiis* V. 16. 3.)

3. Egone ut te interpellem? (Cic. *Tusc.* II. 18. 42.)

4. Tu ut unquam te corrigas? (Cic. *Cat.* I. 9. 22.)

Note in 1 and 2 imperfect subjunctive, in 3 and 4 present subjunctive. Does the difference in tense denote any real difference in sense? Does the imperfect lay a slightly greater stress than the present on the absurdity of the deprecated result? Note also in 1 and 3 the presence of *ne*, in 2 and 4 its absence: this difference is negligible, though one might ask why not *num* in both cases (1 and 3). Note, thirdly, that in 1 and 4 *quisquam* and *unquam* show plainly that the negative answer is expected, and the result deprecated.

Gildersleeve and Lodge (*Lat. Gram.* § 558) assert categorically that there is here 'no definite or conscious ellipsis.' I find it difficult to accept this view. Is there not a definite, though in use sub-conscious, ellipse of *aequum est, verisimile est* (*verisimile est ut*, as in Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 51)? Consider the sentences so completed: thus,

1. Aequumne est ut victam quisquam . . . ?
2. Di magni, aequum est ut qui . . . ?
3. Estne verisimile ut ego te interpellem ?
4. Est verisimile ut tu unquam te corrigas ?

I submit that the omission of the short main clause (*aequumne est*, etc.) is palliated by the strong emphasis thrown on to the first word. This is quite clear in 1. 3. 4. *Victam, Ego, Tu*. It applies also, though not quite so obviously, to 2, where the subject, *qui* . . . *occidisset*, consisting of a clause, is certainly in better position after the *ut* than before it.

I venture to ask grammarians for information and their views.

S. E. WINBOLT.

'COR HABERE' IN THE 'THESAURUS.'

—The examples of this phrase given by the *Thes.* are neither easy to discover in the long article *cor*, nor are they anything like complete. Lewis-Short ignores the phrase; Forcellini-De Vit usefully supplies some three or four examples s.v. *cor* (No. 7). These, with those given by the *Thes.*, provide a modest list ranging from Plautus to Ausonius. It is a pity no examples are given from Augustine, for he makes greater use of the phrase than all the others put together, though I have found nothing to indicate its survival elsewhere among Christian writers of his

time. A few examples of his use of it may be given:

Ep. 85. 2 noui quia cor habes, sed et tardum securum est quando in coelo est, et acutum cor nihil est quando in terra est; *Ep.* 141. 3 uos responderetis, si cor haberetis; *Ep.* 220. 5 init. Christianus es, cor habes; *Util. Ietun.*, 7. 9 habent cor, sciunt lapidem sentire non posse; *In Ps.* 75. 16 cor habeant; non sint fatui. (Cf. *In Ps.* 34, *Serm.* 2. 8 ubicumque inuenerint Christianum, solent . . . uocare hebetem, insulsum, nullius cordis; *In Ps.* 36, *Serm.* 3, 8 parui cordis aut non sani cordis). (To these another sheaf may be added from the index to Augustine's anti-Donatist works, in Vienna Corpus, Vol. LIII.)

The phrase *redire ad cor* (from Isaiah 46. 8) is also noteworthy; it is naturally frequent among Christian authors.

It may be of interest to mention that Vol. VI., fasc. 6 of the *Thes.* (from *FRV* on) is now in the press and may be looked for soon, though financial difficulties threaten further progress. I take the following from a letter from the *Thes.* offices, dated February 23:

(Scholars are informed) 'nos praesto esse ex schedis Thesauri uocabula in usum doctorum exscribere, si id, quod in ea re conficienda temporis consumetur, modica mercede compensabitur. Ut enim mendicari nos piget, ita grati erimus, si nobis potestas facta erit, honesto labore pauxillum aeris mereri ad sustentandas animi et corporis uires Thesauro conficiendo dedicatas.'

It is to be hoped that scholars will take advantage of this offer; it would be a pity to see this vast undertaking, which, with all its faults, is indispensable, brought to a standstill ('summum esse periculum,' my correspondent says, 'ne opus imperfectum relinquatur'); it is common knowledge that foreign scholars are in the utmost distress.

AUGUSTINE AND VIRGIL, *Ecl.* I. 70.

—The value of *testimonia* found in the neglected Christian writers has been often pointed out in the *C.R.* I am not aware that the following has been brought to notice: in his *Quaestiones in Genesim*, XCV., commenting on Gen. 31. 41 'deceperis mercedem meam decem agnabus' (A. V. 'Thou hast changed my wages ten times'), Augustine says:

'nec mirum quod haec decem tempora nomine agnorum appellauit, qui eisdem temporibus nascebantur; uelut si quisquam dicat "per tot uindemias" aut "tot messes," quibus

numerus intellegatur annorum. unde ait quidam "post aliquot aristas," per "aristas" uidelicet "messes," et per "messes," "annos" significans.'

J. H. BAXTER.

THE EXPRESSION 'FONS ET ORIGO.'

THE great *Thesaurus*, indispensable as it is, occasionally disappoints the student. Under the word *fons* we fully expected to find an account of the expression *fons et origo*, which looks like the major portion of the second half of a pentameter, say *fons et origo mali*. But of this phrase the *Thesaurus* furnishes not a word; it does not even give *origo* as a kind of synonym of *fons*. We have, therefore, thought it well to communicate all the examples in our own lexical collections, in the hope that other readers may amplify them, and, if possible, tell us the origin of the expression.

Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 1. 11. 52 (ed. Vienna, Vol. I., p. 46, l. 5); *ib.* 2. 13. 13 (p. 162, 15).

Victorinus, *In Eph.* 1. 20 (Migne P.L. VIII. 1250 D).

Ambrose, *Expos. Ps. cxviii.*, 16. 6. 3; 16. 7. 2.

Pacianus, *Ep.* 1. 1 (p. 1 P.).

Ambrosiaster, *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.* 123 (p. 376, 3 ed. Vien.)

Evagrius, *Vit. S. Antonii*, 20.

Augustine, *In Ps.* 58 *Serm.* 1, 18.

Pelagius, *Ep. ad Dem.* 26 'fons boni et origo peccandi.'

Salvian, *Gub. Dei* 4. 9. 44.

A. SOUTER,

J. H. BAXTER.

NOTES ON LUCRETIIUS.

IV. 961.

fit ratione eadem coniectus partim animai
altior atque foras eiectus largior intus,
et diuisior inter se ac distractior intus.

The last line evidently lacks a verb. Rather than resort to '*intus*'—an usage for which we have no warrant in Lucretius, with the doubtful exception of '*necessus*' (cf. also Ellis on Catull. XXII. 27)—I would suggest the anaphora '*fit diuisior*'. . . , which at once supplies the verb and dispenses with the need for the copula. Failure to seize the latter point, or to see that '*diuisior*' and '*distractor*' are not co-ordinate with the comparatives in the preceding line, might lead to the corruption. We should then understand '*anima*' from 959 as subject of '*fit*,' as e.g. '*aeris*' is understood in 934 above from '*aeris*' of 933.

IV. 1058:

haec Venus est nobis: hinc autemst nomen
amoris.

I fail to see the relevance of making Lucretius here etymologise on the name '*Cupido*': rather he seems to wish to say that '*muta cupido*' and its attendant '*simulacra*' are the harbingers of love ('*praesagit*,' 1057). '*Nomen*,' I think, seems clearly to have come from 1062, and may have ousted '*omen*.' In the case of the loved one's absence, the presence of '*simulacra*'

are an omen of love, as explained in the following lines.

IV. 1189:

tu animo tamen omnia possis
protrahere in lucem atque omnis inquirere
risus . . .

I cannot think that '*risus*' is in point here. There is nothing in the context to explain who is laughing, at whom, or why: the '*uitae post-caenia*' (1186), which the woman is trying to hide, and the methods by which she endeavours to hide them, are surely no laughing matter for her, nor can the laughter be that of the imaginary reader whom Lucretius is admonishing. I would suggest therefore '*omnis inquirere ritus*,' cf. V. 923 and Liv. 24. 3. 12, '*in alienos ritus mores legesque uerti*.' Here, perhaps, the word may have something of the sense of 'mysteries.'—'*Risus*' was probably suggested by 1140 and 1176 *supr.*

V. 182.

notities hominum diuis unde est insita
primum.

The simplest cure would seem to be '*notities hominum diuis unde insita primumst*': the elusive enclitic-'*st*' is apt to be lost altogether at the end of a line, as e.g. in I. 111, V. 302, VI. 746. '*Est*' would then be missed, and added without regard to metre.

V. 1106:

commutare nouis monstrabant rebus et igni.

But fire was not additional to the '*nouae res*'; it was one of them. '*Igni*' itself, however, may well be sound: it is fitting that Lucretius should lay stress on the invention of fire as the most momentous of early discoveries. Hence we may suggest '*nouis . . . rebus, ut igni*': this would furnish a link between the digression on the origin of fire and the general description of human progress. Confusion of '*et*' and '*ut*' occurs, e.g., in I. 155, I. 772, I. 806.

VI. 48.

uentorum exirtant placentur et omnia rursum
quae fuerint sint placato conuersa fauore.

Lambinus, '*furore*' appears certain, and Bernays, '*existant*' and Mr. Bailey's '*furerent*' at all events highly probable.

In order, however, the better to account for '*exirtant*,' and to avoid the somewhat staccato effect of '*existant, placentur, et omnia*,' etc., it may be suggested that 48 is a conflation of two lines, the first beginning '*uentorum existent*' . . . <*proelia*, or the like>, the second running '*ex ira tanta placentur, et omnia*,' etc., the sense being 'I will tell how battles of the winds break out, and then again how after so great wrath they are lulled to rest.' The copyist's eye would stray from EXISTANT to EXIRANT.

R. J. SHACKLE.

CATALEPTON VII.

SCILICET hoc sine fraude, Vari dulcissime,
dicam:

dispeream, nisi me perdidit iste Pothus.
sin autem praecepta uetant me dicere, sane
non dicam, sed me perdidit iste puer.

In printing these much-vexed verses, the only alteration which I have made in the Oxford text is in reading *Pothus* for *putus* at the end of the second line. This respects the MS. tradition, makes sense, and removes the difficulties which have led to such attempts at remedy as that of G. Jachmann in *Hermes* LVII. (1922), 317-319.

The text critics appear not to have realised that both *Πόθος* and *Pothus* are well-attested proper names, chiefly of slaves and freedmen, in the early imperial period and even somewhat earlier: see Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der gr. Eigennamen*, s.v. *Πόθος*, and the *indices cognominum* to Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, and to the several volumes of the *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* The *Pothus* of C.I.L. VI. 1374 was a contemporary of Virgil. It was perhaps fanciful to observe that the *Pothus* of the Pompeian inscription, C.I.L. X. 824, which is dated in the year 3 A.D., might have been of a proper age in Virgil's youth to inspire the poem; very probably the writer is merely using the romantic-sounding name in lieu of a more ordinary one. The *praecepta* of which he stands in awe are presumably the philosophical maxims that warn against excess of passion.

A. W. VANBUREN.

SOME DIFFICULTIES IN OVID, *FASTI* III.

(a) 283-4:

atque aliquis, modo trux, uisa iam uertitur ara
uinaque dat tepidis farraque salsa focis.

Mr. Bailey notes: '*uertitur*, "is changed," almost "converted." No doubt the word can have this meaning; but as the next line mentions the offering made by the repentant *trux*, is it not likelier that it means 'turns' in the literal sense? For the ritual turn in prayer, see among other passages Livy V. 21, 16; Lucr. V. 1198 ff.

(b) 715-16:

nec referam Semelen, ad quam nisi fulmina
secum
Iuppiter adferret, partus inermis eras.

I do not enter into the grammatical difficulties of this passage; through the mist of doubtful readings and interpretations this seems to emerge clearly, that if Iuppiter had not appeared to Semele with his lightnings, her child *Bakchos* would have been *inermis*—i.e., presumably, an ordinary babe, without the horns which, as bull or serpent, he regularly wore; a roundabout way of saying that he would not have been divine. For the idea that to be struck by lightning confers divinity (instead of merely making the victim *sacer*) see Diod. Sic. V. 52, 2.

(c) In his note on 851 ff., Mr. Bailey says: 'No doubt in primitive thought *Phrixus* was himself the ram.' I would deprecate the assumption (1) that the theriomorphic form of a deity or hero must be the older, (2) that close association with a beast proves former identity with it. For (1) though theriomorphism is a very old belief, perhaps resulting from the same frame of mind which produces totemism (it is

not identical with the latter, as some belated Continental writers seem to imagine), nevertheless for any given area it is not necessarily prior to anthropomorphism, and for Greece in particular we have Achaean and pre-Achaean evidence for anthropomorphic deities, while *Kekrops* and other such monstrosities are so far as we know later, *Dionysos* and *Zeus-Ammon* foreign. (2) We should remember such facts as the association of both *Mithras* and *Hermes* with the cock, of whom the former shows no trace of a beast form, the latter is much older in Greece than the *Περσικὸς ὄρνις*.

What does result from our material is a singularly close association between *Phrixos* and the fleece of the ram. In *Pindar* (*Pyth.* IV. 159) he appears in a dream and *κέλεται ἐὰν ψυχὰν κομίζαι . . . δέρμα τε κρίου βαθύμαλλον ἄγειν*; but when the *Fleece* is won no one seems to doubt that the whole errand is accomplished. It would seem to follow that the two are identical—i.e., that *Phrixos* is of the numerous kin of the Giant with no heart in his body, and the *Fleece* was his 'external soul.'

H. J. ROSE.

'DECLAMARE'—KATHXEIN.

It is rather surprising that while most Latin rhetorical terms are either close translations of their Greek equivalents, as '*compositio*' for *σύνθεσις*, or convey the same general idea, as '*dispositio*' for *οἰκονομία*, this is not the case with the term which, if not the most important of all, at any rate denotes the most important of rhetorical institutions. For the Greek equivalent of '*declamatio*' is regularly *μελετή*¹—a fact to which *Quintilian* alludes when he says (IV. 2. 29) '*declamatio est forensium actionum meditatio*.' Apart from this consideration, the name seems to me in itself an odd one.

From a literary point of view the declamation may perhaps be compared to the novel. As an educational institution, it may sometimes remind us of the school debating society, sometimes of the school O.T.C. But really its closest analogy, as it seems to me, is our examination system. Both stand out as institutions, success in which is the crown of school life, and both have lived and flourished in the face of much fashionable detraction. Our apostles of gloom and mirth, *Dean Inge* and *Mr. Stephen Leacock*, have both recently denounced the examination system. So did their Roman predecessors, *Tacitus* and *Petronius*, deal with the declamations. Yet what permanent effect did they have? The institution lived on to the fall of the Empire or beyond, as the keystone of the educational system.

Now '*declamatio*,' according to the ordinary interpretation, means '*loud shouting*,' and no doubt carries with it such suggestions as exaggeration and emotionalism, much as '*spouting*' or '*ranting*' would with us. It is, in fact, a hostile or derisive term, and at first sight the undoubted hostility felt in many quarters may seem to explain it sufficiently, though it may be noted that it is rather unreality that is charged

¹ *ἀγων* which is sometimes given is rather '*controversia*,' a subdivision of '*declamatio*.'

against the practice, than the defects, which the term 'declamatio' suggests.¹ But does such a hostile origin provide a satisfactory explanation of an educational term, universally accepted by the admirers and promoters of the institution? It is as if 'cramming' and 'crammers' should come to be accepted examination terms in the official language of scholastic and academic dignitaries; and this, too, though the Greek schools in whose wake the Latin schools were treading so carefully had a term which was perfectly appropriate and dignified. I suggest—it cannot, of course, be more than a suggestion—that the true explanation is that 'declamatio' was originally a translation of *κατήχησις*.² The verbal correspondence is exact, indeed slavishly so, and the only question is whether a reasonable agreement in meaning can be made out. I think it can.

Κατὰχῆν and its derivatives in the sense of 'instruct' or 'orally instruct,' are of course most familiar to us from N.T. and Christian usage, but they are well authenticated as general scholastic terms. Rutherford³ held that the word properly applies to the noise made by the class repeating a lesson in chorus, and that the transitive sense is secondary. I know of no evidence for this, and prefer the ordinary view that the meaning is properly to din into the ears, whence there is an easy transition first to advice or general instruction⁴ and then to scholastic or literary instruction, a sense which is found at any rate as early as Dionysius of Halicarnassus. I suggest that the rendering 'declamare' was popularised in the Latin rhetorical schools when they first came into existence amid stormy surroundings about 92 B.C. Originally the 'declamatio' would mean a course of instruction, of which the *μελετή* was a part, but only a part, and would cover (to use the terms employed by Philostratus⁵ in later times) both the *μελετήρὰ συνουσία* and the *διδασκαλική συνουσία*. But it is quite

probable that from the first the *μελετή* held a more prominent place in these Latin schools than it held in the Greek. Indeed, the interesting passages,⁶ in which Cicero describes the opposition to the Latin rhetors and their leader Plotius Gallus, have been understood to imply this.⁷ At any rate, a contrast in this respect existed in Quintilian's time,⁸ and it was only natural that it should be so. Boys might be sent to study under both Greek and Latin rhetors, but the products of the former were more independent of parental and public criticism than those of the latter. The 'sudans pater adductis amicis' might listen with pride to his son's Greek *μελετή*, but not with the same interest and comprehension as to his Latin performance. Thus, in the Latin schools, I suggest, the term 'declamatio' rapidly came to mean not so much the course of instruction or *κατήχησις* itself, as what to teacher, pupil, and parent alike was its most absorbing part. If a notice appeared 'Plotius declamat hodie,' he himself might mean that he would give instruction, but the public expected and got a rhetorical exhibition. The development⁹ by which the term is extended from the teacher's *μελετή* to the pupil's, and the latter himself is said 'declamare' was an inevitable one. Parallel changes in meaning to these might be multiplied indefinitely.¹⁰

The history of the use of 'declamatio' for this kind of rhetorical performance is quite in accordance with this view—that is to say, the usage appears within a reasonable distance from the establishment of the Latin rhetorical schools. The elder Seneca notes¹¹ that he could not find it in any author earlier than Cicero and Calvus. He gives a quotation from the latter, while for Cicero we have (*Brut.* 310) 'commentabar declamitans' with the significant addition 'sic enim nunc loquuntur.'

F. H. COLSON.

¹ Quintilian hits off the common note of depreciation when (V. 12, 17) he speaks of the declamations as 'praepilatae,' foils with the button on, and says that they 'nervis carent.'

² It might well, of course, become contaminated with the hostile sense at quite an early period.

It has been suggested to me that 'declamatio' may have been a translation of *ἀναφώνησις*. This word seems to be used by Galen and Plutarch for exercises in voice production, but I can find no grounds for thinking that it was ever used for the rhetorical *μελετή*.

³ *Hist. of Annotation*, p. 31.

⁴ In *Att.* XV. 12 Cicero, in discussing (B.C. 44) Octavian's probable attitude, puts on the unfavourable side 'quid aetati credendum sit, quid nomini, quid hereditati, quid *κατήχησει*?' Tyrrell and Rutherford (l.c.) take the word to mean 'education.' I think it means rather the advice which he hears from those around him, just as Cleanthes (Diog. Laert. VII. 89) said *διαστρέφειν τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τὰς τῶν ἑξῶθεν πραγματειῶν πιθανότητας, ποτὲ δὲ διὰ τὴν κατήχησιν τῶν συνόντων*.

⁵ *Vit. Soph.* I. 23.

⁶ *De Or.* III. 93 and *Ap. Suet. Rhet.* 4.

⁷ So Boissier (*Mélanges Perrot*, p. 15). I think the difference between the two types, though probably including a different attitude to the *μελετή*, goes deeper. The one discouraged, and the other encouraged, any popular element. Marx (Prol. to *Ad Herenn.* 147 ff.) may be right to some extent in thinking that the question had a political aspect. Plotius was certainly a friend of Marius.

⁸ *Inst. Or.* II. 1. 1, compared with I. 9. 6.

⁹ If Rutherford is right in his idea of the origin of *κατήχῆν* as a scholastic term (*v.* note above) there is of course no development. The term applies to pupil as much as to teacher.

¹⁰ Perhaps more especially in the scholastic and academical world—e.g., *classics* itself, *wrangler*, *secondary school*, *composition*, which, I presume, eighty years ago, meant composing (ostensibly) *original* Latin verse and prose. Many such changes of meaning come from abbreviation, and I should not be surprised if there was an intermediate period when the rhetorical performance was called 'declamatio meditativa' = *κατήχησις μελετήρὰ*.

¹¹ *Contr. I., Proem* 12.

REVIEWS

THE LANGUAGE OF HOMER.

Die Homerische Kunstsprache. Von KARL MEISTER. Preisschriften gekrönt und herausgegeben von der fürstlich Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft. Quarto. Pp. 3+262. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1921. M. 180.

THE above work forms a handsome volume that reflects great credit upon the distinguished Society responsible for its publication, as also upon its printers and producers. In Germany, at any rate, classical learning is not altogether on the wane even in these days of widespread stress and difficulty, the aftermath of the war. Professor Karl Meister of Heidelberg University is an accomplished scholar and an enthusiastic exponent of the view he has adopted of the language of the Homeric poems. Undoubtedly a closer study of the text is a matter of the first necessity, and is of far more real value than many high-soaring speculations into origins and folk-lore. Accordingly, I heartily welcome this very interesting statement of the result of a searching analysis of the early epic language. The author calls it an art- or technical-language, and in a certain sense the term is applicable to the work of every great poet that ever existed. But he means, as the reader will soon discover, much more than this. He believes that Homer's language is to a large extent an artificial speech containing novel forms forced upon him to meet the requirements of a difficult metre. I do not by any means rate Homer's capacity so low, but the view is not altogether novel, and is fundamental to this treatise, which accordingly opens with an elaborate examination and analysis of the Homeric hexameter covering Part I. pp. 3-58. The rest of the volume, Part II. p. 61 onwards, contains the investigation and discussion of archaic and modern forms, with two indices (1) of the words and (2) of the subject-matter.

We are all familiar with the statement that the language of Homer is composite and could never have been a spoken dialect, mainly, as I have seen it

stated, because it contains a superabundance of pronouns. Why any sensible poet or poets should have taken the trouble to compose two long epics in largely unintelligible language is a mystery no one is ever likely to solve. Even blindness would not have protected the bard who attempted to play off such a trick upon an assembly of nobles such as met in the hall of Odysseus or, in less disorderly form, in that of Alcinous. He would very soon have been called to order in such terms as another Alcinous used in a less exasperating case:

Ἔσθε ἔκκλητος, ξείνε, καθήμενος, ἢ ἀπιθ' ἄλλῃ,
μή σε νέοι διὰ δῶμα ἐρύσσωσ', οἳ ἀγορεύεις,
ἢ ποδὸς ἢ καὶ χειρὸς, ἀποδρῦψωσι δὲ πάντα.

ἔσθε (Bentley), not, as the tradition reads, ἔσθι', or the protester might himself have fared, at the hands of his compeers, no better than the offending bard. I do not charge Professor Meister with going to such an extreme as does the statement on which I have commented, but he goes no little distance in the same direction when he contends that Homer introduced arbitrary forms to fit the scansion particularly, but by no means exclusively, in the fourth foot—e.g. ἐλώρια for ἔλωρα, διώκετο for δῖωκε, ἐνήρατο (ἐναίρω), ἀθεμίστιος for ἀθέμιστος, πανδήμιος for πάνδημος, and very many others. Some of these he is not quite sure about; but he has no misgivings regarding ποτιπύρριος for ποτλίπορθος. The elongated form occurs twice only:

ι 504 φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα ποτιπύρριον ἐξαλαῶσαι
ι 530 δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα ποτιπύρριον οἰκαδ' ἰκέσθαι.

On the other hand, ποτλίπορθος occurs eighteen times, and always at the end of the line. Who can doubt that the two quoted passages would be more truly read thus?

φάσθαι σ' ἐξαλαῶσαι Ὀδυσσῆα ποτλίπορθον
δὸς μὴ οἰκαδ' ἰκέσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα ποτλίπορθον.

Herr Meister says, rightly enough, on p. 103 that in Homer words and forms must be held to belong to the living speech until the opposite is proved, and yet the main object of this highly important contribution to our know-

ledge is to brand as poetical inventions, not in the living speech, a vast number of words against which he is practically the first to raise any objection. What possible proof can be adduced that *ἀνόστιμος* was not in the living speech as well as *ἄνοστος*, in view of the frequency of *νόστιμος*? It seems to me that duplicate forms are far more likely to be found in a primitive language than in a literary one, in the early epic than in the refined Attic. Still we must fix reasonable limits: *ἐπιδίφρια* (ο 51.75) may represent an original *ἐπὶ διφροο*, cf. ξ222 *δήμoo φῆμης*: the curious forms *προσώπατα* and *προσώπασιν* are certainly unacceptable. In H 212 I would adopt *βλοσυρήσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσιν* from O 608, cf. *Hymn. Dem.* 357-8. I have discussed σ 192 in *Homeric* pp. 318-21.

All scholars admit that the tradition contains many modifications, which the rhapsodists have adopted in order that both public and private recitations might, by a closer approximation to the familiar speech of the day, become more readily intelligible. This gradual infiltration of change was inevitable: it was bound to occur as an accompaniment to the change in the language that was made between the time of Homer and that, let us say, of Euripides. So we find *θάρσει*, 'Cheer up,' which everybody said, for *θάρσσει* which everybody had ceased to say. All that is in Homer is not Homeric: still less is all that is in Hesiod Hesiodic, for Hesiod never possessed the popularity or excited the enthusiastic admiration and reverence that attended the Homeric poems wherever Hellenic culture had a foothold. The great defect of this volume is that the author has never recognised this, as Wackernagel and others have done. It is mere paradox to say, as he does in his final sentence, that the chief alterations of the language of the epos were introduced before and not after Homer. If he has a copy of a pre-Homeric Homer in his pocket or in his head, he ought to produce it, but the result would be even more calamitous, I fear, than Fick's Aeolic attempt which he himself rejects.

To Bentley's discovery of the presence of the digamma, the most brilliant and progressive step ever taken in the criticism of the Homeric poems he

pays little heed. The chapter on Vau is quite perfunctory. Vau, he says, is a dead sound, and then again 'although it was sounded it was never written.' How does he know this? Good scholars, Cobet, Nauck, van Leeuwen, to say nothing of his own countrymen, have thought otherwise.

The audacity with which tradition occasionally maltreats good hexameter lines may be seen in the one (p. 42) quoted as Homer's on the authority of Athenaeus:

καλὴ Κασσιέπεια θεοῖς δέμας εἰκνύα.

Whether this be written by Homer or not, it should read thus:

καλὴ Κασσιέπεια δέμας εἰκνύα θεοῖσιν (-ῆσιν).

This is obvious *per se*, and even if there were a doubt, it would be removed by Θ 305. Similarly, transposition has affected θ 355 *ὑπὸ χρεῖος ἀλύξας*, η 270 *ἦ ῥ' ἔτ' ἔμελλον οὐζοῦ ξυνέσσεσθαι* v. p. 181. But Hesiod has fared worse in this respect—e.g. *Op.* 443:

ὅς κ' ἔργου μελετῶν ἰθεὶαν αὔλακ' ἐλαύνει.

This is an absolute outrage, violating grammar, meaning, and metre. It is made worse rather than better by moving *κ'* into an impossible position after *ἰθεταν* (Cod. I. Rzach):

ὅς κ' ἰθὺν ἔργοιο μεληθεῖς αὔλακ' ἐλαύνει

would serve every purpose. In Hes. *Catal.* 94, 33 read *εἶδος ἐς οὔτι ἰδών* sc. *εἰσιδών*. Similarly T 92 *ἐπ' οὔδας | πίνυται* sc. *ἐπιπίνυται*. In ξ 289 *ἀνθρώποισιν ἑώργει* grammar demands *ἀνθρώπους ἑεώργει* as also μ 412 *κυβερνήτην*. ε 7 *πλησθαί ἀλλήλησι* cf. β 149. Ψ 226 *ἦμος δ' ἀστὴρ εἴσι*, omitting the gloss. Ω 158 *ἀλλ' ἰκέταο μάλ' ἐνδυκέως*. I 319 *ἐν δέ τ' ἰῆ τιμῇ*, Hesiod *Theog.* 732 *Κρονίων*. What is Poseidon doing *dans cette galère*? B 475 For *μυγέωσι* write *μύγ' ἑωσι*, or omitting *κε*, *ἄμμυγ' ἑωσι*.

My space is now exhausted. I conclude by submitting what I will venture to call the solution of the perennial crux in Δ 146:

τοῖσι τοι, Μενέλαε, μῖάνθην αἵματι μῆροι
εὐφύεε κνήμαί τε . . .

μῖάνθην is not, as the author here supposes (p. 36), a venture of the poet, because he was placed in a difficulty by *μῖάνθεν*. Read:

τοῖδ' οἱ τοι, Μενέλαε, μῖάνθης αἵματι μῆρῳ
εὐφύεε κνήμαί τε . . .

T. L. AGAR.

LYRA GRAECA.

Dyra Graeca: Being the Remains of all the Greek Lyric Poets from Eumelus to Timotheus, excepting Pindar, newly edited and translated by J. M. EDMONDS, late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, in three volumes. Loeb Series. Vol. I.

THIS book, which contains among other things the remains of Terpander, Alcman, Sappho and Alcaeus, newly edited and translated by J. M. Edmonds, will, it is to be hoped, be appreciated by those on whose account the general editors of this series included it. Scholars may perhaps prefer to continue using the texts to which they are accustomed, erroneous as these are in many respects.

It is difficult within the narrow compass of a review to do justice to a book containing so many hundred novelties, but I will endeavour to indicate one or two of its most enlivening characteristics. Mr. Edmonds seems to be the fortunate possessor of a pair of eyes which enable him to discern, sometimes from a mere photograph, what has often deceived or totally escaped the vision of the most expert decipherers working on the manuscript itself. To say nothing of a dozen places in the Paris Alcman, where 'a detailed study of an excellent photograph and . . . a revision in the light of a still better one, kindly sent' him 'by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1913 and 1914' (p. 50), have produced 'new readings' (*ibid.*) very different from what those who have examined the papyrus in the Louvre had persuaded themselves were the correct ones, I will quote Mr. Edmonds' diploma piece in this kind, which is his number 84 of Sappho. Here Professors Blass and Schubart, even with the help of reagents, were not able to make out more than these few letters:

]ις . . . εγ (or επ)
]ω
]μοις
]αλιανεχω (or]μοιδαλεων)
]παρθενων
]ωδω[

I will admit without shame that myself I read with certainty less rather than more. Mr. Edmonds has, from a

photograph, 'tentatively' made out the following:

]ω.
]μοκα,
]λλ' ιαν ηχοι
]παρθενιαν,
]ωρράδων υπερ δν
]ηψ' Ηρα βάλεσθαι.
]ύφραν' άρ' ώξυβόων δ'.
]πάρθεν', ά νύξ ούκί βάρυ
]έμμεν' ώστ' ού μή κύ γ' άτύξη . . .

A remarkable achievement.

In addition to this keenness of vision Mr. Edmonds is endowed with powers of divination not ordinarily vouchsafed to humanity. To take a single instance, fr. 50 of *P. Oxy.* 1231 contains the following (ll. 5-8):

c]τείχομεν γάρ[
κα]ι cύ τοῦτ'· άλλ[
πα]ρ[θ]ένοις άπ[
]εν έχοιεν

This Mr. Edmonds has been inspired to enlarge to his Sappho, 46, ll. 5-8:

c]τείχομεν γάρ [πάντος· έγω δέ φώμεν
κα]ι cύ τοῦτ'· 'Αλλ' η δύνατον βρότοις
πα]ρ[θ]ένοις άπ[εμμεν εκας γυναίκων
αΐς κ]εν έχοιεν[;]

It is fortunate that we are now in a position to do justice to the accuracy of this one of Mr. Edmonds' 'approximations to the truth,' which 'are far from being mere guesses' (Introduct., p. viii). Since the tenth Oxyrrhynchus volume was published it has been found possible to place several fragments in their proper relation to one another, so that the four lines in question are actually found to read:

c]τείχομεν γάρ []ον, εἰ θε[
κα]ι cύ τοῦτ' άλλ' [τ]άχις τα[
πα]ρ[θ]ένοις άπ[π]εμπε, θέοι[
]εν έχοιεν

It has hitherto been the view of scholars, both ancient and modern, that Sappho and Alcaeus (whose remains are exposed on pp. 182-307, 318-428) normally composed in the Aeolic dialect of Lesbos. Mr. Edmonds evidently does not unreservedly share this opinion. In many of his emendations and restorations there appear words, forms, and metres which are quite alien to normal

Aeolic usage. As he has nowhere divulged to what dialect they belong, and I have been unable to discover for myself, I will refer to them for convenience as Triballian. That Aeolic and Triballian are quite distinct may be seen by simply turning over the pages. For instance, Aeolic has *πρὸς*, Triballian adds *προτλή* (S. 110, 8215, 1642, etc.). Aeolic says *κύ, cē, ἔγω*, Triballian adds *τὺ, τέ, ἔγων* (S. 27, 3815, 839, 151). Aeolic says *ἔων*, Triballian adds *εῖς* and *ὦν* (S. 58, A. 27, etc.), Aeolic *ποίησαι*, Triballian also *ποίησαι* (S. 891; the *-οι-* forms of *ποιεῖν* are never found in Alcaeus or Sappho). Aeolic has only *φάος*, *ἔργον*, *κάλα*, *γᾶν*, Triballian also *φαῦος* (S. 8513), *ὄργον* (A. 273), *κᾶλα* (S. 653), and *γάαν* (e.g. S. 943; it appears to have a special taste for this word). There are, of course, some Triballian words which never occur in Aeolic at all. Again, in Aeolic the imperfect of *ἀλέομαι* would appear as *ἀλήμαν*, in Triballian it is *ἀλλόμαν* (p. 252 n.), and similarly *ἡλγει* (S. 411) seems to be Triballian for *ἄλγη*. Aeolic has infinitives in *-ην*, as *πώνην*, Triballian also in *-εμεν*, as *πώνεμεν* (A. 1645). In Aeolic *ο + a* contract to *ω*, as in *ὦνῆρ* (for *ὁ ἀνήρ*), but the Triballian form resembles the Attic; thus *τὸ αἰρητον* becomes *ταῖρητον* (S. 8513). Aeolic rejects hiatus; Triballian welcomes such collocations as *κεῖ ἐποίησας* (S. 891) and *ἄνευ ἀρέτας* (S. 1001). Finally, for a specimen of Triballian metre I may refer to his number 82 of Sappho, unless indeed that is a prose poem.

These facts will have to be investi-

gated by students of Greek dialects with more attention than they have hitherto received.

In conclusion, a brief reference may be made to Mr. Edmonds' 'palaeographical method,' which 'consists of the tracing of letter-groups from photographs of the extant portions of the papyrus or vellum MS.' (Introd., p. ix) in order to ensure that the written length of supplements shall not be greater or less than the gap which they are meant to fill admits. Scholars have, perhaps, themselves not been blind to the fact that it is imprudent to insert in a gap more or fewer letters than it will properly hold. But since Mr. Edmonds takes the trouble to enunciate the proposition, it is a little unexpected to find that he does not pay heed to it. For instance, in line 18 of his number 36 of Sappho (*κύνν['] ἔ]ρε-*), *κύνν[ε]ρ*, as he assumes the scribe wrote (inviting one to compare *ὄρανός* and *ὄρρανός* for the single *ν*), does not nearly fill the lacuna, unless, of course, there were a special *ν* about one and a half times the usual width.

But perhaps scholars will be willing to forgive this oversight for the sake of the delightful discovery *κύννα*.

Mr. Edmonds, for anything I know, may have a genuine enthusiasm for the authors he edits. But caution also is requisite in handling fragmentary texts—caution and commonsense, and a critical, especially a self-critical, habit.

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PLOTIN.

Plotin. By FRITZ HEINEMANN. One vol. 4to. Pp. 318. Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1921. M. 10.

THIS is unquestionably an important contribution to Neoplatonic studies. Heinemann reverts to the older view of Neoplatonism—that it is 'a syncretism of Hellenism and Orientalism under the form of Hellenism, a fusion of philosophy and religion under the dominion of philosophy,' as the Christian Alexandrianism is 'a syncretism of Hellenism and Orientalism under the form of

Orientalism, a fusion of philosophy and religion under the dominion of religion.' True Greek philosophy, in his opinion, ends with the scepticism of the Academics; the later Platonism is a new development, with a double source.

I do not find Heinemann's treatment of the philosophy entirely satisfactory. To say that the One is 'the unity of the rational and the irrational' is, I think, misleading. The mystical vision no doubt transcends the discursive reason, but it is not on that account irrational.

There is, in fact, no room for the irrational in the philosophy of Plotinus. Nor do I see any clear trace of 'Iranian influence' in his treatment of the problem of evil.

The most important feature of the book is a new rearrangement of the *Enneads* in order of their composition. Rejecting the order of Porphyry's recension, and also that of Kirchhoff's edition, Heinemann has subjected the whole work to a careful scrutiny for marks of anteriority and posteriority, and thinks that he has restored the original order. He is also convinced that the *Enneads* contain many later interpolations, sometimes of considerable length. Some of these additions, he thinks, are due to Porphyry, others to Amelius; he even traces here and there the hand of Eustochius the physician.

There is nothing improbable in the theory of displacements and interpolations when we remember the manner in which the *Enneads* were composed. Heinemann has shown great acuteness in the work of rearrangement, and seems often to have proved his case, though without a careful re-reading of the whole work it would be rash to pronounce a decided opinion.

If the *Enneads* represented only the most mature state of Plotinus' philosophy, the order of the books would not matter very much. But Heinemann is convinced that in Porphyry's recension we have, jumbled together, several stages in the development of the philosopher's system. He goes so far as to say that Plotinus in his earliest writings was a Platonist, in his later an Alexandrine. Neoplatonism, as he took it over from Ammonius Saccas, was a kind of secret society in close connexion with the mysteries; it was a combination of Platonism and Neopythagoreanism. Ammonius knew nothing of the Plotinian 'One,' and in the earliest books of the *Enneads* we do not find it either. The leading ideas in this first period are the immortality of the soul, the intelligible world, the escape of the soul from the region of becoming to that of being—all genuine parts of Plato's doctrine. Only, like a child of his time, Plotinus aspires to identity with God, instead of Plato's *ὁμοίωσις*. Heinemann

adds that the idea of *Noûs* is also wanting in the earliest books. The 'second period' (262-267 A.D.) was, he says, the most flourishing time of the school, and also of the genius of Plotinus. It is in the books which on critical grounds must be assigned to these years that we find the system in its most perfect form. In this period Plotinus is moving towards a doctrine of immanence, but he never reaches the 'dynamic pantheism' which Zeller ascribes to him. 'Nature,' in this period, is rather *natura naturans* than *natura naturata*. In the third period, Heinemann agrees with Porphyry, Plotinus was getting old, and the social order around him was breaking up. The main interest of the philosopher in his declining years was to establish a theodicy, and Heinemann thinks that he is ready to make terms with metaphysical dualism.

It cannot be denied that this theory of progressive changes in the thought of Plotinus provides a plausible explanation of certain inconsistencies and contradictions, some of which I noticed in my work upon the *Enneads*. For instance, the conceptions of *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια* are handled in a confusing manner. The question as to the logical priority of *νοûς* or of *νοητά* is raised repeatedly, and the answers cannot be completely reconciled. And in some chapters a very exalted place is given to the category of *ζωή*, which threatens to interfere with the triad of divine principles. But I think that Heinemann has exaggerated the changes which he finds in the thought of the philosopher. We have to remember that the *Enneads* were very carefully overhauled by the later members of the school, men as competent as Iamblichus and Proclus, not to speak of Porphyry himself; and we do not find the 'most divine' Plotinus accused of such vacillation as Heinemann discovers in him. I suspect that the rearrangement of the text has sometimes been influenced by the desire to prove an evolution of thought in a certain direction. However, as I have said, only a thorough study of the whole work in the light of the new theories can decide how far we must admit that Heinemann has proved his case.

W. R. INGE.

MENANDER.

Menander (Loeb edition). The principal fragments, with an English translation, by F. G. ALLINSON. Pp. xxxii + 540; illustrations, 2. London and New York: Heinemann. 10s. PROBABLY no other classical author has been hitherto so inaccessible in an English edition as Menander. The appearance of this Loeb edition will be welcomed by all. It contains everything of value that has been written to elucidate the most important fragments.

The General Introduction comprises discussions on Menander's life, on the New Comedy and its vocabulary and style, a history of the text, and an admirable bibliography. The editor's own judgment on his author is guardedly expressed as follows: 'The verdict passed upon Menander by the Greeks and Romans who possessed the great corpus of his unmutated works, if due allowance for the personal equation is made, is probably not out of accord with some portions, at least, of what we have at our disposal.' Language of this kind is safer than that which would place Menander among the 'penny-a-line' brotherhood in the face of the splendid compliments he received from competent judges of antiquity. In a similar spirit of restraint the editor has rarely made any emendations of the text, being content to adopt what seems to him to be the best work of other critics. When he does attempt a restoration he is nearly always convincing. An admirable example of his work is to be found in the *Arbitrants*, l. 392:

(A.) οὐδεὶς Σικελικὸς ἕτερος ὑμῖν (Σμικ.) ποικίλον ἄριστον ἀριστοῦσιν.

This most happy conjecture Σικελικός is backed up by a quotation of an exactly parallel passage in the *Republic*: Σικελικὴν ποικίλιαν ὄψων.

The newly discovered fragments rightly occupy the first place. Each of them is preceded by a short outline of the plot as far as it can be reconstructed, and a description of the textual difficulties where necessary. The first play is the *Arbitrants*, such being the generally accepted rendering of the word Ἐπιτρέποντες. What should be the real order of the fragments is a problem of well-known intricacy, on which there can be as yet no consensus of opinion. Professor Allinson prefixes to the play the 'St. Petersburg' fragments, which were assigned to

another play by the editor of the Teubner edition. In these fragments there is an indication of a chorus after l. 35; accordingly, we have part of Act i. and the opening lines of Act ii. The Cairo fragments then follow, containing the most lively portion of the play. In them the mainspring of the plot is indicated. The *dénouement* cannot be determined until the order of several most important minor fragments has been settled. The discovery of *Oxyrh.* 1236 made the Teubner arrangement untenable: a similar find may upset the Loeb order; but the editor has given excellent reasons for the order he adopts after much hesitation, and with an admission that his scheme can be only probable.

The other plays do not present so acutely the problem of arrangement. The excellent introductions offer all the information that is necessary for the understanding of the plot. The few well-chosen remarks on the metrical Argument of the Hero are worth attention, while the perplexing question as to the *dramatis personae* in the Γεωργός is stated with admirable brevity. The remainder of the book includes what, in the editor's judgment, are the most noteworthy of the fragments previously known.

But the metrical version is certain to provoke criticism. The editor has attempted a translation in the original metres. Yet he is not quite consistent: the Γεωργός and the Κιθαριστής, though new, are in prose, while some of the older fragments are in verse. A prose translation would have been safer. The English six-foot iambic is doomed: even the skill shown in this translation has not saved the metre from the fatal break at the end of the third foot: weak words are bound to appear in strong positions, and even the colloquial license of comedy cannot excuse the presence of these words in English verse. In one or two places the vocabulary sinks almost to the level of slang. One instance will suffice:

'Right you are. Yes, that's my lay.'

It would be unfair to allow this defect to prejudice the reader. The volume is the work of one of the best living authorities on Menander. It is conservative, even when some slight change should have been made: it has an English translation, and is a worthy addition to the admirable Loeb series. T. W. LUMB.

'A HOTCHPOTCH OF ALL SORTS OF FISHES.'

Fishing from the Earliest Times. By WILLIAM RADCLIFFE. One vol. Pp. xvii + 478. John Murray, 1921. 28s. WE hope that Mr. Radcliffe will not take the quotation, which heads this notice, otherwise than as a compliment to his delightful volume. 'Indeed, a rich and savoury stew 'tis.' Strike in your reviewer's flesh-hook (or Leister) where you will, and you impale some

appetising morsel. Unhappily, considerations of space forbid our exhibiting more than a very scanty selection from the good things provided.

The chapters relating to Greek and Roman fishing, to which our purview is confined, cover a period in relation to which the earliest 'document' cited by our author is the Fishermen's Vase of Phylakopi (say 1500 B.C.), and the

latest are the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris in the fifth century A.D. Sidonius, by the way, had an unholy addiction to night-lining, unbecoming a successor of the Apostles!

Mr. Radcliffe discusses the question as to how far fish was in esteem as a food in the Homeric age. There seems to be in Homer no mention of fish at banquets nor in well-to-do houses. The catching of fish, speaking broadly, occurs only in connexion with poverty or starvation. On the other side must be set the solitary mention of oysters in the XVIth *Iliad* and the reference in the XIXth *Odyssey* to the blameless king under whose reign 'the sea gives store of fish,' though the oysters ought perhaps only to be regarded as supplementing the scanty rations of a crew at sea. Too much may be made of the absence of mention of fish. Most of the meals chronicled by Homer are associated with a sacrifice, and the feasters (like Porthos at the table of Louis XIV.) would prefer to reserve all available gastric space for the more delectable roast meats. We may, perhaps, from Homer's knowledge of various methods of capturing fish infer that, except on occasions worthy of epic commemoration, fish formed no negligible part of the diet of the population, gentle as well as simple. Mr. Radcliffe discusses, of course, the question as to what Homer meant by the phrase κέρασ βοῶς ἀγραύλοιο. This appears to have puzzled even the Stagirate, though he had his own explanation to offer: it was a collar of horn protecting the line from being bitten through. Mr. Radcliffe enumerates upwards of half a dozen diverse explanations. He himself appears to incline to the suggestion of Mr. Haskyns, in the *Journal of Philology*, that the κέρασ was an artificial bait of horn; and perhaps its conjunction with the sinker (μολύβδαινα) in the XXIVth *Iliad* may make in favour of this view rather than of the 'collar' interpretation favoured by Aristotle.

That wondrous man was the first who suggested that the age of a fish could be discovered by an examination of its scales. The late Mr. P. D. Malloch (who, probably, like the old hermit of

Prague, had never read Aristotle) advanced in his book on the *History and Habits of the Salmon*, etc. (1910), far more extensive claims for the science of 'scale-reading' than the modest pretensions of the tutor of Alexander.

When we turn to the Romans we find ourselves among fresh-water as well as sea fishers. Save for the Copaic eels, the Greeks appear mostly concerned with sea-fishing.

Martial was evidently a keen fisher; and here two most interesting questions arise. Did he use a jointed fishing-rod? and did he fish with the fly? (In passing, we must protest against the reference in a note on page 144 to Martial's neighbour at Nomentum, Quintus Ovidius, as 'Ovid.' We do not call the antagonists of the Curiatii 'the Horaces,' in spite of Corneille!)

Was the 'crescens arundo' of Martial, *Ep.* IX. 54. 3, a jointed rod? And was it a fishing-rod? The whole epigram seems to refer clearly to fowling, and we think Mr. Radcliffe is right in answering the first question in the affirmative and the second in the negative. It must, we fear, be admitted that there is no actual evidence of the jointed rod being used for angling in Roman times.

Namque quis nescit
Avidum vorata decipi scarum musca.
Martial, *Ep.* V. 18.

There is no MSS. support for the suggested reading 'musco,' and 'Eminentationes non multiplicandae praeter necessitatem.' Here, in Martial, we may safely say, we have the earliest reference to the fly, natural or artificial. Arrian (170-230 A.D.) gives an account of the use of the artificial fly in the Macedonian river Astraeus, and a list of materials for fly tying, which are of the highest interest to the scholar angler. These Mr. Radcliffe gives at length in translation. He also cites from Pliny's *Reports* (not a book of recognised authority) an extraordinary litigation between two co-adventurers in the 'Anthias' fishery, with some learned legal observations thereon by Professor Courtney Kenney. But one is inclined to ask whether the report in Pliny is anything but apocryphal.

F. W. PEMBER.

GREEK HERO CULTS AND IDEAS OF IMMORTALITY.

Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality. The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St. Andrews in the year 1920. By L. R. FARNELL. One vol. 8vo. Pp. xv+434. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1921. 18s.

THOUGH differing slightly in form from its predecessors, the concluding volume of the *Cults of the Greek States* is in no way their inferior. It is marked by the same wide learning and the same common sense. Dr. Farnell is indeed to be congratulated upon the completion of a very notable contribution to scholarship. His work has an assured position as a classic. It may, therefore, be hoped that, now he has reached the limit of his projected survey, he may find time to prepare a second edition of the earlier volumes. A revision is needed; for archaeological discovery, since they were written, has altered the nature of some of the problems, and they contain views which the author himself no longer holds. In such cases the author is necessarily the best editor. That the Mycenaeans worshipped the distinguished dead may be regarded as certain, though the evidence for the view that the dead were objects of their love rather than of their fear is more questionable. It is with Homer that the serious difficulties begin, and Dr. Farnell is wisely cautious. The evidence is in itself inconsistent, and its reading depends upon what view is taken of the unity and date of the poems. There is the further question, For whom does Homer speak? For the northern invaders in general, for a particular branch of the northerners, or only for a sceptical aristocratic class? The *Iliad*, at any rate, contains no evidence for the worship of the dead, and an additional reason may be given for distrusting the significance attached by Rohde to the funeral rites of Patroclus. That there is no mention of cult at Homeric barrows, and that the motive for erecting them is explicitly attributed to the desire for posthumous secular fame, would seem to be as decisive as the nature of negative evidence permits. But the author of the *Odyssey* knows of hero cults, and the writer of the

XIth book had evidently visited a νεκυμαντεῖον.

Whatever survivals there may have been from the Bronze Age, there is little doubt that the majority of Greek hero cults are post-Homeric; many, as Dr. Farnell shows, are directly the product of epic influence. For some reason or other hero-worship became for a time the dominating impulse in religion, and Delphi encouraged the vogue. By the middle of the sixth century the scramble for relics as state talismans had become popular. Was this perhaps in part the product of a reflex influence from the colonial practice of worship at the oikist's tomb?

As a whole this great movement receives less discussion than it deserves, and a chapter extending the general survey beyond the prehistoric period would have been welcome. Similar religious movements are of course to be found in the history of Christianity and Islam, and analogy suggests that in periods when a wave of saint-worship reaches its height, saints tend to usurp local minor cults, or the objects of such cults tend to be metamorphosed into saints. The latter process no doubt explains the conversion of local deities like Trophonios into heroes. The former is not perhaps sufficiently taken into account by Dr. Farnell. One may agree that the Oropian cult does not justify the view that Amphiaraios was a faded deity without impugning the antiquity of the local holy place. It is quite possible that at the height of the popularity of hero-worship the name of the Boeotian hero, in himself as historical a person as St. Peter, became attached to a pre-existing cult. The identification of particular saints with particular cults is often due to quite arbitrary or accidental causes, and is by no means always determined by the character of the saint. Similarly, we might agree that Helen is an epic heroine, not a faded goddess, and yet believe that her name became attached at Sparta and Rhodes to local cults of a nature goddess. The Menelaion was situated in the Bronze Age settlement, which the invaders of Laconia destroyed, and the

cult was inherited by them from the Late Mycenaean period. The finds suggested to the excavators that the female object of worship was a divinity of the same type as Artemis Orthia and was the more important of the two powers known in the cult of historical times as Menelaos and Helen (*B.S.A.*, vols. xv. and xvi.). There is no trace of a cult of Menelaos in the *Iliad*; there is a probable indication, though inconclusive as regards actual cult, in the *Odyssey*. If we believe that Helen and Menelaos are epic persons, and that their cult is subsequent to Homer, or at any rate to the *Iliad*, it would seem to follow that their names became attached at Sparta to a cult already in existence—unless, of course, Homer was current in the L. M. III. period, and Greek epic was already exercising an influence upon cult. That is not perhaps out of the question, but our present knowledge would hardly justify its assumption as a working hypothesis.

Dr. Farnell's treatment of the tendency of the family dead is judicious, and his caution in speaking of ancestor worship is justified by the obvious analogy between the Athenian *γοεῖς* and the undifferentiated group of dead, Manes, of early Rome. If the Roman analogy is admitted as sound, a prejudice is created against the sacramental

explanation of *περίδειπνον* and *καθέδρα*. The evidence of Artemidorus and Photius carries little weight, and there is no trace of sacrament in the Cara Cognatio (Caristia). Roman analogy again leads one to view with suspicion the argument that the state hearth tended by the daughters of the King has any necessary connection with ancestor worship.

The main part of the book is naturally occupied with an exhaustive examination of particular hero cults. In each case the current theories are tested by their applicability to the ascertainable facts. The result is to rehabilitate the authority of saga tradition against arbitrary methods of interpretation. Solar, stellar, and hieratic mythologists receive no quarter. The detailed discussions are full of suggestive matter, and contain much that is of importance for the secular as well as for the religious history of Greece.

Two chapters are perhaps open to criticism of a general kind. In chapter iv. the author is a little carried away by the excitement of demolishing Usener to the detriment of his exposition, and the last chapter dealing with the belief in immortality suffers, particularly as regards the latter half, from presentation upon a scale inadequate to the subject. W. R. HALLIDAY.

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES ETRUSKISCHEN, LATEINISCHEN UND GRIECHISCHEN ALPHABETS.

Beiträge zur Geschichte des Etruskischen, Lateinischen und Griechischen Alphabets. By M. HAMMARSTRÖM. One vol. 4to. Pp. 58. Helsingfors.

THIS dissertation is a competent and valuable discussion, in the light of the most recent evidence, of the origin of the chief alphabets used in ancient Italy, and deserves the careful attention of all students of early Italian civilisation and of Greek epigraphy. Written by an able pupil of Professors Danielsson and Sundwall, it is a welcome sign that the material which has been admirably put together by Pauli, Danielsson, and Herbig in the *Corp. Insc. Etruscarum* is being profitably used. The two most important conclusions of the investigation are:

1. That the Latin alphabet may be more truly described as derived from the Etruscan with additions from the Greek alphabet, than as derived from the Greek alphabet with modifications due to Etruscan influence, which has been the current view.

2. That the Etruscan alphabet itself was probably not derived, as has hitherto been supposed, from the alphabet of the Greek colony, Cumae (for whose foundation the author accepts the date 720 B.C.), but shows much greater affinities with the alphabets of Corinth and Phocis, which may have reached Italy even before the foundation of Cumae.

One of the most interesting points showing the close connection between

the Latin and the Etruscan alphabets is the fact which Dr. Hammarström, following Schulze, has established, by a careful examination of the statements of the ancient grammarians, that the Latin names for the letters of the alphabet, and consequently the English names for them (except of course that of the letter H), are derived from the names which the Etruscans gave to the letters. It is unlucky that this very important exposition is obscured by the use of a new and curious term *lautieren* from p. 20 onwards, which is finally explained on p. 27; it means to pronounce a letter which denotes a liquid or a fricative with its own sound only, not adding any vowel before or after.

Incidentally the author discusses, generally with convincing effect, many problems of the history of the Greek alphabets, such as the double value of the symbol X in the Eastern and Western groups, although here and there the scantiness of the evidence, as for the earliest value of the symbol H, drives the writer back into the region of conjecture.

If I am right in taking it for the author's first published work it deserves a cordial welcome for its scholarly care

and completeness, although like the work of most young scholars it is often rather obscure. An eager student often fails to realise that the rest of the world, even that section of it to which his work is especially addressed, may not be familiar with many technicalities in local use; and that what to him seems a natural form of expression may be only a piece of lecture-room slang, by no means intelligible outside. How many English readers, I wonder, would see through the phrase 'the red alphabets,' followed a good many pages later by 'the blue alphabets' and 'the light blue alphabets'? A search through Kirchhoff showed that the writer meant by these phrases merely the alphabets used in the districts which Kirchhoff had, in his alphabet-map in 1887, marked with these particular colours! No doubt the names 'Eastern' and 'Western' are far from satisfactory; but they at least suggest some part of the truth.

The reader must be prepared for the old riddling symbols 'bez.' and 'ev.'; though 'm.E.' and 'resp.' appear to be mercifully absent. But 'm.a.W.' in the sense of the Latin *nempe* after a full stop is a new terror to life!

R. S. CONWAY.

PRO MILONE, CAESARIANAE, PHILIPPICAE.

Clark's Cicero: *Pro Milone, Caesarianae, Philippicae*. Second edition. Oxford Classical texts.

THE first edition of this volume of the Oxford text of Cicero appeared as long ago as 1900. Since that date a good deal of important material has accrued, and the first edition has, as the editor says frankly, become more or less obsolete. The present edition, as might be expected by anyone who knows the course of criticism in the last twenty years, and the nature of Professor Clark, is not so much a revision as a new book. When it is said that the new book possesses all the qualities which habitually distinguish Professor Clark's work, it is, perhaps, sufficiently praised; and the most useful task which a reviewer can perform will be to indicate the main lines of divergence from the earlier

edition. For this purpose not much need be said of the Caesarian Orations. In these the Apparatus is based upon the same MSS. as were employed in the earlier edition (for our first knowledge of many of which we are indebted to Professor Clark), the *a* family being, however, reinforced by the all-important Holkham or Cluny MS. In the *Milo* we work back to the Cluny MS., through the Excerpts of Bartolommeo di Montepulciano, and the variants offered by the second hand of the Paris MS. 14749 (Σ). These two sources supply the principal part of the new material for the Apparatus of the second edition, reaffirming the outstanding importance among the other codices of Harley 2682. The only other additions to the MSS. which Professor Clark previously employed are (1) the Laurentian XXIII.

Sin. 3 (which owes its interest to the fact that it is the best representative of the class of MSS. current in Italy before Poggio brought home the Cluny MS.), and (2) Marcianus 255, the best of the *recentiores*.

The new text of the *Philippics* is based upon a fresh collation of *V*, the Vatican MS. *H* 25. At the same time, the reconstitution of the *D* family is carried through somewhat differently from what was attempted in the first edition. Collations are presented of two Vatican MSS., 3228 and 3227, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively. Of these the latter is collated fully only for the later speeches, where the need is serious, and where the Apparatus is further reinforced by the (Paris) Brussels MS. 14492. The Codex Regius, *l*, is now regarded by Professor Clark as derived from Vat. 3228, and accordingly ceases to be a primary authority for the reconstitution of *D*.

Having reconstituted *D*, Professor Clark sets himself a task in which he takes characteristic enjoyment. Both

D and *V* go back to a single archetype. *V*, as is well known, is a three-column MS., and Professor Clark can tell the reader how many lines there were to the column in its exemplar, and how many letters to the line, and all else that might be expected from the author of the *Descent of Manuscripts*. But he is not going to rest at that. He can do the same by the common original of the *D* MSS.; and he applies his *ratio arithmetica* to the reconstitution of the Archetype with all the gaiety of a mature scholarship.

The new text is not unaccompanied by new essays in textual emendation. These I may leave the reader to search out for himself. But among new and ingenious suggestions I may perhaps single out Phil. V. 13, *Cydam amo Cretensem*, where the supplement *amo* illustrates a type of emendation for which Professor Clark has, I think, a particular fancy.

People hate buying second editions. But this one is necessary and worth it.

H. W. GARROD.

ALLITTERATIO LATINA; OR, ALLITERATION IN LATIN VERSE REDUCED TO RULE.

Allitteratio Latina; or, Alliteration in Latin Verse reduced to Rule. By WALTER J. EVANS, M.A. Pp. xxxiv + 195. Williams and Norgate, 1921. 18s.

PENTAMETERS have commonly an internal rhyme; Virgil is alive with alliteration, some of it (the archaic) so thumped that even Conington—whose ear was wooden—remarked upon it. Roiron explored the symbolic significance of it in his *Imagination auditive de V*. But since we read little aloud and learn less by heart, even in Virgil we neglect the colours of the pattern of sound. Just as the Philistine will hear nothing in English verse but the rhymes, so we have been apt to recognise nothing but quantity in Latin verse. Mr. Evans sets out to show that Rhyme (which term includes all sorts of alliteration) was a necessary part of the Latin poet's business; and to draw out the rules which governed it. Accept or refuse his results, his book does give a

new insight into the mysteries of *compositio uerborum*. But it leaves many puzzles to solve. Was Rhyme in Latin a surface feature, strictly regulated, as in Welsh? or an ubiquitous, but unobtrusive grace, like alliteration in English? Of course, good verse in English is no more free in alliteration than in quantity. A lay ear may only detect rhyme and prosody, but an adept is aware of the vowel-play and consonant-play. Was it so in Latin? Every schoolboy learned to scan, but would he perceive—or be expected to perceive—defect of 'rhyme'?

Rhyme being understood in the widest possible acceptance, Mr. Evans allows (p. 5) that it is 'difficult to construct a long line without a single rhyme,' and that the minimum of rhyme required was low. (Why he should call 'meretricious' whatever exceeds the minimum, I do not see.) This is the point against which *Advocatus Diaboli* will direct the sceptical attack.

Summarised, his discovery is that 'subject to certain indulgences, every 'ictic' syllable must rhyme with some other 'ictic' syllable in its own line' (p. 43). An 'ictic' syllable is defined (p. 21) as 'a vowel on which the ictus falls, together with all the consonants on either side that can be conveniently pronounced with it.' He does not assert that rhyme was reckoned only by ictic syllables, but predominantly. (I am not satisfied that he takes account of word-accent. There seem to me to be many verses in which the position of the caesuras keeps important rhymes out of the 'ictics'—e.g.:

uix aperit clausos una puella lares.)

A rhyme means 'the echo of at least one effective letter.' He allows five 'indulgences':

(1) The 'uniped.' This creature is a rhyme internal to the foot—e.g.:

noscitur ab omnibus
pauperi recluditur.

Doubles are excluded: 'annus, ossa' do not give a rhyme.

(2) The 'oblique' (oddly named)—i.e. a rhyme from an ictic letter to a non-ictic when this is the initial of a word—e.g.:

Romulus et mensas.

I doubt the justice of treating this as exceptional. Take, for instance, a very full-dress passage such as Hor. *Epist.* II. 1; in a line such as

si lONgo sermONE mORer tua tempORa Caesar

would not Mr. Evans' analysis miss the very marked rhymes which I indicate in capitals and italics? *Longo* is emphatic; its emphasis must have appeared in pronunciation, whether in verse or in prose; does not Horace mark its importance (and that of *mover*) by providing each with a rhyme?

(3) The 'interlineal': chiefly got by enjambment of the last foot of one line with the first of another. One may guess that analysis will find that the difference between the Catulline or the Ovidian (κατὰ στίχον) hexameter, and that of Virgil, lies in V.'s fondness for 'interlinear rhymes,' which belong to constructed verse-periods.

(4) 'When a foot shows none of these

four sorts of rhyme, it is a blank foot in the strictest sense of the term.' In such cases there must be compensation by initial rhymes.

One of the author's examples he calls 'such a lean hexameter as would be hard to parallel': it is Catull. LXVIII. 105. It seems to me to have a rich and abundant pattern of sound, only the melody (so to say) sometimes goes into the base:

quo tibi tum casu pULCerrima Laudamia
ereptumst uita dULCius atque anima.

He gives the line three blanks. Is it conceivable that -ima, -mīa, -zma are not of design? I believe that 'casu' rhymes with 'Laudamia';¹ and that, despite difference of quantity, 'pulcerrima' was echoed in 'ereptum.' Two points that would require the reviewing of a great body of evidence: but Mr. E.'s ruling (on p. 4) does not satisfy me.

(5) 'The first and last lines of a lyric (having less than six ictuses) may each have one blank foot.' This category (the 'Privileged' line) seems to me unnecessary: all the examples would yield to treatment or explanation. The author admits they are quite few.

This in brief outline is the theory, as important for the appreciation of Latin verse as the theory of rhythm has been for prose. Mr. Evans' vast and minute labour has not been wasted: a new chapter is added to the study of each Latin poet's style. (The young thesis-writer will not want for subjects that will give him insight as well as results.) The theory will be complemented and probably modified in restatement, but he deserves thanks and applauses which salute his nation as well as himself—since in the practice of Welsh poetry he found his clue. It is a real discovery of something that 'oft was thought, but ne'er . . . in form . . . express.'

Phoneticians will perhaps question his decisions on points of pronunciation (I find his account of *f* hard to accept!) values of letters, syllabification, etc. And a good many corrections in detail would improve a second edition. A new terminology is apt to irritate, and

¹ Perhaps the syllable -sup- is left blank by a compensation of a different sort—viz., just because ca- has its rhyme.

one may find 'ictic' an ugly hybrid, but mostly the author's coinages are modest; but I wish he would proscribe *arsis* and *thesis* (which he himself admits are equivocal) and adopt the unambiguous terms of the French metrists *fort* and *faible*. On p. 23 Tennyson's alcaics are

maimed by losing a word; on p. 29 the note about Ausonius is a delusion—the iambics follow in the next piece; on p. 32 Meredith's galliambics might be quoted; on p. 1 the French anagrammatic verses are shockingly misprinted.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

CATALOGUE OF THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM.

Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.

Vol. II.: Sculpture and Architectural Fragments. By STANLEY CASSON.

With a section upon the Terracottas by DOROTHY BROOKE. Pp. x+459.

Profusely illustrated in half-tone.

Cambridge: University Press, 1921.

£1 16s.

THE first volume of the *Acropolis Catalogue*, by Guy Dickins, set a high standard. The second and concluding volume, which deals with the sculpture of the post-archaic periods, and with the terracottas of all periods, maintains that standard. It is a careful and useful piece of work, highly creditable to the authors and to the British School.

Mr. Casson's material falls into four groups: the sculptures of the Parthenon, the sculptures of the Erechtheum, the balustrade of the Temple of Athena Nike, and a miscellaneous lot of statues and reliefs, mostly fragmentary, ranging from the second half of the fifth century to Roman times. A wide field to cover. The illustrations are less numerous than in the former volume, but more would have made the book unwieldy. One or two pieces are published for the first time; for example, a female head from one of the metopes of the Parthenon (p. 96), and another, fragmentary, from the frieze (p. 138). The bibliographies are large, but not arranged chronologically, and not, perhaps not meant to be, exhaustive. The most serious omission is the lack of references to the plates in Brunn-Bruckmann, where some of the more important marbles from the Parthenon, from the Balustrade, and above all from the Erechtheum, are published better than anywhere else; and to Arndt and Amelung's *Einzelaufnahmen*, which include a number of pieces from the Acropolis less adequately

reproduced, or not at all, elsewhere (*Einzelaufnahmen*, Nos. 725 to 734, and 1274 to 1287).

The following are the points which seem to me open to criticism in Mr. Casson's account of the sculptures; not many in more than three hundred pages. P. 31, the bronze herm signed by Boethos is not a replica of a work by Alcamenes. P. 39, the first torso is not W but V. P. 104, three lines from the end, 'figures' is a slip for 'faces.' P. 106, line 12, 'right' should be 'left'; the second figure is almost certainly, I suppose, Apollo, and the third Artemis rather than Peitho or Demeter. P. 110, Pl. xli. is the right reference for 860. Pp. 111-112, the riders are wearing chlamydes not himatia. Pp. 112-113, the youths are carrying hydriai not amphorae. P. 115, lxxix., under 867, should be lxxx. P. 118, the warrior wears a corslet as well as a chiton. P. 121, the first lyre player wears chiton as well as himation. P. 144, the slab published by Miss Harrison is not 3 but 11. P. 147, did anyone ever take two hands to carry a greave? P. 148, No. 7 has either a kolpos or a kolpos with an overfall. P. 150, the chiton is girt underneath a short kolpos. P. 176, the right-hand figure has a short kolpos as well as an overfall. P. 229, the reference in *Annali* is Pl. N.: the plate is reproduced, and similar subjects discussed, by Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 28; the plate gives the fifth figure a chiton as well as a himation, whether rightly or wrongly; the wild attitudes of the women make it unlikely that they are Muses. Pp. 243-248, Mr. Casson speaks of Nos. 1341-1341 γ as fragments of a single relief, perhaps containing six figures; the general view has been that they come from two or three different replicas. The

Acropolis and Chiaramonti reliefs cannot be said to be derived from Acropolis 702; the most that can be said is that the original of the later reliefs stood in the same line of tradition as the sixth-century work. It might have been well to mention the theory, which has found favour, that the relief seen by Pausanias was the work of the Boeotian sculptor Socrates; see, for example, Amelung in Helbig's *Führer* I, pp. 48-50. Pp. 248-250, No. 1345, the relief is mentioned, and the type of drapery discussed, by Studniczka, *Kalamis*, p. 27 ff. P. 253, No. 1348, the hand may have held a sceptre, rather than a spear: it is hard to see how the two letters, which are all that remain of the inscription, can show the relief to be not earlier than 403 B.C.; eta is frequently found on Attic stones before the archonship of Eucleides. Pp. 257-259, the so-called Procne: 'Michaelis points out that Alcamenes was only the dedicator and not the artist'; this should run, 'not necessarily the artist.' 'The group is compared with the so-called Leucothea of the Munich Glyptothek and with the Eirene of Kephisodotus or the Hestia Giustiniani.' The 'Leucothea' is the same statue as the Eirene: I do not know who compared the Procne with the Hestia; he must have been joking. P. 272, No. 3014, the object in the man's hand can hardly be a patera, judging by the way he holds it; I doubt whether a parallel could be found among the many thousands of representations of paterae

in ancient art. P. 284, the potter (not vase-painter) Andokides flourished in the second half of the sixth century; 'fifth' is obviously a slip. P. 309, the pinax can hardly be later than 500, to judge from the vases cited by Mr. Casson: further, to speak of Euthymides as belonging to the circle of Epictetus is like speaking of Van der Goes as belonging to the circle of Memling; the phrase, however, is Dr. Hoppin's, not Mr. Casson's. Pp. 310-313, if the pithos recalls the vases of the Epictetan circle, 'the later decades of the first half of the fifth century' is not early enough for it; as to the subject, the warriors on the pithos, and on all the monuments compared with it, are not apobatai, but fighters mounting the chariot—parabatai if you like.

Mrs. Brooke's careful description of the terracottas is a valuable contribution to the study of these important monuments.

Misprints.—P. 2, a line seems to have fallen out between line 17 and 18, making Amphitrite into a monster. P. 13, *κατατεξιτέχνος*. P. 241, *Πορριχίσταις*. P. 401, Grean for Gréau. Agraule, Caracallus, hydriophorai, kanephorai, *παρύθη*, all throughout.

Both Mr. Casson and Mrs. Brooke confine 'in' to the most strictly local signification ('in London'), and use 'in the case of' for the other senses, and freely besides. So do nearly all our archaeologists: I often wonder why.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

APICIUS' COOKERY-BOOK.

Apicius 'de re coquinaria.' Ediderunt C. GIARRATANO et FR. VOLLMER. Pp. 96. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922.

WHEN an editor has boasted that he has 'no inkling of "Ueberlieferungs-geschichte,"' it seems natural that his divination is now criticised as 'mere waste of time.'

The help of U. to an editor is illustrated by this, the first real edition of Apicius. In 1912 Giarratano published a monograph, 'The MSS. of Caelius de re coquinaria,' and, some years later, offered to Teubner (who accepted it)

an edition of this cookery-book, presumably under this title. Giarratano did what nine out of ten editors in these days would do: he contented himself with the MSS. within reach—the ninth-century MS. in the Vatican Library, the other Italian (Renaissance) MSS. He did not cross the sea to Cheltenham, where, in a library whose door opens but to golden keys, is imprisoned another ninth-century MS. of Apicius, destined doubtless for the shelves of some dollar-king, whose freakish son will use its pages to light a

super-cigar. Indeed, he seemed unaware of its existence, though it is mentioned in Schenkl's account of English Libraries, and though Studemund (who had an inkling of U.) had already made a collation, now in the University Library at Breslau.

Luckily Vollmer intervened, Vollmer the Munich colleague of that Traube whose genius raised 'Ueberlieferungsgeschichte' to an exact science. With the help of Lehmann, Traube's successor, the whole history of the text was traced. All Renaissance MSS. are mere transcripts of the ninth-century Vatican MS. Off to limbo with them and their changeling 'Caelius'! The two ninth-century MSS. are the only foundation for an edition, if it is not designed 'for a warning to editors.' They were transcribed, at Tours and some other English settlement on the Continent, from a Fulda MS., now lost.

All that the eighth- (?) century Fulda archetype could rescue from the title-page of its uncial (?) exemplar, a MS. of the ancient world, was

API
CAE
LI,

which the Renaissance scholars expanded to *Apici Caeli* (and the last German books of reference conserve this fiction of 'Caelius who was nicknamed Apicius'). Vollmer proposes, plausibly enough, a restoration to something like

APICII ARTIS MAGIRI
CAE COMPENDII
LIBRI DECEM.

Vollmer's admirable paper in the *Bavarian Academy Proceedings* of 1920 is condensed in the short preface of this small volume. He finds in the Fulda text's exemplar a mere epitome of Apicius' manual, and ascribes its unliterary features to the fourth or fifth century epitomiser. 'But is he right? I cling to the idea that the Latin of a cookery-book would be unliterary Latin, and that all this mixture of Imperatives and Futures, all this Change of Subject, non-Consecution of Tenses, and what not, are original and genuine. In this manual (as in Petronius' novel) we get a glimpse at everyday Latin. Even a vulgarism like *esicium* I would not banish as Vollmer does. The seventh-century glossographers, in whom I see Donatus himself, attest it with the derivation *ab ense et secando*, i.e. 'ensisicium,' a popular etymology which gives a clue to the pronunciation. (So Aelius Stilo's *quia petit vitam* confirms Horace's trisyllable against Catullus' affectation *pūtātā*.)

The ninety-six pages of this new gem of the Teubner series offer to us *multum in parvo*, e.g. a complete collection of the Greek papyrus fragments on Cookery, of Athenaeus' recipes, and so forth. Take it for model, ye dilettante editors. And contrast its modest preface with the flamboyant style of X, or Y, or Z.

W. M. LINDSAY.

DELPHI.

Delphi. By FREDERIK POULSEN.

Translated by G. C. Richards, with a preface by Percy Gardner. Pp. x + 338, with 164 illustrations.

London: Gyldendal, 1920. £1 is.

DR. POULSEN is well known as a learned and original scholar. He has a wide knowledge, not only of classical archeology, but of classical literature as well. His book is lucid, spirited, and humane: a model, in some ways, of what a general work should be. It not only gives an excellent account of the results of French excavation at Delphi, but also endeavours to determine what

part Delphi played in Greek history, and what Delphi meant to Greece and the Greeks.

In dealing with the monuments, the author's plan is not to enumerate the objects found on the site, but to choose certain characteristic and significant pieces, and to examine them leisurely in all their bearings. The few Cretan finds are illustrated by the fragmentary rhyton: the period of Oriental influence by a Phoenician bronze bowl and an engraved shell. With the rise of Greek art proper, the selection naturally becomes more ample: for Delphi has

contributed a very great deal to our stock and knowledge of archaic sculpture. Two bronzes are effectively contrasted with the Oriental objects and with each other: one is the charming youth of Cretan style and possibly early Peloponnesian, say Sicyonian, workmanship; the other the youth with the necklace, who may be Ionian. A chapter is devoted to a sympathetic description of the metopes which are usually attributed to the Treasury of the Sicyonians: Dr. Poulsen considers that Dinsmoor may be right in ascribing them to the Syracusan Treasury. No less sympathetic is his account of the Naxian Sphinx, compared, in its decorative effect—when first erected and before Delphi became crowded with monuments—to the Lion of St. Mark at Venice; and of the early Argive statues which represent Kleobis and Biton. Dr. Poulsen rejects the Herodotean story of the brothers' end: but I take it that the main facts of the story, the prayer and the deaths, may be true, and that some strange and solemn series of incidents seems necessary to explain the erection of the statues at Delphi.

Dr. Poulsen has already contributed to the interpretation of the 'Siphnian' frieze: and this adds interest to the present comprehensive treatment. The precise date of the frieze is in dispute, and has been discussed, since the publication of Dr. Poulsen's book, by Dr. Langlotz in his excellent work *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik*. Dr. Poulsen seems to speak as if the date could be settled by comparison with the parapet reliefs from Ephesus: but the exact date of these is surely not established by external evidence. The sculptures of the old Temple of Apollo and of the Athenian Treasury complete the tale of archaic monumental sculpture. There are one or two slips in the chapter on the Athenian Treasury: Geryon has the usual three bodies, not two, judging by Alinari's photograph: the description of Herakles' attitude in the Cynus metope (p. 180) is odd: surely he has the sword in his right hand and is cutting downwards from left to right: fig. 82 on

p. 186 is from a red-figured, not a black-figured, picture; the subsidiary figures, by the way, are foully restored: the crater on p. 195 is from Arezzo, not from Ruvo. I may add, that in the Siphnian pediment, Herakles is wearing a chiton only, not doublet and chiton as stated on p. 110.

At the very end of the archaic, and at the beginning of the subsequent period, comes the famous Charioteer. Professor Gardner, in his preface, calls it 'the only full-length bronze figure of fifth-century Greek art which we possess.' We have hundreds. Even if he means life-size by full-length, the statement is not true: for the Idolino is life-size. Dr. Poulsen cautiously refuses to connect the Charioteer with any of the names of sculptors which have been preserved to us: he is content to compare it, after Studniczka, with the Capranesi Anadumenus; and with a coin of Gela. He shows the same caution in publishing no reconstruction of the Polygnotan paintings in the Lesche: he is even over-contemptuous, I think, of such exercises.

The monument of the Thessalian Princes gives the author an opportunity of discussing the art of Lysippos: and the portraits found at Delphi form the starting-point for an interesting essay on Greek portraiture, a subject in which Dr. Poulsen has shown himself a master.

A word of praise must be accorded to Mr. Richards, who has produced a very clear and readable version. The material of the engraved shells found in Spain (p. 64) is not a land-shell, but a local shell. On p. 231, it is misleading to say that the Charioteer is 'no normal work of art': canonical would be better, though still ambiguous: what the author means is a work intended, like the Canon of Polycleitos, to embody the whole theory and achievement of the artist. Two long passages (pp. 12 and 88) purport to be quotations, since they are placed between inverted commas: but of course they are paraphrases. 'Ἔδραι in *Eumenides* 11 means 'seat,' not 'seats.' On p. 243 we read 'Troy's best heroes, who lie flung away in artistic poses on the steadily rising ground.' The phrase hardly reproduces the spirit of Polygnotan painting.

The book is printed clearly, and the half-tone illustrations are nearly all good. The chief exception is the picture of the Naples Doryphoros on

p. 282, which is made from an old block, and that block from an old photograph taken before the disgusting fig-leaf was removed.
J. D. BEAZLEY.

TEXTBOOK OF ROMAN LAW.

A Textbook of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian. By W. W. BUCKLAND, M.A., F.B.A. One vol. 9½" x 6". Pp. xiv + 756. Cambridge University Press, 1921. 50s.

IN the first place must be acknowledged the lasting debt under which the author has placed all of us who teach Roman law, and all students of Roman antiquity. Those of us who are primarily English lawyers do not always find the foreign manuals readily accessible. There is besides the important class of students who may or may not become specialists, and who probably will not, without the aid of first-rate English textbooks. There is no English textbook which will stand comparison with this, and it should find a place at once in every legal and classical library.

But Professor Buckland's work deserves to be judged by comparison with the best foreign manuals. It is not a reproduction of any well-known type, but has an original character of its own. By deliberate limitation in certain directions it is able to proceed further in another direction than any general work known to me. The limitations are logical, consistent, defensible. What is omitted is deeply interesting, and, knowing the author's competence in these matters also, one may regret, but one has no right to complain. We have a deliberate choice of a subject of the highest importance, treated the more fully and perfectly because of concentration.

Take first the limitation of period, from Augustus (or, say, Cicero) to Justinian. This is steadily, though not pedantically, observed. On the one hand, the highly speculative earlier period is eschewed: we are told to be real lawyers, studying grown-up law. On the other hand, the fascinating post-Justinian history in the West, not to mention the East, does not appear. It follows that this is no book for beginners, exhibiting the many-sided historical

significance of Roman law. What it exhibits is the full-grown Roman law in itself, acquaintance with which alone explains that significance.

Less obvious, but more remarkable, is the deliberate limitation of outlook. The Pandectist tradition is completely dropped. There is no attempt to treat Roman law as a sort of general jurisprudence or natural law, nor to fit its principles into modern systematic categories. The point of view is that of a Roman jurist of the age of the Antonines, who, by some miracle, knows the developments of the next three centuries. It is the point of view of modern writers on Roman law, but one which is more evident in monographs than—such is the force of tradition—in general works. An illustration of the author's pure Romanism is his faithful adherence to the order of the Institutes, of which no one better than he knows the weak points.

The result is an essentially legal work, giving perhaps the fullest and most detailed account of pure Roman law in its technical perfection that exists. The chosen theme is broad enough; it is the mighty technical tradition that binds Labeo to Modestinus and Tribonian, Augustus to Diocletian and Justinian; that, and, in scope and intention, nothing more. The splendid materials of the *Corpus Juris*, of which Professor Buckland is a complete master, preclude either dullness or narrowness. And it is not to be inferred that he has neglected the literary and other sources; on the contrary, he has used them with rare fullness. But when, for instance, in his preface, he says 'the subject is Private Law, and little is said of such institutions as the Colonate and the privileged and State-controlled trade corporations of later law, of which, important as they were in practice, the chief interest is social and political,' one feels that the reason for exclusion could also be expressed by

saying that these subjects came too late to become part of the great technical tradition.

It is, then, a lawyer's book. Further, it is an English lawyer's book. In reading it we breathe the professional atmosphere which Maitland's magic introduced into legal history. Everywhere the concrete application, the case; nowhere a proposition which is not a prophecy of what will hold in court. '*Causa* (in contract) means actionability and not something else independent of actionability which produces that characteristic' (p. 426). If Professor Buckland has said that before, it was worth repeating.

The work betrays the English lawyer, too, in its meticulous citation of textual authority for every statement. One feels, as one reads, that this book recaptures the very spirit of the court of the *praetor urbanus* because of a special affinity of the English legal spirit. The

value of the author's Slavery in Roman law as a guide to some of the hardest passages of the Digest is known. He now extends a helping hand through the whole *Corpus Juris*.

In the citation of literature no attempt is made to rival Girard's classical *Manuel*, to which the author acknowledges a particular obligation. But the references given are sufficient not only for a scrupulous admission of debts, but to start the reader on any special track. Towards the all-important interpolation question the author's attitude is defined with considerable caution, at least in general terms. He shows himself no bigoted conservative in detail.

To have carried a comprehensive work on this vast and difficult subject to the pitch of perfection which this book attains must have cost immense and ungrudging labour; the result deserves unstinted admiration and gratitude.

F. DE ZULUETA.

Herodotus (Loeb Classical Library). Translated by A. D. GODLEY. Vol. I.: Books 1 and 2, pp. xxi+504. Vol. II.: Books 3 and 4, pp. xviii+416. London: W. Heinemann. 10s. a volume.

DR. GODLEY has given us a translation of Herodotus as nearly perfect as a translation can be. Ionic presents a difficult problem to those who wish to render its atmosphere as well as its meaning. Some translators attempt a pre-Elizabethan English, a road which generally ends in Wardour Street, and which, if it escaped this, would not lead to its goal. Are we to suppose that Hippocrates used language that corresponds to the style of Sir John Mandeville? Better are the translators who frankly use modern English; and yet Herodotus should hardly be translated into language used for Plato or Thucydides. There is no solution of the problem. Ideally an English or Scotch dialect would come nearest; and that would sound absurd. Dr. Godley has adopted a compromise between the archaists and the modernists, which may be illogical, but which achieves its end. He has a mild flavour of archaism, which never degenerates into 'tusherie,' but for the most part writes honest English. 'Aforesaid,' 'undone,' 'for the nonce,' may not be real analogies to the Ionian of Herodotus, but it is not easy to see any other way of giving the peculiar flavour of his language than by a light peppering of such phrases. The real differentia of Herodotus is his flowing *εἰρομένη*; and by preserving this, and by the purity and directness of his English, Dr. Godley has produced a translation which is not likely to be superseded.

One reflection recent issues of the Library suggest to us. For Fronto a purchaser will pay 20s.; for Herodotus, when completed, not

less than 40s. Fronto is not worth a pound, and he is not a necessity. Herodotus is a necessity, and is worth anything; but the ordinary lover of the classics can hardly afford to buy him in the Loeb series. We cannot help feeling that if the Clarendon Press can issue at the price of 7s. 6d. a book of classical essays with more than 400 pages and a number of illustrations, these translations might be produced at less than 10s. a volume. It is commercially unsound to publish books at a price at which they will find a very limited sale. And, apart from commerce, Mr. James Loeb's conception, which was worthy of its subject, will be inadequately realised until the translations that bear his name are brought within reach of the purse of the schoolmaster and the poor scholar. The future of the classics largely depends on their becoming accessible to a large public, who will thus learn what it can get from Greece and Rome. The Loeb series is admirably calculated to make them accessible, but not until it is published at, say, 5s. a volume. Even then Herodotus will cost a pound.

R. W. L.

Greek Vase - Painting. By ERNST BUSCHOR. Translated by G. C. RICHARDS, and with a Preface by PERCY GARDNER. 1 vol. 6½" x 10". Pp. xii+110. Illustrations, 160, half-tone and black-and-white. London: Chatto and Windus, 1921. 25s.

IT is fitting that the best short sketch of Greek vase-painting should have been translated into English, and we

are grateful to the translator for having done the work; but it is a pity that the translation should not be more attractive. Buschor's little book, though by no means light reading, has been widely read in Germany, both by scholars and by those who are generally interested in Greek art. A translation should have attempted to give it a like appeal. But the English and the German reader are by no means alike, the German being gifted with far more patience and a greater capacity for reading heavy stuff than the English. The English translation should, therefore, have been above all things perspicuous. The translator of Buschor's book has, however, by keeping overconscientiously to the language of his original, sacrificed readableness and perspicuity to would-be accuracy. Really, he has sacrificed accuracy too, for the original is at least German, whereas the English translation can often hardly be called English, and, therefore, cannot be said truly to be an accurate representation. No plea of accuracy can justify the following sentences: 'But the red-figured conquerors of nature, each of whom in his own way breaks through the old system of type, produce a far more differentiated effect,' or 'The emphasising of the shoulder by ornamentation is found in contrast with the lower part decorated, if at all, with stripes.' The result of this defect is likely to be that the general public will hardly have the patience to do more than look at the pictures (which, like the general production of the book, are excellent), and students well acquainted with German may prefer to consult the original. To students who know little or no German the translation will undoubtedly be very useful.

E. M. W. T.

The Aesthetic Basis of Greek Art. By RHYS CARPENTER. I vol. $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. viii + 163. Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs I. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1921. \$1.50.

THIS thoughtful and stimulating little book attempts to describe the aesthetic basis of Greek art with special reference to sculpture and architecture. In so

doing it necessarily has to concern itself with general aesthetic principles. The main aesthetic thesis of the book is that art springs from a fusion of formal and representational qualities. 'From the fusion of the two aspects of a line—its purely formal value with its representational quality—arises a new thing which I call the aesthetic or artistic emotion. This new thing, which may be surprisingly intense and vivid, is *not discoverable either in the represented object per se, or in the mere formal value of the lines used.* It is a product of the fusion, often as unexpected and as novel as a chemical reaction. I admit the miracle, but I plead the fact.' This naturally leads to a discussion and condemnation of certain modern artistic tendencies to consider non-representational form capable of arousing the aesthetic emotion. Here Professor Carpenter is scarcely convincing. He says nothing of music, the least representational of the arts, or of Pater's contention that all arts strive towards the condition (that is, the non-representational condition) of music. But his assertion that 'in spite of appearances to the contrary, architecture tends to become a *representational* art, and imitates or represents a conventional world of its own creation' is interesting.

The chapters on sculpture and architecture largely concern the dimensions of which these arts make use. Professor Carpenter describes the gradual mastery of the third dimension achieved by Greek sculptors, and insists that classical Greek architecture is essentially two-dimensional in contrast with Byzantine and Gothic architecture, which are three-dimensional.

The book is well argued, and contains some acute and illuminating observations. The whole of the chapter on architecture is good, and benefits by owing a debt (duly acknowledged) to Geoffrey Scott's *Architecture of Humanism*. There is a wholesome protest against basing the aesthetics of architecture on 'materialistic tyrannies such as utility and economy,' and a plea for aesthetic judgment apart from the consideration of engineering.

A fault is that the book does not

always stick close enough to the actual works of art: theories are sometimes stated without sufficient illustration; early promises of pursuing the inductive method are not always fulfilled later.

The form of the book with the rounded corners of the cover and lines enclosing the print on the pages is unfortunate, suggesting a selection from the works of Ella Wheeler Wilcox rather than a book on Greek art.

E. M. W. T.

Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines.

Par L. LAURAND. Fascicule VII. Métrique, Sciences complémentaires. P. 142. Paris: Librairie Auguste Picard, 1919. 3.50 fr. (sewed), or 4.50 fr. (boards), each fascicule.

THIS, the penultimate part of Professor Laurand's comprehensive work, has the typical merits of a French textbook. It is a model of arrangement and lucidity. The first fifty pages deal with metric: then follow fifteen on the establishment and interpretation of texts, ten on palaeography, ten on epigraphy, six on numismatics, four on archaeology, thirteen on the history of 'philologie,' seven on bibliography, and fifteen on 'le travail philologique.' There is a good index, and useful bibliographies in every chapter. The scale of the book permits of little controversy; in metric, for instance, the article 'Dactylo-épitrètes' runs thus: 'Mélange de dactyles (-οο) et d'épitrètes (ο---, -ο--, etc.): chez les lyriques et les tragiques grecs' (p. 791). But Professor Laurand has some sound introductory remarks (sceptical in tone) about modern metrical theory. A typical note is this: 'Le sens véritable du mot *énoplien* (*ἐνόπιος*) qu'on trouve déjà dans Aristophane, n'est pas du tout connu, quoiqu'on en parle beaucoup' (p. 789). The brevity of his treatment of dactylo-epitrètes has a further explanation, expressed in the following sentence: 'On s'est borné à ce qui est indispensable pour l'explication des auteurs que l'on traduit ordinairement dans les classes. Aussi a-t-on nécessairement fait la place plus large aux Latins qu'aux Grecs' (p. 745). He has indeed: not a single line of Greek

lyric poetry is quoted, against more than a hundred from Horace. One point of detail in the metrical sections may be noticed: the symbols for pauses of three and four times are wrongly printed (p. 750).

The chapter on establishment of texts is sensible, and full of useful practical hints: for instance, we find the names and addresses of photographers of MSS. in Paris, London, Vienna, and Rome, and a reference to a fuller list in the 1914 *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*. The archaeology chapter is exceedingly short, but to the point. The history of scholarship is slight, but admirably impartial; the number of French names is rather large, but geese are not turned into swans. Among English scholars Jebb is mentioned, but not Porson. The most instructive chapters are those on bibliography and 'le travail philologique,' which are very practical, and contain much valuable advice.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

The Religion of Plato. By P. E. MORE.

Pp. 352. Princeton Press. \$2.50.

WE should all welcome a contribution to Platonic studies by an American scholar. The dominant philosophy in the United States is a violent revolt against Platonism; it tends to sceptical opportunism and a characteristic attempt to 'bluff' the universe. An American Platonist of high intellectual gifts might do much to correct what is superficial in American philosophy, while doing justice to the excellent work in psychology which his countrymen have achieved. Unfortunately, it is impossible to speak favourably of Mr. More's book. He is not only no metaphysician; he congratulates himself that he has never made such an 'illegitimate use of his reason.' Metaphysics, according to him, are quite unnecessary for the understanding of Plato. Plato was an uncompromising dualist; why should anyone try to find unity behind duality? He believed in divine and human personality; and we all know what a person means—someone like Zeus or Socrates. It is only 'muddy' mystifiers like Hegel and

his successors who speculate about the meaning of time and eternity. Augustine, like a sensible man, said he did not know what time is, and left it there. More than half the book consists of mere padding in the shape of long translations from the *Dialogues*. I fear the verdict must be that students of Plato will not get much help from Mr. More.

W. R. INGE.

Apollodorus: The Library. With an English translation by Sir JAMES GEORGE FRAZER, F.B.A., F.R.S. (The Loeb Classical Library.) Two vols. Small 8vo. Pp. lix+403, 546. London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921. 10s. each vol.

SIR JAMES FRAZER's translation of Apollodorus is worthy of his acknowledged skill in the translator's art. Pedantry may notice a very few infelicities. 'Iambe joked the goddess,' though the usage has some support in eighteenth-century writers of Scottish extraction, is harsh to English ears. 'The abandoned boy' (ὁ παῖς ἀπολειφθεῖς), though an illustration of the ambiguities of our language, is correct, but 'he did not miss, neither with the bow nor with the javelin,' represents the Greek, not the English idiom. The translation of εἰς τὰ ἄρθρα (III. xv. 1) spares the modesty of the Greekless reader, but may mislead him as to the meaning (cf. Herodotus, III. 8, 7, and IV. 2, 5). The story is a curious variant of the theme of Tobias and Sara.

In the notes, the implication that Myconus is a small island as compared with Delos (Vol. II., p. 247) is misleading, and 'fairylend forlorn' (Vol. II., p. 288) is a most unhappy emendation. But even Homer nods. As a whole the translation is clear, accurate, and pleasant to read.

The commentary, however, is disappointing. The notes consist mainly of lists of classical references by which the Greekless reader cannot profit, while to the classical scholar, with Roscher to his hand, they are a convenience rather than a necessity. For there is too little comment upon the relative merits of the passages, and the problems which should be raised are often missed or omitted. Little space has been found for archaeological evidence either as a commentary upon the veracity of legendary history or as a supplement to Greek mythology. The practices of Greek cult are ignored. Farnell is not once mentioned, and of recent specialist literature only the works of A. B. Cook and Rendel Harris receive considerable attention. There are no adequate notes upon the kind of problems with which T. W. Allen deals. To the folklore notes the customs of the Lower Culture contribute disproportionately as compared with the folklore and folktales of Europe, which are more germane to the study of Apollodorus; and there is little attempt in the notes to analyse the elements of myth, legend, and

folktale, which are admirably distinguished in the introduction.

No doubt limits of space have cramped an artist accustomed to working upon a larger canvas, but room for more essential things might have been made by the omission of irrelevant matter. For example, Appendix II. is really irrelevant; Appendix III. is shortly to be published in another form; Appendix VII. adds little to the author's note on Pausanias IX. 5, 10, of which it is largely a repetition. The printing in Appendix XIII. of thirty-six previously published variants of the tale of Polyphemus seems of doubtful utility, and it is characteristic that Hackman's examination of the distribution of the story is mentioned, but not its result, viz. that an Indian origin appears to be out of the question.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri.

Edited and indexed by W. E. CRUM. Pp. xii+150. Oxford University Press, 1921. 16s. net.

THIS collection, containing texts from some thirty sources, is of the nature of raw material for Mr. Crum's great Coptic dictionary now in the making. Most of them are from the Theban district and of the sixth to the eighth centuries.

This is not the place to discuss the many interesting points of Coptic lexicography and grammar to be found among them, nor the relationship of some of them with literary Coptic texts known elsewhere; but there are one or two of them which should be noted by the Greek scholar, and so suitable for mention in the *Classical Review*.

No. 410 is the opening words of Psalm 67 (68) in Greek—

αναστ[ητω ο Θεος και
διοσκορ[πισθητωσ
αν εκτρη [αυτου και
φευκεντωσαν βασι[ε[ς
[ο]ι μισουντης
αυτων απο προσωπου
αυτου [ως εκ]λειπι κα[ι]

In l. 4 πάντες [πάντες] is not found in any other authority; but the generally illiterate type of text (e.g. εκτρη for έχθροί) forbids the variant to be regarded very seriously.

Several of the texts are of the nature of vocabularies—explanations of Greek words by their Coptic equivalents (e.g. 167 ἀρτοκολλιον, 402 ρεφερενταριος, πατρικος, εξακουβιτωρ, etc.), though the Coptic explanations are often either missing or inaccurate. There is one of definitely literary¹ interest. No. 403 reads as follows:

¹ Pagan allusions or reminiscences (literary) are curiously rare in Coptic. I can recall an allusion to Aristophanes in the sermons of Shenoute, and there is a vocabulary in the British Museum (probably the property and possibly the autograph composition of the poet Dioscorus—some day, I hope, to be published by Mr. Bell) which mentions Anacreon. I know nothing otherewise.

νυμφε απρικος ου
καχι παρρησια
ουσελεετ αυτορποσ
μευτι . . τ[

And this has been identified by Mr. Edgar Lobel as Menander *Monost.* 371 (Meineke):

νύμφη δ' ἀπρικός οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν

The second Coptic word is corrupt and doubtful. Mr. Lobel suggests that it may be meant for εταυτορποσ, and be due to a confusion of ἀπρικός with ἀπρίξ; but I am hardly satisfied.

S. GASELEE.

Der Indogermanische Vokalismus (=Indogermanische Grammatik, Teil II.), [Indogermanische Bibliothek, Erste Abteilung, Erste Reihe, 13. 2]. By HERMANN HIRT. One vol. 5½" x 8½". Pp. xi + 256. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1921. 7s. (M. 20; bound, M. 26).

DESCRIBED in the preface as a second edition of the author's *Ablaut*, this work is to be followed by the remaining volumes of a four-volume *Indogermanische Grammatik*. The treatment is fuller than in the first edition, because, although space has been saved by limiting the citation of material for the well-known problems and by the use of smaller type, modifications in the working out of the theory have been introduced and defended at some length. Brugmann and Osthoff are repeatedly accused, perhaps less justly than the accuser thinks, of having led the world astray. The well-known merits of Hirt's earlier work are to be found here also, but so are its defects, and with this reservation the book may be recommended to the critical reader.

R. MCKENZIE.

Einführung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der klassischen und germanischen Sprachen, übersetzt von Walter Fischer (Indogermanische Bibliothek, I. 1. 14.). By JOS. SCHRIJNEN. One vol. 5½" x 8½". Pp. x + 340. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1921. 7s. (M. 20; bound, M. 28).

THIS translation of Schrijnen's *Handleiding bij de Studie der Vergelijkende Indogermaansche Taalwetenschap* (Leiden, 1917) introduces to the German-reading public a work which is of value chiefly as containing a very full bibliography of recent publications bearing on 'general linguistics,' including researches on general phonetics and on the social and psychological aspects of language. It seeks to give also a survey of the results, but the effect is a little bewildering, and the suspicion arises that not all these researches deserve to be treated with so much respect as the author accords to them. The later part of the book is a sketch of Indo-European phonology, which will be found useful, though not free from errors in detail (such as Lesbian ξέννος, p. 232).

R. MCKENZIE.

Greek Papyri from Gurob. By J. G. SMYLY. (Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs, XII.) Two plates. 1921. 12s. 6d.

THESE skilfully edited texts, twenty-nine in number, form a small appendix to the Petrie Papyri, having come from the same site, and sometimes dealing with identical circumstances; in one instance further fragments are obtained of a document already published. The best piece is No. 1, a fragment, written early in the third century B.C., of a mystery-ritual, in prose, but evidently including numerous hexameter verses. Unfortunately it is in poor preservation, and the particular cult concerned is not clearly determined. Orphic characteristics are, perhaps, most pronounced, though affinities with other systems are traceable. As Professor Smyly remarks, we may infer that either the process of contamination had already made much progress, or the different cults had from the first a large element in common. No. 2, giving a partial second copy of a legal decision, of which a very illegible duplicate was printed in P. Petrie, Vol. III., places that juristically interesting text on a new basis. The remainder are business papers of the usual type. No. 22, besides mentioning shrines of Nephthimis (*cf.* P. Hibeh 27. 86, Wilcken *Archiv* IV., p. 180) and Sachmis (a correct form, here first found in Greek), attests a shrine of Mithras in the Fayûm in the early Ptolemaic period.

A. S. H.

De Papyro Oxyrhynchita 1380. By B. A. VAN GRONINGEN. Pp. 84. To be obtained of the author, Leeuwarden, Holland. 3s.

THIS doctoral thesis examines carefully the elaborate invocation of Isis in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XI, pp. 190 ff., from the point of view that it is essentially an Egyptian document written in Greek, and that its origin and parallels to it are to be found in Egyptian religious sources rather than in the Hellenistic remains of the Isis-cult of the first two centuries, which have come down to us in some quantity. Mr. van Groningen's thesis appears to be justified, and he has used his parallels (*e.g.* the invocation to Isis in Apuleius, *Met.* Book XI.) with intelligence.

The first part of the invocation rehearses the forms and attributes with which Isis, πολὺν-νυμος and πολὺμορφος, is worshipped at different centres, both within and outside Egypt (*e.g.* 'at

Paphos, hallowed, divine, gentle; in Chios, marching; at Salamis, observer; in Cyprus, all-bounteous; in Chalcidice, holy; . . .'). Mr. van Groningen's comment on l. 95 ἐν . . . Πύργῳ Ἑλλάδα, ἀγαθὴν, where he thinks Ἑλλάδα to be some form of the Semitic *al-ilāt*, the goddess, does not seem to be very satisfactory, for if among the Persians (l. 104) Isis could be venerated as *Latina*, she might well have the style of *Greece* at Pyrgos, and other identifications with purely Semitic deities in this long list seem to be absent.

The whole is a careful piece of work, and deserves the attention of those who investigate the Eastern religions which seemed for a time likely to be the rivals of Christianity.

S. G.

Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON, Hon. D.Litt., etc. Cambridge, 1921. THIS little book of forty pages is for the most part a summary of the theories and suggestions with which the readers of Miss Harrison's earlier works are familiar, and as such it does not call for a long review. As regards the religion of Greece it contains little or nothing fresh, and the reader will find that Miss Harrison is quite impenitent in regard to some of her earlier suggestions, which seem to be highly disputable; but the convenience and interest of such a summary is obvious, and scholars may well be grateful to Miss Harrison for the

frankness with which she explains what are partly the conclusions of her work, but partly (one may suspect) the pre-suppositions of it.

It is nearly ten years since the publication of *Themis*. The soil from which that volume sprang was in a great measure provided by the writings of Durkheim, in the light of which many of the records of Greek religion were interpreted. This soil has now received a top-dressing, compounded mainly of the psychology of Freud and Jung, and the writings of Solovióv; and the writer's theory of the general nature of religion, and especially of theistic religion, has been somewhat amplified, or at least re-expressed, accordingly; but the criticism of this theory, which (to the reviewer) appears to leave out of account some of the most important aspects of the religious life, whether ancient or modern, is not a task which falls within the scope of the *Classical Review*. It is sufficient to say that Miss Harrison still writes with all the charm and all the provocativeness which have always characterised her work, and that she succeeds in putting into a few pages a theory which it would take many pages to discuss adequately.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE HOMERIC CATALOGUE, 852-5.

I APPEAR to have set a booby-trap for Mr. Leaf (*C.R.*, 1922, 52 ff.). Not intentionally, but a booby-trap. My Apparatus Criticus on B 852 ff. has got into print with several errors.¹ The words '852-5 non legerunt Eratosthenes et Apollodorus' should read '853-5' and stand at line 853; 'κωβιάλον κρώμναν τε καὶ ἰλήεντα κύτωρον Apollodorus ap. Strab.' should read 'κρωβιάλον κρώμναν τε καὶ ἰλήεντα κύτωρον Apollonius ipse l.c.';² 'κρώμαν Zen. Eu. 147.28' should read 'κρώμαν Zonar. 147.28.' Therefore Mr. Leaf's observations from 'But Mr Allen' p. 55 to the end of his article go out, and if he wishes to contest my argument (set out without clerical error on pp. 156-9 of my book) that his idea of there having been

commerce in the heroic age between the Aegean and the Euxine by a sea-route is fiddle-de-dee, he must begin again.

I regret that I omitted to quote Mr. Leaf's 'J' ('my Bm4') for κρώμαν. The note in my forthcoming edition goes 'κρώμαν Bm4 P1 Zonar. 147.28 κρωμάν W3' I hope I have done right. Should I have added 'teste Leaf'? Of the same MS. J (Bm4) Mr. Leaf asserted (*Journal of Philology*, 1892, p. 242) that it read τετυχηώς at P748; he imposed on Ludwig and on me in the first Oxford edition. He omitted the statement in his own second edition. So between Mr. Leaf in the article and Mr. Leaf in the edition the reader was at sea. This is unimportant, but it shows that the Genius of Error inspires the just as well as the unjust.

T. W. ALLEN.

¹ There are errata in other places too: v. 520 *dele* 'V1V5'; v. 523 read 'Ptol. Pamphil.'; v. 711 after 'cf. 734' read 713, the number of the next line.

² The readings stand correctly in the third Oxford edition (1919).

HYMN. HERM. 109-14.

MR. H. P. CHOLMELEY's note (*C.R.*, 1922, p. 14) is not helpful. He has quite overlooked one fundamental fact. The marvellous infant

scarcely a day old can do easily a great deal that he himself, whatever his physical powers may be, could not possibly perform, however 'hot' he made himself. There is no question of using either a bow- or a spindle-drill, nor is there anything to lead us to suppose that Hermes held the *storeus* with his feet or in a vice. Of course, if the reading of Messrs. S. and A. which makes him hold it in hand be approved, the case is different. I dissented from that view, as, it is evident, does Mr. C.

Of my 'notions upon the process of producing fire by a fire-stick' he is not qualified to speak. They have never been stated for the simple reason that such a statement, like that made by Mr. C. himself, could be of no possible use for the purpose in view.

If he supposes that *σιδήρῳ* is a reading introduced by me or for which I have some responsibility, he is again in error. It comes, 'absurd' or not, from the tradition. I stated the only possible translation of *ἐνιάλλε* (or *ἐνιάλλε*) *σιδήρῳ*, and went on to suggest that the word might be a later perversion, a needless metrical correc-

tion, of *σπορή*. Hermann feeling the same difficulty proposed *σιδήρῳ*.
T. L. AGAR.

ANIMALS IN ROME.

MR. GEORGE JENNISON, F.Z.S., writes from the Zoological Gardens, Bellevue, Manchester, to ask whether any reader can quote a price, actual or comparative, made for a wild animal in or for Rome or the Roman Empire. The only reference he can find is in Apuleius, where a tip of ten aurei was given to the servants who brought the 'bear.'

THE PRICE OF FOREIGN BOOKS.

MR. F. T. RICKARDS writes from 25, Corfton Road, Ealing, W. 5, to ask whether readers can tell him how to obtain foreign books at prices corresponding to the rate of exchange. We have no doubt that many booksellers are now aware that the best policy is to allow readers the benefit of the abnormal exchanges, but we mention, *honoris causa*, the firm of Birrell and Garnett, Gerrard Street, W.C., in this matter.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).

(1922.)

HISTORY.—May 22. Marion E. Park, *The Plebs in Cicero's Day* (T. A. Miller). Highly praised, in contrast to the majority of doctorate theses, as a sound and readable treatise on the origin and employment of the lower classes.

LITERATURE.—Apr. 24. Eleanor S. Duckett, *Hellenistic Influence on the Aeneid* (Gertrude Hirst). The first of a series of Smith College classical studies. 'A useful assemblage of material.'—May 8. J. A. K. Thomson, *Greeks and Barbarians* (G. B. Gulick). Praised as fresh and stimulating.

METRIC.—May 15. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Griechische Verskunst* (L. H. Baker). 'The importance of the work cannot be overestimated; but it would have been better to begin all over again and build a new system of metrical science.' Reviewer distrusts mere metrical analysis, and pleads for a recognition of the emotional appeal of Greek lyrics.

The issues for April 17, May 1, and May 8 contain lists of articles (some of them important) on classical subjects in non-classical periodicals.

LE MUSÉE BELGE.

(JULY AND OCTOBER, 1921.)

ARCHAEOLOGY.—J. P. Walzing summarises F. Quilling's *Die Jupiter-Säule des Sanus und Severus: das Denkmal in Mainz*. This is an account of the sculptured column discovered in fragments at Mainz in 1904, originally erected in the reign of Nero by the

canabarii of the camp there.—A letter from M. C. Ténékidès gives an account of excavations at sites in Ionia, chiefly Nysa and Clazomenae.

AUTHORS.—*Horace*: J. Hardy argues for 'pavidus futuri' in *Ars Poet.* 172.—*Minucius Felix*: J. P. Walzing discusses again the priority of Minucius and Tertullian, and argues that it is T. who has borrowed from M., as he borrowed from all the Greek Apologetic writers of the second century.—*Virgil*: J. Herbeaux argues that in *Eclogue* VIII. 17 and 50 ff. V. is indebted to Meleager.

CULTS.—J. Herbillon discusses the meaning of the title *Λαφπία* given to Artemis.—G. Dossin gives extracts from his dissertation on the cult of Trophonius at Lebadea.

STYLISTIC.—E. Merchie writes on the *Clausula* in Sidonius Apollinaris.

MARCH, 1922.

AUTHORS.—*Arrian*. J. Meunier discusses the sources of the *Ἰνδική* of Arrian, and differs from Müller and from Schwartz in Pauly-Wiss.—*Homer*: A. Delatte analyses with approval E. Drerup's *Homerische Poetik*, 1 Band: *das Homerproblem in der Gegenwart: Prinzipien und Methoden der Homererklärung*.

INSCRIPTIONS.—J. P. Walzing continues his papers on *Latin Inscriptions in Roman Belgium*.

LEXICOGRAPHY.—J. H. Baxter, of Ballantrae, gives two pages of *Corrigenda et Addenda Thesouro Linguae Latinae*.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR DAS KLAS-
SISCHE ALTERTUM, ETC. (ILBERG).

1922.

(XLX./L., 1/2 AND 3).

ART.—1/2. Anton Springer, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*. I. Das Altertum. 11 Aufl. Nach Adolf Michaelis bearbeitet von Paul Wolters. Mit 1038 Abbildungen im Text und 12 Farbdrucktafeln [Leipzig, Alfred Kröner, 1920. 559 S. Geb. M. 100]. —Wilhelm Lübke, *Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte*. I. Die Kunst des Altertums. 15 Aufl. Vollständig neu bearbeitet von Erich Pernice. Mit 14 Kunstbeilagen und 664 Abbildungen im Text [Esslingen a. N., Paul Neff (Max Schreiber), 1921. 428 S. Geb. M. 68] (H. L. Ulrichs). Both books highly praised, but many of the illustrations severely criticised, especially the coloured plates. U. disputes many of Wolters' views.

HISTORY.—3. Friedrich Bilabel, *Die ionische Kolonisation*. Untersuchungen über die Gründungen der Ionier, deren staatliche und kulturelle Organisation und Beziehungen zu den Mutterstädten. [Leipzig, Dieterichsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1920. IV., 260 S. M. 33.60.] (W. Judeich). Disproportionate space given to Miletus, and other faults of method, but very valuable, especially in detail.

GREEK LITERATURE.—1/2. Franz Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil*. [Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1921. 134 S. 8°. M. 12].—Ders., *Pindar, übersetzt und erläutert* [Leipzig, Inselverlag, 1921. 262 S. 8°. M. 45] (E. Bethe). Both warmly praised, especially the first. The translation is in prose.

PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(MARCH—MAY, 1922.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—O. Maass, *Platons Staat* [Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1921, Velhagen and Klasing. Text pp. xxxvi+268, Commentary pp. 298] (Seeliger). New school edition, with well-written introduction and useful commentary; Greek texts full of misprints and considerable portions not included. Reviewer adds several corrections.

LATIN LITERATURE.—C. J. Hidén, *De genetivo Lucretiano* [Helsingfors, 1920] (Orth). Completes H.'s *De casuum syntaxi Lucretiana*, of which I. and II. appeared in 1896 and 1899; well arranged and thorough; full index. —R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus, erklärt von Ad. Kiessling. Dritter Teil: Satiren*. 5 Aufl. [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. Pp. 347] (Rosenberg). This new edition has become almost entirely the work of H. Extensive changes, especially in Sat. II., 2-6; the editor's learning and sober judgment are equally amazing. —Fr. Dannemann, *Plinius und seine Naturgeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung für die Gegenwart* [Jena, 1921, Diederichs. Pp. 251] (A. Klotz). Reviewer complains of many inaccuracies and of the haphazard selection of extracts, but welcomes the recognition by modern science of the value of classical writers.

HISTORY.—T. Petersson, *Cicero, a biography* [Berkeley, 1920. University of California Press. Pp. iii+699] (A. Klotz). A much truer picture than Mommsen's caricature; in particular his account of Cicero as a politician is completely satisfactory. In spite of small blemishes this biography ranks in a class by itself. —F. H. Cowles, *Gaius Verres, an historical study* [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, XX., 1917. Pp. v+207] (A. Klotz). Good and clear survey. —K. Sethe, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgerrechtsrecht vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* [Abhandl. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. XXXII. Leipzig, 1920. Teubner. Pp. vi+812. 68 plates] (Otto). A monumental work; the first part contains texts, translation, unusually full commentary and grammatical notes. The second (legal) part by Patsch is no less exemplary. —J. Kromayer, *Drei Schlachten aus dem griechisch-römischen Altertum* [Abhandl. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. XXXIV. Leipzig, 1921, Teubner. 6 maps] (Lehmann). Reviewer criticises and discusses at length K.'s account of Marathon and the Allia; he agrees with K.'s site of the Caudine Forks. Excellent maps.

PHILOSOPHY.—K. Joel, *Geschichte der antiken Philosophie*, Band I. [Tübingen, 1921, Mohr. Pp. xvi+990] (Seeliger). A stimulating book, with plentiful but not always reliable references. Reviewer criticises and disagrees freely. —E. Horneffer, *Der junge Platon*. I. Teil: *Sokrates und die Apologie* [Giessen, 1922, Töpelmann. Pp. iv+170] (Seeliger). Reviewer agrees generally with H.'s belief in the historical accuracy of the Apology, but less with his conclusions about the religious nature of Socrates. —K. Reinhardt, *Posidonios* [München, 1921, Beck. Pp. 475] (Nestle). An enormous advance in our knowledge and understanding of Posidonius; but in order to establish his belief in P.'s dynamic monism R. is too ruthless in his treatment of tradition. —P. Friedländer, *Der grosse Alcibiades ein Weg zu Platon* [Bonn, 1921, Cohen. Pp. 51] (Nestle). F.'s attempt to vindicate the authenticity of this dialogue is unsuccessful.

PHILOLOGY.—A. C. Juret, *Manuel de Phonétique latine* [Paris, 1921, Hachette. Pp. 390] (Niedermann). Falls far short of Sommer's exemplary Handbuch (2nd ed., 1914), though occasionally Juret corrects the results of previous research; bibliography far from complete. —H. Güntert, *Von der Sprache der Götter und Geister* [Halle, 1921, Niemeyer. Pp. vi+183] (K. F. W. Schmidt). First section deals with language of magic, second and third with that of the gods in Homer and in the Eddas; interesting and warmly recommended to classical teachers. —J. Schrijnen, *Einführung in das Studium der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der klassischen und germanischen Sprachen*. Übers. von W. Fischer [Heidelberg, 1921, Winter. Pp. x+340] (Hermann). On the whole successful; the general section is best, and is particularly suited to serve as an introduction to the sub-

ject.—Fr. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte. Erster Band: Der lesbische, thessalische, böotische, arkadische und kyprische Dialekt* [Berlin, 1921, Weidmann. Pp. vi+477] (Hermann). The work of a master and a sure guide through inextricable difficulties; in addition to phonology and morphology B. deals fully with word-formation, syntax, vocabulary, and names of persons and places.—B. Linderbauer, *S. Benedicti Regula Monachorum* [Metten, 1922, Benediktinerstift] (A. Klotz). Very valuable contribution to our knowledge of Latin in sixth century, A.D.

MYTHOLOGY.—*Atena Tritogenija i' atički Tritopatreji* [Glasnik zem. Museja XXXII. Sarajevo, 1920] (Radermacher). Reviewer

summarises at some length this etymological and mythological examination of the *Ti-ro* group of deities.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—G. Rodenwaldt, *Der Fries des Megaron von Mykenai* [Halle, 1921, Niemeyer. Pp. viii+72. One coloured plate, 4 supplementary plates, and 30 figures] (Karo). Ingenious reconstruction of frescoes at Mycenae from very fragmentary remains; well illustrated.—C. Watzinger and K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus. Die antike Stadt* [Berlin, 1921, de Gruyter and Co. Pp. viii+112. One plate, 2 maps, 85 illustrations] (Thomson). First systematic survey of Damascus, resulting in recovery of plan of the ancient trading city; valuable preliminary work on promising site.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

Appleton (R. B.) *The Elements of Greek Philosophy. From Thales to Aristotle.* 8"×5". Pp. xiv+170. London: Methuen, 1922. 6s. net.

Arnaldi (F.) *Le Idee Politiche Morali e Religiose di Tacito.* 9½"×6¼". Pp. 75. Rome: Tipografica Salesiana, 1912.

Bailey (C.) *Lucreti De Rerum Natura Libri Sex.* 8"×5". Oxford: University Press, 1922. Second Edition. 5s. net.

Boëthius (A.) *Der Argivische Kalender.* 10"×6½". Pp. iv+76. Uppsala University, 1922.

Botsford (G. W.) *Hellenic History.* 9"×6". Pp. 520. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922. 18s. net.

Bradley (H.) *On the Text of Abbo of Fleury's 'Quaestiones Grammaticales.'* 10"×6". Pp. 8. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 1s. net.

Casson (S.) *Ancient Greece,* 7½"×5". Pp. 96. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 2s. 6d. net.

Classical Philology. Vol. XVII., No. 3, July, 1922. 9½"×6¾". Pp. 187-282. Chicago: University Press.

Classical Philology. Vol. XVIII., No. 2, April, 1922. Pp. 97-186. Chicago: University Press.

Cook (A. S.) *The Possible Begetter of the Old English Beowulf and Widsith.* Vol. XXV. Pp. 281-346. Yale: University Press; New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, April, 1922.

Cookson (G. M.) *Four Plays of Aeschylus.* 7½"×5". Pp. 212. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922. 4s. 6d. net.

Cumont (F.) and Bidez (I.) *Juliani Epistulae et Leges.* 8"×5¼". Pp. xxvi+328. Paris: Société d'Édition les Belles Lettres; Oxford: University Press, 1922. Paper, 11s. net; cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

Delatte (A.) *Essai sur la Politique Pythagoricienne.* 9"×6". Pp. xii+296. Fascicule XXIX. Paris: E. Champion, 1922.

Diack (F. C.) *The Newton Stone and other Pictish Inscriptions.* 8"×5¼". Pp. 64. Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1922.

Dornseiff (F.) *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magic.* 9¼"×6¼". Pp. 176. Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1922.

Eitrem (S.) and Fridrichsen (A.) *Ein christliches Amulett auf Papyrus.* 9½"×6¼". Pp. 32. Christiania: J. Dybwad, 1921.

Ernle (S.) *The Wrath of Achilles. Translated from the Iliad into Quantitative Hexameters.* 9¼"×7½". Pp. 136. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 10s. net.

Fiesel (Dr. E.) *Das grammatische Geschlecht im Etruskischen.* 10"×6½". Pp. 160. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1922. 5s.

Forbes (H. O.) *The Topography of Caesar's Last Campaign against the Bellovac.* Published in the *Geographical Journal*. Vol. LIX. No. 3. March, 1922. London: The Royal Geographical Society. 2s.

Franklin (A. M.) *The Lupercalia.* 10"×6". Pp. 106. New York: Columbia University, 1922.

Gaultier (J. de) *La Philosophie Officielle et la Philosophie.* 7½"×4¾". Pp. xiv+158. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1922. Fr. 7 net.

Graves (C. L.) *New Times and Old Rhymes.* 8"×5¾". Pp. 128. Oxford: Blackwell, 1921. 6s. net.

Groeneboom (P.) *Les Mimiambes d'Hérodas I-VI.* 10"×6½". Pp. 196. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1922. F. 2.50.

Gsell (S.) *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie.* 16¼"×11¼". Pp. xvi+458. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1922.

Harden (J. M.) *Psalterium Iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi.* 9"×5½". Pp. xxxii+196. London: S.P.C.K. New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1922. 10s. net.

- Headlam* (W.) *Herodas: The Mimes and Fragments* (completed by A. D. Knox). 9" x 5½". Pp. lxiv + 466. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 63s. net.
- Heiland* (W. E.) *The Roman Fate*. 8½" x 5½". Pp. 80. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 3s. net.
- Herfst* (P.) *Le Travail de la Femme dans la Grèce Ancienne*. 8½" x 6". Pp. 122. Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1922.
- Holleaux* (M.) *Rome: La Grèce et les Monarchies Hellénistiques*. 10" x 6½". Pp. iv + 386. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1921.
- Inge* (W. R.) *Essays by Divers Hands, being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*. 9" x 5½". Pp. x + 152. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 7s. net.
- Joachim* (H. H.) *Aristotle*. 9½" x 5½". Pp. xxxviii + 302. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. 32s. net.
- Kunst* (Dr. K.) *Die Frauengestalten im Attischen Drama*. 10" x 7". Pp. vii + 200. Wien und Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1922.
- Lavagnini* (B.) *Le Origini del Romanzo Greco*. 10" x 6¾". Pp. 104. Pisa: F. Mariotti, 1921.
- L'Esame*. *Rivista Mensile di Cultura e d'Arte*. First year. First two parts. 10" x 7". Milan: Società Anonima. L. 5 per number.
- Lietzmann* (H.) *Schallanalyse und Textkritik*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1922. M. 15.
- Lindsay* (W. M.) *Julian of Toledo: De Vitis et Figuris*. 8½" x 5½". Pp. 42. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 2s. 6d. net.
- Loeb Library: Butler* (H. E.) *Quintilian III*. Pp. viii + 596. *Quintilian IV*. Pp. vi + 550.
- Wright* (W. C.) *Philostratus and Eunapius*. Pp. xlii + 596. *Magie* (D.) *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. Pp. xxxviii + 494. *Edmonds* (J. M.) *Lyra Graeca I*. Pp. xvi + 460. London: Heinemann, 1922. 6¼" x 4¼". 10s. net.
- Marvin* (F. S.) *Western Races and the World*. 9" x 6½". Pp. 264. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 12s. 6d. net.
- Matheson* (P. E.) *The Growth of Rome*. 7½" x 5". Pp. 96. Oxford: University Press, 1922. 2s. 6d. net.
- Merrill* (E. T.) *Piny's Letters, Books I-X*. 10" x 6½". Pp. xxiv + 315. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1922. Paper, 9.60s.; cloth, 12s.
- Miller* (S. N.) *The Roman Fort at Balmuldry on the Antonine Wall*. 9" x 7". Pp. xx + 120. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1922. 21s. net.
- Morton* (W. C.) *S. P. E. Tract No. IX. The Language of Anatomy*. 9" x 6". Pp. 28. Oxford: University Press, 1922.
- Novum Testamentum Latine*. Part II. Fasc. I. Revised by H. J. White. 11½" x 9". Pp. 153 + 278. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922.
- Orlando* (M.) *Spigolature Glottologiche*. Part I. 8½" x 6½". Pp. 21. Palermo: G. Petrotta, 1922. L. 2.50.
- Pearson* (A. C.) *Verbal Scholarship and the Growth of some Abstract Terms*. 7½" x 5". Pp. 50. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 2s. 6d. net.
- Perdrizet* (P.) *Negotium Perambulans in Tenebris (Études de Demonologie Gréco-Orientale)*. 10" x 6½". Pp. 38. Oxford: University Press for the University of Strasbourg, 1922. 1s. 6d. net.
- Perry* (B. E.) *The Metamorphoses ascribed to Lucius of Patrae: Its Content, Nature, and Authorship*. 9" x 6". Pp. vi + 74. New York: G. E. Stechert, 1920. \$1.00.
- Photographs of Manuscripts*. Reports from His Majesty's Representatives Abroad respecting Facilities for obtaining Photographs of Manuscripts in Public Libraries in certain Foreign Countries. 9½" x 6". Pp. 28. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1922. 1s. net.
- Proceedings of the Classical Association of Scotland*. 7½" x 6". Pp. 72. Edinburgh: Pillans and Wilson, 1922.
- Rostertzeff* (M.) *A Largé Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C. (A Study in Economic History)*. 10" x 6½". Pp. x + 210. Madison: University of Wisconsin Studies, 1922. \$2.00.
- Singer* (C.) *Greek Biology and Greek Medicine*. 7½" x 5". Pp. 128. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. 2s. 6d. net.
- Stocks* (J. L.) *De Coelo*. 9" x 6". Pp. vi + 268-338. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. 10s. net.
- Stolz* (Dr. F.) *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*. 6½" x 4". Pp. 132. Berlin and Leipzig: B. W. Berleger, 1922.
- The Journal of Roman Studies*. Vol. X. Part I., 1920. 11" x 7½". Pp. 102. London: The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Thiel* (J. H.) *Ξενοφώντος Πόροι*. Doctor's thesis. 9½" x 7½". Pp. xxvi + 57. University of Amsterdam, 1922.
- Tidner* (E.) *De Particulis Copulativis apud Scriptores Historiae Augustae Quaestiones Selectae*. 10" x 6½". Pp. xii + 146. Uppsala: University Press, 1922.
- Virgil*. *A Biography*, by Tenney Frank. Pp. vi + 200. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922. Cloth, 7s. 6d.
- Vorndran* (Dr. L.) *Die Aristocratea des Demosthenes als Advokatenrede und ihre politische Tendenz*. 9" x 6". Pp. 68. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1922.
- Westaway* (K. M.) *The Educational Theory of Plutarch*. 8½" x 5½". Pp. xii + 242. University of London Press, 1922. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Woodward* (Rev. G. R.) *Hymns of the Greek Church*. 10" x 6". Pp. 40. London: S.P.C.K. New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Co., 1922. 2s. net.
- Wüst* (E.) *Vom Wert der alten Sprachen für die Ausbildung unserer Jugend*. 9" x 5½". Pp. 16. University of Würzburg.
- Zimmern* (A. E.) *The Greek Commonwealth*. Third Edition. 9¼" x 5¾". Pp. 462. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922. 16s. net.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Horace: Odes and Epodes. A Study in Poetic Word-order. By H. DARNLEY NAYLOR, M.A. Demy 8vo. 20s net.

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The Classical Review

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1922

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

WE have received an appeal signed by the Presidents or Chairmen of seven of the Associations which united in producing the scheme of uniform grammatical terminology in 1909-1911. It calls upon 'all teachers, inspectors, and examiners to co-operate in promoting the general adoption of the scheme.'

We regret that the pressure on our space makes it impossible to reprint the appeal in full. Any member of the Classical Association who desires to see it is requested to write to Professor Sonnenschein, 4, Sion Hill Place, Bath.

A correspondent sends us the following paragraph:

The 1922 Summer School of the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching was held in August at Durham. As usual, the time was well-filled and the members of the School worked hard. Besides taking part in reading and demonstration classes, they saw some excellent lessons demonstrating the first stages of Latin and Greek teaching on direct method lines. They heard lectures on various subjects, notably one on the Roman Wall, by Mr. F. Gerald Simpson, which was followed by a very successful visit to the Wall itself. No doubt was entertained by those who attended the School that the institution was worthy of support. A one-day meeting of the Association will be held in London in January, 1923; new members will be warmly welcomed. Applications for membership and all other enquiries should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Miss M. F. Moor, 45, High Street, Old Headington, Oxford.

We are asked to announce that a conference in Classical Archaeology, intended primarily for teachers, will be held from January 9 to January 16,

1923, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, if a satisfactory number of applications for membership is received before the end of November. The fee for membership will be £1. Applications should be sent to Mr. Stanley Casson, New College, Oxford.

All friends of the classics will watch with sympathy the energetic battle fought for Latin and Greek by the American Classical League. We have received a list of short pamphlets, nearly all at a price of 5 cents, published by them. They include Dr. Mackail's *Case for Latin*, Professor Murray's *Religio Grammatici*, and an essay by Professor Croiset. Others contain testimonies to the classics by eminent men, point out the contributions of Greek to Modern English, or illustrate the illiteracy which follows when the ancient languages are ignored. One contains reprints of papers on the value of the classics from the *Chicago Daily News*, which published a series of articles on the subject by one of its staff. The same methods of propaganda are not always applicable to all countries, but such pamphlets may be found to suggest methods of instructing public opinion in Britain on the claims of the classics. Dr. Mackail's pamphlet on Latin, with its lucid and moderate statement and its low price, might well be the first of a series.

The retiring editors have pleasure in announcing that Mr. Ernest Harrison and Professor W. M. Calder have accepted the invitation of the Journals Board to edit the *Review* in the coming year. Articles and reviews should be addressed henceforth to Professor Calder at 5, Derby Road, Withington, Manchester. Books for review should be sent, as heretofore, to the publisher.

SOME EUROPEAN MUSEUMS AND CLASSICAL STUDIES.

I. SWITZERLAND.

IN this article I confine myself to objects illustrative of the ancient civilisation of Greece and Rome, and of the Gaul and Germany to which the Romans found themselves opposed when they brought civilisation into Western Europe; and deal only with the museums of Zürich, Brugg, and Geneva.

We begin with Zürich, once the Turicum which, with the rest of Helvetia, came under Roman dominion in 59 B.C., and now, in one half, a bustling commercial town where business men of many nations consort, and in the other, a holiday resort with smart hotels along the quay of its pretty lake. There is the Swiss National Museum, built in 1898, the most important in Switzerland.

He who wants to realise some of the externals of Roman life may see at Zürich some twenty bronze helmets of various designs, and casts of all the bronze statuettes and all the Roman inscriptions in Switzerland. These two items alone recommend a visit to Zürich. Chronologically arranged you may see collections of fibulae (pin brooches) and of Roman lamps (as at St. Germain, near Paris, and at Brugg). Here are Roman tombs of the first century A.D. just as they were found in Valais, composed of huge flanged tiles leaning against each other, thus— $\wedge$; stili and writing tablets, enamelled brooches, perfume spoons, bronze pots for egg-cooking, Graufensque and other 'Samian' vases, silver dishes, and coins found in Switzerland ranging from the third century B.C. to the end of the Roman empire. Everywhere altars and offerings to strange Celtic gods and goddesses, which the curious will follow up in the third volume of *Les Cultes étrangers dans l'Empire Romain*, the most recent work on the subject by Toutain (le Roux, Paris).

But we must cross the river and ascend the hill to the very handsome new buildings of the University to see a unique collection of casts of Greek and Roman statuary. The origin of

most of these plaster casts was no doubt Berlin, when the museum before the war was so busy in disseminating a knowledge of the *chefs-d'oeuvre* of ancient art. The best way for the absentee to realise the riches of this collection would be to write to Professor Waser, of Zürich University, for the Guide, *Führer durch die Archæologische Sammlung*, by H. Blümner (3 francs). If illustrations are desired, he will find excellent plates in plenty in *Die Archæologische Sammlung der Universität Zürich* (also by Blümner), price 24 francs. Here, too, are good photographs at 15 cents, but one could wish there were far more of them. But try to go and see. In a splendid hall, well toned and lit, you will find statuary set out to the best advantage; and the place is quiet, restful, good for contemplation and reflection. You cannot, perhaps, get to Greece or even Rome. Well, then, come here and see excellent models of the Lion Gate of Mycenæ; the temple of Poseidon at Paestum, the Parthenon, Niké Apteros, Erechtheum, and the Acropolis of Athens; the east and west pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia; grave reliefs of great variety and interest; and of statuary nearly all the acknowledged masterpieces.

I would stay longer here but that I promised to take you to Brugg, a little town between Zürich and Bâle, where the Roman legionary has left an enduring footprint. The town holds a capital museum of objects found at Vindonissa, the neighbouring village of Windisch, where the Roman Legion XXI. with its Rhaetian cohorts first built the camp and amphitheatre—or rather, its two camps and amphitheatres; for, as the original camp of 20 A.D., protected by earth mound and palisade, was succeeded by stone walls and buildings (just as at Saalburg on the Taunus Mountains), so the wooden amphitheatre gave way to the well-built amphitheatre the remains of which are so interestingly in evidence to-day. The excavations show that both of the original structures were burnt; their successors survived till the fifth cen-

tury. The amphitheatre, built to hold some 10,000 spectators, is a fine and convincing relic. The whole ellipse of the walls, both interior and exterior, is complete for almost 4·5 feet above the ground. Outside the township, as usual, it is a fine view-point. The excavations begun in 1897 revealed external measurements of 344×325 feet, the arena measuring 221×177 feet. The museum in Brugg, the curator of which is Dr. Ecklinger of the local Untergymnasium, is a good little building, admirably displaying a great wealth of exceptionally well-preserved objects. Of all this you may read an account, well illustrated, in *Aus Vindonissa*, by Dr. Heuberger (1 franc); and, for once in a way, you can get good photo-cards of Roman objects, ten of them, for 15 cents each. But, like Oliver, we ask for more. Models there are in plenty, giving the construction of the amphitheatre, of the west gate (*porta principalis*) of the camp, of a complete Roman lime kiln, and so on; and an interesting little bronze statuette of Pan (1½ inches high), holding grapes and a torch, which Dr. Ecklinger has explained in a pamphlet. There is also here a very big collection of lamps, about which an exhaustive treatise has been written (1919) by Dr. Löschke (Trier, 25 francs). What appealed to me most, perhaps, was the sight of the great wooden poles remaining from the original camp palisade of 20 A.D.

Modern Geneva, clean, spacious, well-built, rising round its lovely lake-end, is certainly one of the jewel cities of the world; and on high ground is the fine new building, the Grand Musée des Beaux Arts, which houses a good archaeological collection. Devotees of bronzes will find the guide by W. Deonna (3 francs) good, and equally so the guide to the sculpture by Georges Nicole (1 franc). But there are no photographs of details on sale. Why will museum authorities waste their energies in publishing photo-cards of whole rooms? And here there are good sculptures crying aloud for illustration—a torso of Aphrodite, a head of Athené helmeted, and a bas-relief of cupids vintaging; and among the bronzes these at least—Dispaten de

Viège, Hermes in the style of Lysippus, goat from Sierre, and Ares found at Ostia. The Fol collection of classical antiquities comprises many small objects, more especially small reliefs, casts of which ought to be available for museums and schools. I liked also the collection of gems, which form an admirable source for the illustration of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, of the games of the circus and amphitheatre, and of Greek and Roman history and portraiture generally. Those who complain of the lack of good illustrations to Greek and Roman classics ought to know that here is an unworked quarry. Some enterprising publisher should set a photographer to work.

II. GERMANY.

In my recent incursion into Germany I found so much of interest connected with the history of the Romans and the Germans in one little corner that at present I must restrict myself to it.

This is a square thus defined: draw a line north from Mainz cutting the *limes Germanicus* west of Zugmantel and continue it to the east of Limburg; hence draw another east through Grüningen to the north-east of Inheiden; then another south to Great Krotzenburg; and from there complete the square with a line drawn west to include Mainz.

Here is a district bristling with Romano-German interest. It is well represented by these museums: at Mainz, the important Römisch-Germanisches Museum; at Frankfurt, the Historisches Museum; and at Saalburg, the museum in the reconstructed camp. Of each of these I shall now have something to say, in the hope that I may induce others to go and see for themselves, or, at least, to buy guides to read or pictures to help toward realisation.

The Römisch-Germanisches Museum at Mainz has a splendid collection illustrating the life of the Romans and the Germans. To the latter, two rooms are dedicated, one for the centuries 5-1 B.C., the other for the centuries 1-4 A.D. Models and reconstructions of all kinds have been most skilfully made, which, along with the originals, are

the best material available for realising the civilisation of this district for about ten centuries. Before the war the publications of this museum, its printed guides and books and photographs, and its casts and models, came very near to perfection; unfortunately for some years to come, owing to the depletion of the staff, little that is visible or tangible can be brought away. Still, even so, Professor Schumacher's illustrated lists of casts and photographs, in two volumes, should be bought by all interested in these things.

One thing I would mention, a painted plaster figure of a Roman legionary in full accoutrement, which would alone add dignity to any museum or school-room. Its cost before the war was 550 marks. If it could be procured and imported now at 1,000 marks, especially at the present exchange rate, it would be a splendid bargain. If this expense is too great, a small copy (51 centimetres high) at 55 marks (pre-war), would be a good substitute.¹

At Frankfurt the Historical Museum and Dom, and the charming medieval square called the Römer, are practically on the site of Roman settlements on the right bank of the Main. From the Main a Roman road ran through Heddernheim, on the River Nidda, through Bad Homburg to Saalburg camp and the *limes*. In the Frankfurt museum is a collection of Roman objects, especially from the excavations at Heddernheim, a very interesting site indeed, which has been well published in several works. I mention one only: *Nidda-Heddernheim, a Guide to the Prehistoric and Roman Camps*, by Professor Dr. F. Gündel (Diesterweg, Frankfurt), 5 marks, illustrated. There have been brought to light remains of no less than seven different settlements of different ages. Beginning with neolithic cave dwellings, we advance through the bronze and Halstatt ages, the La Tène period, and the Augustan, Claudian, and Flavian epochs. The Nidda township, founded in the days of Hadrian, has yielded up its walls, temples, and Forum, and its arena is probably still buried in the soil to the

north-west. Its life came to a sudden end with the fall of the protecting *limes*, probably toward the end of the third century A.D.

But I must, in the remainder of my space, try to give some idea of the Saalburg and its surroundings, certainly one of the most impressive monuments of Roman times existing in the world. Behind the Pfahlgraben (earth rampart) were about eighty fortified camps of varying size, and 800 towers. The most important of these garrison posts in the Taunus are the Kapersburg, the Zugmantel, and the Saalburg. The last, about half an hour by train from Homburg, is now entirely restored with the utmost possible accuracy, on the lines of Caesar, Tacitus, Vitruvius, and Vegetius, and similar camps in other parts of the world. As late as 1870 it was but a ruin in the Taunus woodland. In 1871 Colonel A. von Cohausen and L. Jacobi set to work to excavate, repair, and reconstruct. The result gives a wonderful impression of reality. The stone walls (protected on the outside with double mounds and two ditches), 2.50 metres high and crenellated, are strengthened on the inside by a great sloping mound of earth, with a narrow terrace on top which was manned by the Roman or auxiliary troops. Inside is an almost level rectangular space, where the soldiers' quarters, the praetorium, horreum, and other buildings are accurately realised. In the horreum is housed the fine museum. Outside the camp are many ruins, and some reconstructions. To the south you may see the walls, a few feet above ground, of the Canabae—i.e. the houses of workmen and traders, sutlers and camp-followers, and drinking shops. Here is a villa occupied by the commander in peace times; there is the temple of Mithras, with its holy-water pond for purification purposes, and a well of good drinking water. The water supply was dependent on wells; over sixty of these have been cleared, and most of them reconstructed with stone tops and the original wooden linings. Coins found range from 268 B.C. to 270 A.D., and have now reached some 3,000 in number. Note especially the amount of window glass which

¹ This paragraph was written before the collapse in the mark.—EDD. C.R.

has been found, ranging in colour from light green to dark blue. The wooden casings of these window panes, which were 40 centimetres square, have been marvellously preserved. Over 200 articles of leather have been found in the wells, where the mud seems to have acted as a preservative; among them one leather jacket, the sort of garment that was adorned with the metal *phalerae* or ornaments so often seen on military grave reliefs. All these and many more treasures may be seen well displayed in the museum. Pottery is well represented by a great variety of *terra sigillata*, commonly called 'Samian' ware. A great many horseshoes were found in the riding ring inside the camp, so that it is proved that the Romans, in Germany at least, knew the use of them. The spurs, too, were cleverly made, the shank curving somewhat outward, so that an accidental striking of the horse was not possible, as the rider had to bring his heels well in before he could spur him. Happily the Saalburg is

well published. Buy at any rate the *Führer durch die Saalburg*, by H. Jacobi, the Director of the Museum; it is well illustrated, and costs only 3 marks. It is rather surprising that it is not published in English; it certainly deserves an English translation. There are, of course, many more learned works for the archaeologist. There is another book I would strongly recommend, which should be in use in all classes where Latin is taught: it is *Bilder aus dem Römisch-Germanischen Kulturleben*, by Carl Blümlein (R. Oldenbourg, München-Berlin), 12.50 marks. It is profusely illustrated, and the best thing of the sort I have seen; but I had no knowledge of it till I bought it at the Saalburg. There are also six good coloured photo-cards of the camp as reconstructed, at 30 pfennigs each. I do not know whether these are used in schools, but there is no doubt they should be. Judging from my experience, I should say that few teachers or scholars know them.

S. E. WINBOLT.

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN TRANSLATION.¹

PROFESSOR POSTGATE has done timely service in collecting and examining the scattered literature on a vexed subject. Moreover, he has provided illustrative translations of his own, which should need no recommendation.

¹ *Translation and Translations: Theory and Practice.* By J. P. Postgate, Litt.D., F.B.A. Pp. 206. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1922. 6s. net.—*The Poems of Virgil.* Translated into English verse by James Rhoades. Third edition. The World Classics. Oxford University Press: Milford, 1921. 2s. net.—*Little Poems from the Greek.* By Walter Leaf. London: Grant Richards, Ltd., 1922. 5s. net.—*Translations into English Verse, mainly from the 'Greek Anthology.'* By Sir Robert Allison. London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1921. 3s. 6d. net.—*Four Plays of Aeschylus: The Suppliant Maidens, The Persians, The Seven against Thebes, Prometheus Bound.* Rendered into English verse by G. M. Cookson. Oxford: Blackwell, 1922. 6s. net.—*The Wrath of Achilles.* Translated from the *Iliad* into Quantitative Hexameters. By George Ernle. London, Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1922. 10s. net.—*Thirty-two Passages from the 'Iliad' in English Rhymed Verse,* By C. D. Locock. London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1922. 4s. 6d. net.

In the half of his book that is devoted to theory, he draws (perhaps too sharply) a distinction of motive and method between translations from a foreign into the native tongue and those of the opposite kind—*i.e.*, 'compositions' or 'versions.' The former he calls 'retrospective,' and the latter 'prospective'—in the sense that the retrospective translator primarily regards his original, and the prospective his copy. His theory of retrospective translation may be outlined as follows: the translator should have 'sympathy' with his author if by 'sympathy' is meant 'the appreciation which insight and study have produced,' not 'something more emotional, such as admiration, love, or esteem.' For translation is 'scientific,' a work 'of the intellect,' and 'sentiment has no place in its performance.' He must, moreover, 'exorcise the spirit of his age,' otherwise he will falsify the very thing he should have preserved—'the spirit and character of a foreign folk and bygone days.' Nor must he

study the reader's pleasure: his eye must be kept singly upon his author. As to method, he will be true 'to the age, nationality, and individuality of the author' only by observing 'an etcher's' accuracy of detail. His English idiom must not be strained, but a foreign 'tang' should suggest the language of origin. In imparting it he will be guided by the practice of native authors—e.g., Milton's Latinisms. Fidelity to the letter, with the minimum of concessions, is the best vehicle of the spirit.

In developing this theory Professor Postgate is nothing if not consistent. The author's claims are paramount: translators have more duties than rights. Thus Professor Leonard is commended for openly borrowing 'a few very apposite turns of expression' from Munro's and Bailey's translations of Lucretius. So much the better for Lucretius—and Professor Leonard must expect to be preyed upon in his turn.

At the same time in making a consistent division between the Scientific and Sentimental schools of Translation, he is not always just to his predecessors. For example, he quotes Wilamowitz (though with some hesitation), as saying: 'Every correct translation is a travesty.' But the context, which lies mangled on another page, shows that by 'travesty' is meant only a 'change of dress.' And Sir T. H. Warren has also suffered in isolated quotations.

How far he is just to the Sentimental translator or 'Transfuser' is a difficult question. He thinks that Transfusion derives an advantage from the prejudice attaching to over-literal translation, which leads to excessive emphasis upon fidelity to the 'spirit.'¹ The Transfuser turns his eye from the text towards the reader, poses as 'a sun' where he should be 'a satellite,' and captures applause with a 'sham original.' But 'where the subject matter told no tales,' who could tell

from what language the Transfusion was made?²

An apologist of Transfusion would probably rejoin that Professor Postgate has neglected the importance of the reader as a factor in the problem. He might cut at the distinction between Retrospective and Prospective translation, and ask why, if the scholar is pained by an English 'tang' in a 'composition,' the reader should not be spared English posturing as Latin or Greek? He might also argue that the scholar, whom Professor Postgate elects sole judge, reads a 'scientific' translation through Latin or Greek eyes, whereas the reader, whose whole mode of experience is different, reads it only as bald or difficult English,³ and assumes the same qualities in the original; so that faced with a choice between two false impressions, he is apt to prefer Poetry to Science.

Professor Postgate probably means him to get something between the two; and if he has over-stated the case for Science, few will deny that the times were ripe for a reaction.

Professor Postgate's position is made clearer by his acclaiming Mr. Rhoades as 'perhaps the best of our translators of Virgil.' Therefore, unless the 'scientific' translator of Virgil is still to come, Mr. Rhoades is passably 'scientific.' And yet he has managed to 'please the reader,' for here is a third edition. He does not, however, pass one of Professor Postgate's tests, that 'a translation should as a whole, and, generally speaking, in its parts, be commensurate with its original.' Professor Postgate continues, 'to render 756 lines of *Aen.* 1 Mr. C. J. Billson takes the same number of English decasyllables,

² Professor Postgate prints no translations of his own from the Greek (apart from a single couplet). Had he done so, it would have been interesting to see if an audience innocent of the classics could distinguish them from those with Latin originals.

³ Cf. J. A. K. Thomson, 'Some Thoughts on Translation' in *The Greek Tradition*: 'The translator's language, if it is to be English poetry at all, will be fuller, more coloured, more personal in the turn of its expression than the Greek.' A review, 'The Art of Translation,' in *Times Lit. Supp.*, February 16, 1922, applies similar principles to the translation of oratorical prose.

¹ If the confused meanings of this word could be sifted the controversy might prove more fruitful. J. Middleton Murry in *The Problem of Style* (1922) has some useful suggestions in the same field of enquiry.

Mr. Rhoades 947, and Dryden 1065. If Mr. Rhoades' measure be the just one (I am not saying that it is), then Dryden's will be unfaithful to Virgil by excess, and Mr. Billson's by defect. For all three to be faithful is obviously impossible.¹ It might be added that 'science' would require of Mr. Rhoades more frequent pauses at the end of the line. Lines with a heavy final pause in Virgil average about 1 in 3, saving his verse from 'rhetorical confusion';¹ but Mr. Rhoades has adopted quasi-Prospective principles in modelling his style, not of Virgil, but on the blank verse of Milton and Cowper. Milton is capable of 38 lines at a stretch without such a pause, but his average interval (P.L. Bk. 1) is 8. Mr. Rhoades' average interval in Book 1 is about 5, and on one page he has successive intervals of 17. Perhaps he will mend these breaches with science in a fourth edition, if an enlightened public insists on measuring poetry yard for yard. His present edition has profited by the insight of Warde-Fowler in Book 8, and is slightly revised elsewhere.

The enlightenment of the public is certainly overdue. What is to be thought when Sir R. Allison writes, 'Hard it is indeed to put into our more diffuse English the closely finished lines of the Greek epigrammatists,' and Dr. Leaf, prefacing translations from the same work, finds that 'English, measured by syllables, the only applicable test, is more concise than Greek?' Fortunately Professor Postgate and Dr. Leaf are agreed; and there seems no doubt that *Ad amussim* principles are justified; they are, in fact, vital to the choice of a metre, if the translator is to avoid both omission and padding. Sir R. Allison has often avoided diffuseness, thus confuting his preconceptions. But in translating 59 syllables of Mnasalchas (Mackail iii. 5) he takes 64 to Dr. Leaf's 40. Here his padding is certainly worse than Dr. Leaf's omissions. And in M. vi. 26 (Leonidas of Tarentum) he sins grievously both ways, but still exceeds Dr. Leaf by 7.

There is, moreover, an Art of Pad-

ding. Contrast the two renderings of Tymnes (M. xi. 19):

Thou dost not lie
Where Nile's great waters flow (A),

as against

Far away from Nile and home (L).

Dr. Leaf's pad barely shows. Both in Science and Art he has a long advantage which may perhaps be epitomised by comparing his

Go, stranger, tell the Spartans that we rest
Hereunder, still obeying their behest,
with

Go tell the Spartans, stranger, here we lie
Content at this their bidding thus to die.

Sir Robert does not improve his position by adding, 'Ruskin says of this "the noblest group of words ever uttered by man."' Elsewhere, too, he has missed the point or mistranslated—e.g., Nos. LXX. and LXXIV. (M. i. 2, i. 9), and 'innocent rhymes' such as 'die' and 'lie,' which occurs three times on the first two pages, are too often his undoing. Both translators have vindicated their choice of a variety of metres, but Dr. Leaf has a wider range, and his rhymes do what is expected of them in saving the unpretentious Greek from baldness in English. At his best he has a lyrical quality that 'science' cannot wholly explain—notably in his translations of Meleager. To pick out any of these for quotation would be to slight the rest.

Mr. G. M. Cookson spares the reader a preface. He has also spared to say what texts he has followed; but it should be added at once that in emended passages his faithfulness usually reveals the guide and his poetry lends a specious support to the emendation—e.g., *Supp.* 646, ed. Tucker:

And, where ancient men convene,
Let there not want within these walls
Bearded benchers of grave mien
Throned in old Cyclopiian stalls.

If a theory may be thrust upon him, he may be said to have followed a precept of Wilamowitz²—'to translate into German means to translate into the language and style of our great poets.' Shakespeare's blank verse (with

¹ Cf. S. E. Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse*, p. 58, § 23.

² 'Was ist Uebersetzen?' *Reden und Vorträge*² p. 12.

an occasional rhymed ending to a speech) serves him in dialogue; but in the choric parts one may detect also Milton, Coleridge, Macaulay's *Lays*, and, among other reminiscences, a touch of Clough and a sea-rhythm from Masefield. He has thus not sought out, and followed to his ruin, a single English analogue to Aeschylus,¹ but has marked a variety of spiritual kinships and turned them to his use. Great poets command such kin. Verbal reminiscences, of the kind Professor Postgate calls 'purpurei panni,' he seems to have avoided. Science would arraign him mainly for diffuseness—e.g., in *Supp.* 755-84 he takes 487 syllables to 279 of the Greek. An excess is not surprising; Aeschylus' metaphors have to be expanded, not to mention compounds and privative words; and rhymed English cannot imitate his mortarless masonry of epithets (cf. *l.c.* 771-3). But Morshead 'holes out' in 313. It is fairly clear that Mr. Cookson has wasted strokes in the 'rough' because he likes the flowers. Science must establish 'bogey' for the hole.

In his choice of choric metres Mr. Cookson is not consistent—e.g., dactylo-epitrites are variously rendered. If in this he has assumed no greater liberty than the translators of the *Anthology*, it is at least a pity that he has not effected a closer correspondence between strophe and antistrophe. But his poetry might charm even science to forgiveness; so, too, his careful use of archaisms, and a faculty of suggesting from time to time the *αὐστηρὰ σύνθεσις* of his author—e.g., *Supp.* 814f. *πολυαῖμων φόνιος ἀποκοπὰ κρατός*, 'hack heads off till blood spouts like rain.'

Whether 'science' would forgive him at *Sept.* 605f. is debateable; he translates:

Or, in a state where cynic policy
Goes the broad way of international crime,
And men forget the gods, there shall be found
One just man, who, though he hath done no
wrong,
Caught in the snare of his compatriot's guilt,
Falls, smitten with the chastisement of Heaven
That visiteth them all!

Has he failed 'to exorcise the spirit of his age'? If so, do the untranslatable *πόλις* and *ξένος* excuse him? Or

would he prefer to argue that the 'universal' element in all great poetry is as well worth emphasising as the differences of ancient and modern social structure and outlook? Would he, perhaps, agree with Sir T. H. Warren in saying 'The Romanticist finds Romanticism in the Classics, the Impressionist Impressionism, the Realist Realism'? or with Professor Postgate's comment, 'Here for "finds in" read "imports into" and all is plain'? However this may be, few translations will be read with greater pleasure—if one may risk so dangerous a commendation. The pleasure is important if Aeschylus is a better tonic for the age than Euripides.

Of the two translators of Homer, Mr. Locock has chosen 'free heroics,' and claims that 'foot for foot the length in English corresponds almost exactly with that of the Greek'. He has managed both metre and diction very skilfully. At the end of his book, flushed with the intelligence of Queen Anne's death, he prints 'What Pope might have written' followed by what Pope actually wrote; and also by a short passage after William Morris.

Mr. Ernle has taken a more arduous way. He must be familiar with Calverley's exposure of the so-called Classical metres in English, for he has (apparently) borrowed a metaphor.² But winged with Quantity, and with that Cap of Darkness upon his head which 'misplaces, muffles, or omits' the natural stresses, he takes flight undeterred. He feels it 'useless to argue' with those who deny the existence of Quantity in English. Would-be opponents must therefore content themselves with the reflection that it must at any rate be something different in kind from Quantity in the ancient tongues, owing to the different character of our syllabation;³ and if they are generous, and reflect also on the

² The 'trellis.' Cf. *On Metrical Translation*, sub. fin.

³ Croiset, *Hist. Lit. Grec.* 1., p. 22, compares *πε-ρι-ε-φε-ρε*, *cir-cum-fe-re-bat*. Professor Postgate *l.c.*, p. 86, points out that to a Roman the metrical effect of four closed syllables, as in the English *dis-in-her-it* (for *di-si-nhe-rit*), would have been — — —.

¹ Cf. Professor Postgate *op. cit.*, p. 62.

comparative rarity of 'short' syllables in English, which makes it so difficult to keep pace with Homer's dactyls, they will even condone Mr. Ernle's 'listen,' 'jūdgēs,' and 'sīngīng,' and cease to wonder what an ancient critic would have made of them. After all, 'what would Julius Caesar say at the other end of a telephone?'

Mr. Ernle's motive, to naturalise the hexameter, is beyond praise; but his method is dubious. He attempts to correct the monotony of the purely accentual type by arranging that, as in blank verse, the natural stresses and the metrical beats shall not always coincide—at least in the first three feet. This road, however, leads to prose. Hence he decides that his line shall remain 'in a sense accentual'; and at the same time Quantity shall be used in order to free the natural stresses from the metrical beats by 'strengthening the scansion-rhythm'—*i.e.*, the rhythm into which a line is forced when the reader 'tests its correctness' by 'scanning.' But does this really help? It is true that when Mr. Ernle writes:

Nobody owns any arms that fit me that I am
aware of,
Though Ajax, the son of Telamon, might lend
me a buckler;¹

the quantities of '-ax' and 'of' show the doubtful reader how the second line may be read (in 'a forced and unnatural manner') as a hexameter. The 'test of correctness' can be applied; but the ear has still to pass judgment—and unfortunately it seems to decide that the natural stresses do not sufficiently coincide with the metrical beats to distinguish the line from prose. It is instructive to apply Mr. Ernle's principles to an iambic verse. Thus in Tennyson's—

Arms on which the standing muscle sloped
As slopes a wild brook o'er a little stone,
Running too vehemently to break upon it,

Quantity should serve to turn the last line into the makings of a perfect Ernleian hexameter—

Rūnnīng / tōo vēhēm / ēntlĭ tō / brēak ūpōn / īt.
—Zēv! quid tum?

¹ 4. 178 f. = *Il.* xviii. 189 f.

Can this be the sense in which Aeschylus serves up 'fragments from Homer's banquet'?

But Mr. Ernle should be judged by his practice rather than his theory. In this passage he is at his best:

Were he to give fivefold or tenfold all that he
boasts of
Owning in his treasures or dreams hereafter
of owning;
Give me what Orchomenos contains, what
children of Egypt
Garner up in Thebae, where huge hoards
cumber the houses—
Thebes of a hundred gates, where ten score
fighters in armour
With chariots and horses abreast march out at
a gateway;
Were he to lay me treasures like stars in
number before me,
Numberless as sand-grains or dust, they should
not appease me.²

He has certainly banished the clumsiness of the purely accentual hexameter. His lines read almost as quickly as Homer's—far more quickly than Longfellow's. And their movement can be very light—*e.g.*,

We'll run against the rushing West-wind, most
nimble of all winds,³

or—

And Achileus made trial of all his glorious
armour,
Feeling if it fitted him, giving his limbs freedom
of action.
It fitted as the feathers fit a bird—it lifted him
upwards.⁴

But warned by the false conclusions drawn by Arnold from Dr. Hawtrey's fragment, no one will apply the principle 'ex pede Herculem' to these excerpts. It may be said, in fact, that one of the main objections to Mr. Ernle's hexameter is his inability to sustain a high level. At times he flaps indeterminately between verse and prose, writing not Quantitative Hexameters, but what, for want of a name, may be called 'struthocamelics'—*e.g.*, 'show yourself to the Trojans / that terrified to behold you the foe may waver an instant / thus affording a brief space for the Achaeon / army to get breath again. Few breathing spaces in

² 2. 373 f. = *Il.* ix. 379 f. 'Stars' are an unjustifiable 'embellishment.'

³ 5. 346 = *Il.* xix. 415.

⁴ 5. 315 f. = *Il.* xix. 386.

action!' ¹ His theory of Rhythm is partly to blame; and the requirements of Quantity seem to have affected the cast of the sentence.

Discounting struthocamelics, it may be asked how far is his movement Homeric? Monosyllables are his chief impediment. He can use them with the effect English allows ²—*e.g.*,

Loudly the wave roar'd
Under her, as the galley's black bows crash'd
into the blue seas.³

or 'Hoisted a large sheep's chine and a fat goat's carcase athwart it,' but who would guess that the original lines run:

ἀμφὶ δὲ κύμα
στέρηρ πορφύρεον μεγάλ' ἵαχε νηὸς ἰούσης
and
ἐν δ' ἄρα νῶτον ἔθηκ' εἰὸς καὶ πόντος αἰγός . . . ?

And is 'Till the debt of bitter shame were paid back down to the last pang' ⁴ a great advance on 'Children's children rode on his knee and heard his great watch tick?' Not less un-Homeric than the monosyllables is his arrangement of Pauses. Lines with caesura at $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, marked by a break in the sense, are about twice as numerous as they should be. More serious is 'bu-

colic diaeresis,' similarly marked and preceded by a spondee—*e.g.*, 'Sent Agamemnon's army a foul plague, and the Achaeans. . . .' This occurs in 20 per cent. of his lines, and accentuates the monotony of their endings. It is difficult to say how near an approach Mr. Ernle has made to the best that English allows. The monosyllables, a lack of 'shorts,' of inflections, of compounds and other long words suitable to the hexameter (and particularly to the end of it)—all these things are against him. His only asset is the English indifference to hiatus. How far Quantity has interfered with his fidelity as a translator is a different question, but it may be said that its effects are not as obvious as might be expected. It has affected his diction, which succeeds, however, in maintaining a fairly even level.

One thing remains to say. By arranging Mr. Ernle's better lines, with slight alterations, as blank verse, anyone can feel the 'difference of spirit' ⁵ between iambic and hexameter that set him on his flight. This alone is sufficient to justify the hope that he will continue his experiments and find stronger wings. Διώκει ποταπὸν ὄρνιν.

T. F. HIGHAM.

¹ 4. 187 f. = *Il.* xviii. 198.

² *Cp.* on this subject Professor A. C. Clark's *Prose Rhythm in English*.

³ 1. 358 f. = *Il.* i. 479-82.

⁴ 2. 381 = *Il.* ix. 387.

⁵ *Cp.* on this subject H. M. Butler, *Some Leisure Hours of a Long Life*, p. vii: 'Each metre has a personality of its own.'

TWO FRAGMENTS OF VIRGIL WITH THE GREEK TRANSLATION.

OUR knowledge of the extent to which Latin letters were studied in the non-Latin-speaking provinces of Rome is so meagre that any Latin fragment found in those provinces assumes a peculiar interest. Two such fragments have recently come to my knowledge: one in the Rainer collection of the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna, the other in the Ambrosiana of Milan.¹ Both fragments come from Egypt, and both contain verses from the *Aeneid*, with the Greek translation opposite the Latin.

¹ Sincere thanks are due to Professor C. Wessely for permission to examine all the Latin fragments in the Rainer collection, and to Mgr. Gramatica, Prefect of the Ambrosiana, for permission to publish my find.

The Ambrosian fragment is palimpsest, the Virgilian verses (*Aen.* i. 588-594) lying buried under an Arabic text of hagiographic character. As the authorities of the Ambrosiana propose to publish an exhaustive study of the entire palimpsest (which seems of extraordinary interest), it will suffice here to state that the script of both the Latin and the Greek is in sloping uncials of perhaps the end of the fifth or of the beginning of the sixth century.²

² Facsimiles of similar writing may be seen in *Papiri greci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana), Vol. I., No. 6 (=Protoevangelium Iacobi), and Vol. I., No. 55 (=Index of the Digests).

In the first line of the fragment one reads easily: RESTITIT AENEAS. . . . ΠΙΕΤΗ: ΑΙΝΕΙΑC. . . . In the last line my hasty examination showed TUM SIC REGINAM. . . . ΤΟΤΕ ΟΤΤΩC ΒΑCΙΑ . . .

The Rainer fragment agrees with the Ambrosian in having the Latin text in the left column and the Greek in the right column. But it differs from it in that the verses of Virgil do not occupy a whole line, but are spread over several lines of uneven length, the Greek in each case corresponding exactly to the Latin. The fragment is manifestly a school vocabulary similar to the one from Oxyrhynchus¹ which is now preserved in the University Library of Cambridge.² And, like this fragment, it is written on rather coarse parchment in crudely shaped uncial characters of the early sixth century, and contains parts of lines 673-4 of Book V. of the *Aeneid*. The flesh side of the parchment is practically illegible. On the hair side it is still possible to read:

[	TAOY	]
INANEM	ΠΠΟΕ	
QUALUDO	MATAIAN	
INDUTUS	HC [	]
	[	

¹ Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyr. Papyri*, VIII., No. 1099.

² Add. MS. 5896. A vocabulary to Cicero's *Catil. II.*, similarly arranged, is found in another papyrus from Egypt, published in *Rylands Papyri*, No. 61. Have we not an analogously constructed biblical vocabulary in the famous Graeco-Latin MS. in the Bodleian, known as the Laudian Acts (Bodleian MS. Laud. Gr. 35)? Facsimiles in *Palaegr. Society*, Pl. 80.

The translation of INANEM suggests that the vocabulary was not of the highest order.

The soil of Egypt has produced very few literary fragments in Latin.³ We have bits of Virgil, Cicero, Sallust, Livy, and a rather good-sized fragment of the Epitome of Livy; some other historical scraps still unidentified; a Latin paraphrase of a Greek fable, as well as nineteen lines of a Latin translation of Babrius. In point of number texts of Virgil predominate.⁴ If the excavations up to date have yielded a harvest that is at all typical,⁵ then it would appear that Virgil held a high place in the Latin education of Egyptians, perhaps not unlike the place which he occupies in our own classical training. The Ambrosian and Rainer fragments are insignificant in themselves. Their importance lies in the testimony they bear.

E. A. LOWE.

³ See the excellent article by W. Schubart in *Klio* XIII. (1913), 27 ff. To the details which he gives on p. 37 must now be added *Oxyr. Pap.* XI., No. 1379 (Livy); *Amherst Pap.* No. 26 (Babrius).

⁴ See *Oxyr. Pap.* I., No. 31; VIII., No. 1098 and No. 1099; *Tebtunis Papyri*, II., p. 334 (a line from the *Georgics* (IV. 1-2) repeated six times, doubtless as an exercise in writing; *Papiri greci e latini* (Pub. Soc. Ital.), I., No. 21: these with the two fragments under discussion make a total of seven.

⁵ A full list of Latin fragments found in Egypt is given by Arthur Stein in *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Ägyptens unter römischer Herrschaft* (Stuttgart, 1915), pp. 207-210.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE BEACON PASSAGE IN THE AGAMEMNON.

IF we were to subject Aeschylus to a test in elementary geography, it would perhaps be unfair to cite the *Prometheus*; but the geography of the *Persae*, in so far as it affects the Aegean area, might fairly be called in evidence. Now the description of the route followed by the Persian army in its retreat shows that Aeschylus was not above committing a serious blunder in regard to the sequence of points along the coast of Macedon,¹

and there are other indications in the play that his knowledge of this region was somewhat vague.² It therefore surprises us to find him, in a passage of glowing poetry in the *Agamemnon*,³ carrying a system of fire-signals over the northern Aegean from the Dardanelles to central Greece by a route which conforms to two very prosaic conditions.

² If ll. 868-70 really refer to Thasos, Imbros, and Samothrace, the connexion of the last two with the Στρυμόνιον πέλαγος is not very obvious.

³ ll. 281-311.

¹ *Persae*, ll. 493-5.

It lies throughout in territory controlled, at the time when Aeschylus wrote, by the Athenian navy, avoiding the temptation of a circuit by Ossa or Pelion or Olympus to which the soaring imagination of the poet of the *Prometheus* might easily have succumbed. And it is admirably adapted for the purpose, being the very route which an Athenian naval commission would have chosen for a line of signalling stations connecting the Dardanelles with Athens. In view of recent criticism of the beacon story, the last statement will appear irresponsible. It requires proof; and its proof will involve a theory of the nature of the corruption in lines 286-289 of the text. We are concerned with the beacon-route only as far as Euboea; to carry a message thence to the Piraeus one station on Parnes would serve. The message in the *Agamemnon* was destined for Argos, and went by a different way.

The *Agamemnon* was produced in 458 B.C., at a date when the naval empire of Athens had been in existence for twenty years. The naval history of these twenty years is practically a blank, but a considerable proportion of the few events recorded point to Athenian activity in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. The motive of Athenian policy in those waters was clearly indicated by Demosthenes in 330 B.C. in well-known words:¹ ὁρῶν δ' (ὁ Φίλιππος) ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους . . . ἡξίου συμπολεμῆν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον—words which apply to the fifth century as well as to the fourth. For Herodotus, the capture of Sestus in 478 B.C. marked the end of the Persian War. The record of the naval expeditions of Cimon in 476 and 466 B.C. merely confirms the conclusion we should in any case draw, that the control of the Hellespont and the Bosphorus was from the first a matter of supreme moment to Athens. Long before the *Agamemnon* was presented, the coast of Macedon and Thrace from Methone eastwards, and all the islands in the northern Aegean, were under Athenian control.

That the fifth-century Greeks habitually used fire-signals, and even understood the art of 'jamming,' is clear from Herodotus and Thucydides.² The former tells us that Mardonius had planned to announce his second 'capture' of Athens to Xerxes at Sardis by a series of beacons along the islands.³ The commentators on Herodotus have compared this passage with the 'beacon passage' in the *Agamemnon*. Stein thought that Aeschylus may have got his idea from the story told of Mardonius; Macan suggests that Herodotus may have borrowed his idea from the *Agamemnon*. The story cannot be true, as Mardonius did not control the islands after Salamis. Its interest for us is that it shows Herodotus finding nothing odd in a project for transmitting news over the Aegean by fire-signals.

The importance of rapid communication between the Dardanelles and the arsenal at the Piraeus is obvious. Under favourable weather conditions, a message could be flashed to Athens in the sum of the times required to set half a dozen piles of brushwood ablaze. With a good wind, a ship could make the shore of the Peloponnese from Lampsacus in two days;⁴ news could be sent by beacon, under favourable conditions, in two hours. It is inconceivable that the head of a naval empire would dispense with such a convenient means of communication with the most important strategical point in its grasp, over a route lying entirely within its control. But it does not appear to have occurred to anyone that the route described in the *Agamemnon* was the actual route used by the Athenian navy.

The only recent commentator on the *Agamemnon* who has given serious consideration to the geography of the beacon passage is Verrall.⁵ Verrall's theory of the plot implies that the whole incident of the beacon was a fabrication of the conspirators; he attacks the

² Herod. VII. 182, IX. 3; Thuc. II. 94, III. 22, 80; cf. Soph. *Nauplius*, frag. 5. For 'jamming,' Thuc. III. 22, § 8.

³ IX. 3.

⁴ Xenophon, *Hell* II. 1, 30. The ship was a pirate, and therefore fast. Xenophon evidently regarded the time as a record.

⁵ Ed. of *Agamemnon*, p. xx.

¹ *De Corona*, § 87.

beacon story in lines 281-311 on two specific grounds. There was a storm in the Aegean that night; and the beacon route is physically impossible. With the storm we are not concerned; this argument affects the dramatic propriety of the beacon story, not the practicability of the route. Verrall wrote with Herodotus IX. 3 open before him; his second argument is that beacons sent by the route described in the *Agamemnon* would be useless in practice. The first two stages, he points out, are nearly 60 miles each; the third is nearly 100 (he should have said 110) miles. There is only one effective answer to this argument, and that is to show that fire-signals could be used, and were used, successfully over such distances. In such a case, an ounce of experience is worth a pound of meteorological speculation, and we are fortunately able to show that a system of fire-signals, covering an air-line of 290 miles in five stages, was in regular use in the Byzantine period. We are dealing here not with a form or a construction, but with a matter of practical experience, and a Byzantine parallel may be adduced without injury to anyone's feelings.

The evidence for this beacon-route will be found in Ramsay's *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 352, 187, 20 (in this order). For some time before the reign of the Emperor Michael (A.D. 842-57) a line of signalling stations, by which news of a Saracen invasion was transmitted to the capital, stretched from the fortress Loulon, at the northern end of the Cilician Gates Pass, to the palace at Constantinople. The number of stages, given with remarkable unanimity by four different writers, was eight. That two separate authorities have been used by these writers is made probable by the variant Olympus for Mamas in one of them. Other variations in the four accounts are mere matters of spelling or textual corruption; there is no variation in the number or order of the stations.

The stations are as follows :

1. Loulon.
2. Argaios hill (Aigeas hill.)
3. Isamos hill (Samos).

4. Aigilon (Aigialos).
5. Mamas (Mimas) or Olympus.
6. Kyrizos (Kirkos).
7. Mokil(l)os (Moukilos).
8. Hill of St. Auxentius.
9. Palace.

The first, second, seventh, eighth, and ninth of these stations have been identified. Argaios is the Hassan Dagh (or the lower peak, crowned with a Byzantine fortress at its south-western edge), and the first stage is about forty-five miles long. The Hill of St. Auxentius lay ten miles from Chalcedon. Mokilos is said by Constantine Porphyrogenitus to be ἐπάνω τῶν Πυλῶν, and Pylae was a town on the coast of Bithynia to the south of the Gulf of Ismid. We accordingly place Mokilos where we should expect to find the next station to St. Auxentius, on the high ridge which runs parallel to the Gulf of Ismid, and probably near the Libum of the Jerusalem Itinerary. From St. Auxentius to Mokilos the distance is about forty miles. The stations between Mokilos and Argaios, a distance as the crow flies of 290 miles, cannot at present be identified; we can only say that the stages over this stretch had an average length of just under sixty miles.

What was possible for the Byzantine Greeks was obviously possible for the contemporaries of Aeschylus. We have shown that a system of fire-signals, with stages of sixty miles, was practicable and actually in use.

No one, however, will be prepared to dispute that Verrall was right in rejecting the stage from Athos to Euboea. The superlative form Makistos must be the name of the highest peak in Euboea, and the distance from Mount Athos to Mount Dirphys in Euboea is approximately 110 miles, or nearly twice the average length of the stages in the Byzantine system. We feel that there is something wrong here, and when we refer to the text of the play we find that, by almost universal consent, there is a break in the construction, and probably a lacuna, in the passage describing the progress of the signal from Mount Athos to Euboea.

Now the Athenian seamen would find no difficulty in signalling from Sigeum

(that is probably all that 'Ida' means) to Lemnos and from Lemnos to Athos. But, being practical men, they would be unlikely to attempt to signal from Athos to Dirphys (even if the thing were practically possible) with a group of islands, under their sway, lying a little more than midway between. Attempts to restore lines 286-289 of the *Agamemnon* have used every sign-post that the MS. text affords, and failed. Is there a better chance of success if we use the hitherto neglected sign-post of the geographical situation, and invoke the assistance of the island of Icus or Polyaegus?

By the brave spirits who have sought to defend the text as it stands, much has been made of *τε* (rather than *δέ*) in line 286.¹ This detail merely emphasises the breathless haste of the beacon; the first pause after line 284 comes with *Μακίστου σκοπαῖς*. The scholium to line 287 *μεγίστη πύκη ἰσχύς πυρός* is evidence that the corruption was earlier than the scholiast; this note was written by a man who took *πύκη* to be in apposition to *ἰσχύς*, and who explained *ἰσχύς λαμπάδος* on the analogy of *ἰς ἀνέμοιο* or *Ἀγαμέμνονος βία*. H. L. Ahrens' *πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι ἰχθῦς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν* was but a will-o'-the-wisp flung over the waters, to be followed by Professor Gilbert Murray² and the little fishes. No one who has seen the distant lamp of the Aegean fisherman, apparently stationary on the surface of the sea, can believe that Aeschylus would have used this image, even if he had conceived the actual beacon-fire as travelling.³ This alluring conceit carries

neither us nor the beacon a step forward. Lawson's *ἐπεύκτο* (for *πύκη τὸ*)⁴ is neat palaeographically, and the syntax of *ἐπεύκτο . . . παραγγείλασα* is paralleled (as Professor Harrower points out to me) by *μή ποτε ἐκφυγὸν ἐπεύξεται* in Plato *Soph.* 235 c., which Stallbaum translates *non unquam gloria-bitur se effugisse*. But the result is to make nonsense of *ὥς τις ἥλιος*. No beacon, *εἰ φωνὴν λάβοι*, would say *παρήγγειλα σέλας ὥς τις ἥλιος*. The phrase *ὥς τις ἥλιος* is obviously the poet's comparison, just as it was the image used by St. Chrysostom to describe the journey of Ignatius from Antioch to his martyrdom in Rome—*καθάπερ ἥλιός τις ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνίσχων καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν τρέχων* (*Or.* II., p. 598, ed. Bened.). Koch's *ἐπέεστο* and Sidgwick's *ἐπᾶλτο* share with *ἐπεύκτο* the merit of absorbing the suspicious article before *χρυσοφεγγές*; but they, like Enger's *πέμπει* (for *πύκη*), lie under the disadvantage that they imply a 'modal' or 'explanatory' use of *παραγγείλασα*. In a cursory survey of the use of the aorist participle (occurring in agreement with the subject or object of a verb) in the *Agamemnon*, I have counted a round hundred of instances of the normal temporal sequence; there are five or six fairly certain cases of modal or explanatory attachment.⁵ To assume this unusual relation in the restoration of a corrupt passage is about as convincing as to bet one to twenty that you are right. In a passage where the time-sequence is so important and so clearly marked, the odds against a modal relation between *παραγγείλασα* and its principal verb are even heavier. We are at least entitled to claim that there should be no coquetting with this relation until the ordinary temporal

fore presumably distinct from it, which brought a message to Argos.

As regards the suggestion *ἰχθῦς*, I am aware that even Mr. W. R. Paton (*Class. Rev.* XXXV., p. 107) agreed with Ahrens and Professor Murray; but he destroyed his case and theirs by (most appositely) comparing the use of lamps by poachers on salmon rivers in Scotland.

⁴ *Class. Rev.* XXXV., p. 287.

⁵ On this use of the aorist participle, see above all Platt in *Jour. Phil.* LXIX., p. 128 ff.

¹ See Verrall *ad loc.*

² In his translation of the *Agamemnon*.

³ The image of *one and the same fire*, 'conducted along the beacon chain' from Ida to the roof of the Atreidae, may be good poetry and (if we follow Mr. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, p. 149) even better ethics. But it is post-Aeschylean. The poet himself insists, in the plainest language, that what he is conducting from Ida to Argos is not fire, but *light*. See the text. 'Allusive' interpretation has been allowed wide scope of late; the least it can do in return is to play its entertaining game according to its own rules, or at the worst explain what the *fire* of retributive Justice has to do with the *light* (*φῶς* of all things!), lineally descended from Idaean fire, and there-

relation has been rejected as unsuitable. A satisfactory restoration of this passage should make the bonfire do or suffer something *after* it has passed on the message to Makistos. Wecklein's appendix shows that others before Mr. Lawson had felt the difficulty of the aorist παραγγείλασα, and emended it. But if we do not accept line 289 as written by Aeschylus, we may as well scrap the *Agamemnon*.

The geographical facts show that a station has dropped out between lines 285 and 289. Grammar indicates that a line stood between lines 287 and 288. A satisfactory restoration must (a) reintroduce the lost station, (b) leave the surviving text as it stands,¹ (c) provide ισχύς with a verb which carries the signal to the lost station, (d) furnish παραγγείλασα with a principal verb to which it stands in the ordinary temporal relation, (e) justify the article before χρυσοφεγγές.

The actual island or peak most suitable for a station can only be determined by a visit to the spot, and even then we should find uncertainty

¹ With or without the change to σκοπαίς in l. 289, which I prefer, and with reserves regarding ἡδονήν.

in regard to the ancient names. To construct a line *exempli gratia* any doggerel will serve. I select Icus as the station,² and borrow a pair of verbs from Aeschylus (one of unknown provenance).³ It is, however, possible that the corruption extends to ἡδονήν in line 287, and that this word conceals the name of the station between Athos and Euboea.⁴ It is possible, also, that a passage of more than one line, including the Hesychian προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα, has disappeared at this point.

ὑπερτέλης τε, πόντον ὥστε νωτῖσαι,
ισχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν
< Ἴκω προσῆξεν, ἔνθεν οὐρανίζετο >
πεύκη, τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὥς τις ἥλιος,
σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπαίς.

' . . . sped joyously (?) to Icus, whence the pine-glare soared to heaven, but not until it had passed on its beam of radiant gold to Makistos' watch.'

W. M. CALDER.

² That Icus was scanned as a trochee is shown by the fragment of Callimachus in *Ox. Pap.* XI., No. 1362, ll. 8 and 24; but see note *ad loc.*

³ Frag. 391 (Dindorf), from Photius.

⁴ Or is πρὸς ἡδονήν a gloss on, or an attempt to restore metre to πρὸς χαράν, the residue by haplography of ΠΡΟΣΕΞΑΠΑΝ ('Ἴκον)?

MR. LOBEL AND LYRA GRAECA: A REJOINDER.¹

THE first detailed attempt to criticise my work in restoring² fragmentary Greek texts seems to me so misleading that I publish a reply to it. My view has always been that more can be got out of these fragments than is generally believed if only people with plenty of time will go carefully and patiently to work; and it does not greatly matter who does this restoration as long as it is done. But it is necessary to have a certain equipment, temperamental as other; and, unfortunately, the imaginative temperament which a man needs to enable him to look beyond what was said to what might have been said, is just the temperament which is apt to mislead the judgment. All one can do is to check one's results as far as may

be,³ publish them as tentative, and hope that someone else will improve upon them. Readers of this *Review* know that I have indicated this attitude to them; and now both generally in my preface, and in particular cases by footnotes or otherwise in my text, I have warned the reader that many such readings are uncertain, and that all based only upon photographs need corroboration. So it is a pity that, of the two pieces which Mr. Lobel chooses for special comment, the first (*Sa.* 84) is one of those marked 'e.g.' as being particularly hazardous; and it is also a pity that, not content with suggesting incorrectly that my photograph was taken before the reagent was applied,

¹ See *C.R.* 1922, p. 120.

² This word is convenient, but of course inaccurate.

³ Most, if not all, of my 'tracings' have been done at least twice, in many cases at an interval of years.

he has suppressed my supplements on the left of the fragment, thus preventing any consideration of my work as a whole. Whether '*exempli gratia* restorations' should be printed is a matter of opinion, and I do not suppose that Mr. Lobel intends to quarrel with me for agreeing with Jebb,¹ Wilamowitz,² and the editors of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*³ that they should. What he does object to is, apparently, my use of photographs and my presumption in trying to improve on the work of 'expert decipherers.' I know, none better, the danger of relying on facsimiles, but I also know, in common, I imagine, with every palaeographer, that at any rate in vellum MSS.⁴ the camera can often see more than the eye; and it is only circumstances arising out of the war which have in certain cases prevented my using, as I should like to do, photographs and originals side by side. With regard to expert decipherers of doubtful 'traces,' my experience is that, like emendators of medieval texts who think first of the *ductus litterarum*,⁵ they sometimes concentrate too exclusively on the traces, instead of thinking first what the author is, so to speak, wanting to tell us, and then trying one way of expressing it after another till they hit on a way, or the way, which will account for what is there. This mistaken procedure, which often results in a reading which no scholar with any literary feeling can possibly accept, has apparently been used in certain passages of Alcman's *Partheneion*. Sometimes, again, one simply has the luck to hit on the clue where the experts had not. My friend Professor Hunt will forgive me for taking as my instance the palimpsest *sillybos* attached to *Oxy. Pap.* 1091, part of Bacch. 16. Here, before consulting the *Oxyrhynchus* volume, I read (and

Mr. H. I. Bell confirms it) beneath the words *Βακχυλίδου | διθυραμβοι*, where the editors see 'portions of three lines apparently hexameters,' *Ἀντηγόριδαι ἢ | ἦ (?) Ἑλένης ἀπαίτη- | σις*, which is the title of the first Dithyramb, doubtless written here by mistake for the title of the book. The application of the parable is obvious.

In *Sa.* 46 new evidence has been found by Mr. Lobel himself. But the event after which he is so wise is not so important to my restorations as might be supposed. Here, as it has done in Sappho's *Nereid-Ode*, his skill⁶ will enable me, I hope, to improve my restoration; but it does not invalidate my restorations *en masse*. For the 'tracing test,' as I have often pointed out, necessarily cannot apply to a gap which is without limit on the right. In the only place where Mr. Lobel disputes my filling of a gap that is limited at both ends (l. 18 of my fr. 36), he omits to mention that either a wide N, like that in the same part of l. 10, or, on the analogy of the high point in l. 18, an elision-mark after an average-sized N, would account for the extra space, and derides me for conjecturing the existence, as an ordinary noun, of a word quoted as a proper name—this in a *locus conclamatus* where the only justification of such disparagement would be the suggestion of an alternative accounting for all the facts. *Οὐδ' ἐν Τριβαλλοῖς ταῦτά γ' ἐστὶν ἔννομα*.⁷ And in any case, though it may be wrong, it is hardly ridiculous to suppose *Κύννα* to have once been the Lesbian feminine of *κύνων*.

Which brings me to the Aeolic dialect and metre. Here Mr. Lobel's remarks on morphology, in spite of their tone—*εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ τοῖς βαρβάροις διαλεγόμενοι λαιδορεῖν ἢ καταρᾶσθαι*⁸—must be intended as a challenge, and if I had not exhausted the space allowed me I should take them in detail. I must content myself with referring to Hoffmann's *Griechische*

¹ See his *Bacchylides*, *passim*.

² *E.g. Sappho und Simonides*, p. 49.

³ *E.g.* 1231.

⁴ It is possible, I think, that *Hibeh Papyrus* 17 might be more easily read in a photograph taken with a 'panchromatic' plate.

⁵ Cf. Professor Housman, *Proc. Class. Assoc.*, 1921, p. 77: 'There is one foolish sort of conjecture. . . . The practice is, if you have persuaded yourself that a text is corrupt, to alter a letter or two and see what happens.'

⁶ *ναβαισαρρεῖ*.

⁷ *Alexis*, 2. 385K; his own suggestion accounts for three words out of two and a half lines at the cost of an unlikely elision.

⁸ Schol. on the Triballian episode *Ar. Av.* 1629.

*Dialekte*¹ and saying that of Mr. Lobel's seventeen non-Aeolic forms and usages two (τύ, εἶς) have MS and Grammarian² authority, and five (προτί, κεῖ ἐποίησας, τέ, ἔγων, φαῖος) have MS. or Grammarian authority; three (ὦν, ἤλγει, ταῖρητον) may be explained as Atticisations,³ and four (ποίησαι, γάν, ὄργον, ἀλλόμαν) on the analogy of other Lesbian words; one (κάλα, or, as we should more probably write it, κάλλα) may be paralleled from the Aeolic element in Alcmæon, one (ἄνευ ἀρέτας) from the Aeolic element in Homer; and the remaining one (πώνεμεν) finds Lesbian parallels by the addition of an elision-mark.⁴ With regard to vocabulary it should be enough to say *pace* Plat. *Prot.* 341c that Sappho and Alcaeus spoke Greek as well as Lesbian, but I would add that of the first thirty-two words of Pindar's first Paean, pub-

lished in 1908, two are not found in Liddell and Scott, one occurs elsewhere only in Hesychius, another only in Aristides, and a fifth nowhere else in Pindar; and at that time we possessed of Pindar forty-five complete Epinician Odes and over 200 fragments. Of the metre of *Sa.* 82 I must here content myself with saying that my suggestions will not appear ridiculous to anyone who will take the trouble to study the new evidence—e.g. Alc. 70. A last word on the 'tracing-test'; for Mr. Lobel is evidently unaware of the gross carelessness that has been shown in the past by restorers of mutilated fragments. I take as my instance Bacchylides in the text of Jebb. Out of 160 passages—roughly—where the test can be applied, in over forty the suggestion of Jebb or his authority is demonstrably wrong.⁵ Readers of *Lyra Graeca* will at least know that the letters suggested for filling a gap could have been there.⁶

J. M. EDMONDS.

¹ Some of Hoffman's conclusions have been proved wrong by later discoveries, but as a collection of the evidence available in 1893 his book has never been superseded.

² Note that Johannes Grammaticus' *περὶ Αἰολίδος* ends with the words *κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῇ Ἀλκαῖος καὶ Σαπφώ*.

³ Such as occur in the same MSS.

⁴ Though this is hardly necessary in view of Thessalian and Homeric parallels; cf. *ἑσκέραμεν*, Alc. 156. 1, which escaped Mr. Lobel.

⁵ The list, one of the results of six weeks' study of the Bacchylides Papyri, is before me as I write—e.g. [σῖνον]το, 3. 5 (so also Süss in the Teubner text) should certainly be [ῖεν]το.

⁶ A more detailed reply will be printed in the *Proc. Camb. Philol. Soc.*

WHEN WAS THEMISTOCLES OSTRACISED?

NOT before 474 and not later than 470. This is the limit of agreement among modern scholars. But the question appears capable of a more definite answer.

First of all we must renounce the use of certain pieces of evidence which merely leave us where we were before.

(1) Cicero, *De Amicitia*, § 42: '(Themistocles) . . . fecit idem quod XX. annis antea apud nos fecerat Coriolanus.' Since Coriolanus was banished and fled from Rome in 491, it has been inferred from this passage that the banishment and flight of Themistocles took place in 471, and that his ostracism therefore was previous to that year.

This reasoning would hold good if we had the assurance that Cicero was using exact figures. But in the present context he had no need to be accurate to the very year. We therefore have no right to assume that he was not dealing in round numbers, and we must not press his evidence to the point of extracting a precise date from it.

(2) Cornelius Nepos, *Vita Aristidis*, ch. 3: 'decessit (Aristides) fere post annum quartum

quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus.' (3) Plutarch, *Aristeides*, ch. 3: 'ὄθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν εἰς Ἀμφιάραον ὑπὸ Δισχύλου πεποιημένων ἱαμβείων ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ λεγομένων οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει, κ.τ.λ., πάντες ἀπέβλεψαν εἰς Ἀριστείδην.'

The latter passage implies that Aristeides was still alive in 467, when the *Seven against Thebes*, from which the iambs in question were taken, was produced. By combining it with the extract from Nepos some modern historians have inferred that Themistocles was ostracised in 471,¹ others that he was impeached and fled in that year, and therefore suffered ostracism at some previous date.² But this procedure begs a whole string of questions:

- (i.) Does 'expulsus' refer to Themistocles' ostracism, or to his flight?
- (ii.) Does 'post annum quartum' imply an interval of four years or of three?

¹ Carcopino, *Histoire de l'Ostracisme athénien*, p. 196 ff.

² Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. iii., p. 112, n. 2.

(iii.) Can Plutarch's anecdote be regarded as historical, or is it not rather one of the numerous tiresome stories that were invented to illustrate the Just-ness of Aristides? And in the latter case can we infer that at any rate Aristides must have been alive in 467, or must we not rather surrender even this piece of evidence?

(iv.) Assuming that Aristides was alive in 467, are we entitled to infer that this was the year of his death?

Any conclusion drawn from the combination of Nepos and Plutarch can only be a house-that-Jack-built of hypotheses.

But after discarding all the ambiguous passages we still have two pieces of evidence which should suffice to settle the date of the ostracism:

1. The *Persae* of Aeschylus. It is generally admitted that this play was written *ad maiorem Themistoclis gloriam*: only on this assumption can the selection of a theme from recent history, instead of the usual mythological subjects, and the emphasis which the poet laid on Themistocles' message to Xerxes as the decisive stroke of the Persian Wars, be explained. On what occasion did Aeschylus pay this very pointed compliment to Themistocles? Not until after his ostracism, say some scholars.¹ Yet surely the most suitable moment for Aeschylus' excursion into political propaganda was when Themistocles stood within danger of ostracism but had not as yet succumbed to that danger: to be of any use, a *laudatio* should be uttered while the trial is in process, not after sentence has been passed. Now the *Persae* was produced in March 472. It follows that the *earliest* occasion on which Themistocles can have been ostracised was March-April 472—i.e., the eighth prytany of the archon-year 473-2.

2. Diodorus XI. 54. In this chapter Diodorus narrates under the archon-year 471-0 the whole story of Themistocles' decline and fall. All modern historians are agreed that the events of several years have here been telescoped into a twelvemonth, but they are at issue on the question whether the event to be pegged down on

471-0 is the ostracism of Themistocles² or his impeachment.³

The crux of the problem is *whether the impeachment or the ostracism would be the more likely to be recorded in a document bearing the date 471-0*. Now this problem is capable of a definite solution. Not only do we have actual knowledge of the dates of a large number of ostracisms,⁴ but we can infer from the very nature and purpose of ostracism that *every* record of such a transaction *must* have been dated. A sentence of ostracism always carried with it an instruction to the Athenian magistrates not to allow the ostracised person to set foot 'ἐντὸς Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Σκυλλαίου' within the space of ten years. But such an instruction would be perfectly useless unless the *terminus a quo* from which the sentence ran was explicitly stated. A document setting forth a decree of ostracism therefore simply could not help being a dated document.

Conversely a sentence of death or perpetual exile did not require any notification beyond the bare fact of the sentence having been passed; and although it is probable that an official record of Themistocles' impeachment was preserved in a ψήφισμα instituting proceedings against him,⁵ and on the στήλη προδοτῶν, on which his name no doubt was engraved, there is no reason for supposing that either of these documents bore a date.⁶

Everything points to the conclusion that Diodorus' ultimate source (presumably an Ἀρθίς) had easier means of finding the exact date of the ostracism than of the impeachment. We may therefore assume with some confidence that Diodorus' base-line 471-0 was derived from the former, not from the latter event. As the statutory time for inflicting ostracisms was the eighth prytany, the date of Themistocles' ostracism works out at March-April 470. M. CARY.

² So Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III. p. 519, and Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (second edition) II. 2., p. 180-9.

³ Busolt and Carcopino, *op. cit.*

⁴ See the list in Aristotle, Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, ch. 22.

⁵ Busolt, *loc. cit.*

⁶ The earliest Attic decrees in Hicks and Hill's collection to bear an archon-date are the treaties with Rhegium and Leontini, contracted in 433-2 (Nos. 51 and 52).

¹ Busolt, *loc. cit.*; and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen*, I. 143.

AESCHYLUS, *SUPPLICES*, 1012-3.

MAY another be added to the innumerable suggestions which have been made to make sense of two lines in Aeschylus *Supplices*? They are printed in Wecklein as follows:

καρπώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις
καλῶρα κωλύουσιν θυσμένειν ἐρῶ.

The idea seems to be that Cypris is crying 'Cherry ripe' and exposing ripe fruit to the public view. If so, the first line may perhaps be allowed to stand as it is despite possible objections, including Headlam's. The second line is the chief difficulty. If we take Headlam's conjecture (made in the footnote to his prose translation) for the latter half of the line—

ἀνεφωγμέν' ἱμέρῳ—we appear to be left next with a participle agreeing with Κύπρις. What is the verb? May not κωλύουσ' conceal ὀκωχεύουσ'? For ὀκωχεύειν see Sophocles, *Fr.* 327, and consult Pearson's commentary; it means to bear up, hold up, and seems to supply the sense which is here wanted. Finally, there remains καλῶρ' to be disposed of; it has long been suggested that ἔλωρα should be substituted; or, perhaps, κάλωρος, though not found elsewhere, might be allowed to pass as a possible adjective; cf. πάνωρος in this same play. Translate:

'Ripe dropping fruits the Cyprian proclaims
Holding their beauty [or the booty] open to
desire.'

C. W. BRODRIBB.

TWO NOTES ON THE *AGAMEMNON*.

1. ll. 494-5:

μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις
πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διγῖλα κόνις τάδε . . .

When a Greek runs, he sweats, and is quite frank about it. Walter Headlam has shown that the dust [on the herald's body] is a stock indication of speed, and quotes Lucian I. 623: οὐχ ὁραῖς δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν αὐτὸν ἰδρῶτι βέβηκον καὶ τῷ πύδε κεκοιμημένον καὶ πνευστιῶντα; μεστὸν γοῦν ἀσθματος αὐτῷ τὸ στόμα. τί ταῦτα, ὦ Ἑρμῆ, ἡ σπονδῇ; the same passage gives a hint of the meaning of πηλοῦ ξύνουρος. The dust is thirsty, and absorbs the sweat, forming borders of mud. Translate, 'Yon dust, fraternally fringed with mud, is my witness to this. . . .'. The picture, as usual with Aeschylus, is taken from life.

2. l. 1655. A suggestion communicated to me by the late F. W. Haskins, of Trinity College, Cambridge, deserves record. After all the bloodletting in the play, the MS. μηδὲν ἡματώμεθα, cure it as you will, is startling, even on the lips of Clytaemnestra. Haskins proposed ΜΗΔΕΝΑΛΛΑΤΩΜΕΘΑ, understanding that ἡματώμεθα was an attempt at correction after the two lambdas had coalesced into M.

W. M. CALDER.

ARISTOPHANES, *ECCLES*. 51-2.

καὶ τὴν Φιλοδωρήτην τε καὶ Χαιρητάδου
ὁρῶ προσιούσας καὶ ἐτέρας πολλὰς πάνν, κτλ.

'POST alterum καὶ articulus τὴν neglegentius est omissus,'—van Leeuwen. But the omission of the article in such cases is a common negligence. What is peculiar here is the position of τε. If the passages adduced by Blaydes *ad loc.* (to illustrate the omission of τὴν) are examined, it will be seen that they are of two kinds: (1) e.g. Lucian, *D.D.* 20. 12 τὴν Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Λυδίαν, *Nigr.* 31 τὸ ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις τε καὶ κωμωδίαις λεγόμενον, Plat. *Lys.* 206E ἐν τοῖς παῖσι τε καὶ νεανίσκοις; and (2) Plat. *Apol.* 19B ζητῶν τά τε ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ οὐράνῃα, Aeschin. *c. Ctes.* 91 τηλικαῦται δυνάμεις . . . ἢ τε Φιλίππου καὶ Θηβαίων. In the first class the two things are combined to form one concept ('the country comprising Phrygia and Lydia,' 'the theatre,' etc.), in the second they are kept distinct. It is the position of τε which makes the difference. Aeschines could not have said ἡ Φ. τε καὶ Θ.; and so Plat. *Lys.* 206D ἀναμειγυμένοι ἐν ταῦτῳ εἰσιν οἱ τε νεανίσκοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες, though doubtless the repetition of the article here helps the distinction. Similarly Sophocles could say, *El.* 991, καὶ τῷ λέγοντι καὶ κλύοντι σύμμαχος, but not τῷ λ. τε καὶ κλ. In Thuc. VII. 56. 4 τοῦ ξίμπαντος ὄχλου τοῦ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων τε πόλιν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων (ξυνελθόντος), the position of πόλιν justifies the singular, while the position of τε shows that Athens and Sparta are to be regarded as forming one concept—the protagonists of the Peloponnesian war.

In this passage of the *Ecclesiazusae*, if the two women are seen separately, one expects τὴν τε Φ. καὶ X. or καὶ τὴν Φ. καὶ X.; if together—

say approaching arm in arm—τῷ Φ. τε καὶ X. Hence Meineke's conjecture γε (adopted by van Leeuwen). But it would perhaps be a neater conjecture to read προσιούσαν in l. 52, and to suppose only one woman is seen. A joke has been made at the expense of the last two women who have entered the scene, and another will not be out of place. We may imagine a well-known rumour of a *ménage à trois* or a single act of adultery condoned.

A. W. GOMME.

EURIPIDES' *HELENA*.

122. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὅσσοις εἰδόμεν καὶ νοῦς ὁρᾷ.

? ὅσσοις εἰδόμεν, ἃ νῦν σ' ὁρᾷ. ὁρᾷ would assist the corruption of νῦν σ' to νοῦς, with consequent substitution of καὶ for ἃ.

284. τῷ τοῦ Διὸς δὲ λεγομένῳ Διοσκώρῳ . . .

? Διοσκώρῳ: the name would naturally arise in the copyist's mind. Cf. 1643, 1664.

296-7. ἀλλ' ὅταν πόσις πικρὸς | ξυνῇ γυναικί, καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἐστὶν πικρόν.

? καὶ τὸ σῶν εἶναι πικρόν: 'Living with a man one hates makes security itself hateful.' QM misread as QM would lead to ἐστὶν for εἶναι.

302. σμικρόν δ' ὁ καιρὸς ἄρτ' ἀπαλλάξει βλον.

? ἀκρὸς δ' ὁ κ. ἀρ' ἀπ. β.: 'Ripe of a truth is the opportunity to be rid of life: such is the depth of woes whereinto we are fallen.' For ἀρα cf. Phoen. 1675, *Andromache* 1114, *Soph.* *Ai.* 738.

325-6. τάληθ' ἡ φράσαι

ἔχουσ' ἐν οἴκοις τοῖσδε, τί βλέπεις πρόσω; ? ἡ 'χου' . . .: 'She that can tell thee the truth,' etc.

364-5. πολὺ δὲ δάκρυον, ἀχρὰ τ' ἀχρεῖ,

δάκρυα δάκρυσιν ἔλαβε πάθεα. ? κρύα κρύεσι, βλάβεα, πάθεα: δακρύα (from 364) being the intermediate stage of corruption.

389. ἐν θεοῖς λιπεῖν βλον.

ἐν θεοῖς looks like a corruption due somehow to ἐς θεοὺς in 388. ? ἥθεος λ. β.: cf. πρὶν γεννηῆσαι, 390.

607. λιποῦσα σεμνὸν ἄντρον οὐ σφ' ἐσώζομεν.

But the cave was not sacred, for all we are told. ? σεμνῶς, an error of assimilated terminations.

818. ἐρεῖ δὲ τίς μ' οὐ γνῶσεν? ὅς (or γνῶσεται ὅς) εἰμ' ἐγώ, MSS.

? ἐρεῖ δὲ τίς; ποῦ γνῶσεται δ' (or perhaps μ') ὅς, κ.τ.λ. ποῦ = 'how': *Iph. Aul.* 406, *Orest.* 802. Deferred δὲ has caused trouble in 688, 1125, and 1150 in this play.

936. καὶ μὲν θανὼν δδ' ἐν πυρῇ κατεσφάγη . . .

? κατεφλέγη: ΦΛΕΓΗ misread as ΦΑΓΗ.

961. λέξω τάδ' ἀμφὶ μῆμα σου πατρὸς πόθω.

? Read πολὺν for πόθω: cf. *Orest.* 1271 and *Alcest.* 29.

1051. εἰ δὲ κερδανῶ λέγειν

ἔτοιμός εἰμι μὴ θανὼν λόγῳ θανεῖν.

? κερδανεῖ λέγειν: 'If the report shall reap any profit.' For substantival infinitive without article, cf. *Alcest.* 782, *Aesch. Ag.* 584, *Goodwin M.T.* 745: corruption through misunderstood construction and assimilation to εἰμι in next line.

1353. ὦν οὐ θέμεις <σ> οὐδ' ὅσα
ἐπέπρωσας ἐν θαλάμοις.

It seems best to understand the passage of Coré eating the forbidden pomegranate. Accepting, then, Professor Pearson's γὰς ἐν θαλάμοις, I would read ἐπὶ πύρου γὰς etc. For variation in scansion, cp. 1310 with 1328, 1343 with 1359, and 1345 with 1361.

1452. ὦ | ταχεῖα κώπα, ῥοθίοισι †μήτηρ† | εἰρεσία
φίλα . . .

? ῥοθίων ἀμητήρ, 'cleaver of the waves'; for the concord cf. Aesch. Ag. 1111 συν χερὶ πράκτορι, or read ἀμήτειρ'. It has been suggested to me that ῥοθίοις might stand as a locative perhaps.

R. S. SHACKLE.

EURIPIDES' HELENA 936.

THE verse as it stands does not make sense. Hermann changed ἐν πύρῳ to ἐν πέρῳ, Lindau to ἐν πόρῳ, Wecklein to ἐν τρόπῳ (with μάχης for θανών). But this part of the text is sound; only the last word is corrupt: κατεσφάγη. This has been altered to κατεστάλη (Reiske), κατεστράφη (Lobeck), κατεσκάφη (Fritzsche), κατεφθάρη (Schenkl), ἐκαύθη φλογί (Herwerden), κατασφαγείς (Schmidt), κατέφθιτο (Rauchenstein). None of these is satisfactory.

It seems to me that κατεσφάγη was engendered by the preceding θανών, and that the supplanted verb was κατεστάθη. Cp. Galen 12. 251E, κατὰστασις ἡ καθίδρυσσις, ἥτις ἐνδείκνυται τὸ κατὰ χώραν ἰδρῦσαι τι. The meaning of καθιστάναι is *statuere, collocare*, and it is used with ἐν as well as with εἰς: Xen. Cyr. 4. 5. 28, ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ καθιστάσι. So καθεστάναι ἐν κινδύνῳ. Cp. also the Demosthenean καθιστάναι τὴν πόλιν ἐν ταπεινότητι, the phrase καθεστάναι ἐν φόβῳ, and Soph. Ant. 412 ἐν αἰθέρι κατέστη, Polyb. 1. 71. 2 ἐν μεγάλῃ δυσθυμίᾳ κατέστασαν. The accusative with εἰς is, of course, also comparatively common, especially in the phrase καταστήναι εἰς ἀγῶνα.

J. E. HARRY.

ARISTOPH. KNIGHTS 1163.

MSS. νῆ Δι' ἢ γὰρ θρύψομαι.

ἐγὼ is not wanted, διαθρύψομαι is wanted; διὰ may easily have been left out in the neighbourhood of Δία: ΝΗΔΙΗΔΙΑΘΡΥΨΟΜΑΙ.

I see after writing this that Blaydes has suggested διαθρύψομαι, but it may be worth recalling from oblivion.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

THUCYDIDES, V. 65. iii.

THE Oxford Text runs so: ὁ δέ, εἶπε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπιβόημα εἶπε καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλο τι ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν ἐξαίφνης, πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος πρὶν ξυμμεῖσαι ἀπήγε. The four words ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ have been doubted by at least one critic of repute; but the interchange of κατὰ and καὶ in our MSS. is notorious, and it seems clear to me that what Thucydides wrote was this: ὁ δέ, εἶπε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπιβόημα εἶπε καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλο τι ἢ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν ἐξαίφνης, πάλιν, κ.τ.λ. The alteration is as slight as the error has been frequent, while the sense

and the sound of the passage are greatly improved.

GEORGE VAN RAALTE.

PLATO, REPUBLIC 508E.

Τοῦτο τοίνυν, τὸ τὴν ἀληθειᾶν παρέχον τοῖς γιγνώσκομένοις καὶ τῷ γιγνώσκοντι τὴν δύναμιν ἀποδιδόν, τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέαν φάθι εἶναι, αἰτίαν δ' ἐπιστήμης οὖσαν καὶ ἀληθείας, ὡς γιγνώσκομένης μὲν διὰ νοῦ, οὕτω δὲ καλῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων, γνώσεως τε καὶ ἀληθείας, ἄλλο καὶ κάλλιον ἔτι τούτων ἡγούμενος αὐτὸ ὁρθῶς ἡγήσει.

With the better supported reading διανοοῦ it seems impossible to get a satisfactory sense without either changing the text or doing some violence to Greek usage. With διὰ νοῦ the sentence, if taken as anacolouthic, is awkward in form, but gives an intelligible meaning without requiring further change.

The following rendering indicates the nature of the break in construction, the italicised words being added to give the sense of what is omitted:

'This, therefore, which gives truth to the objects of knowledge and the power of knowing to the knowing subject, is to be called the idea of good; and seeing that it is the cause of knowledge and of truth (truth being regarded as apprehended indeed by mind [i.e. by the highest faculty] and yet—though knowledge and truth are both so fair—as being less fair than the idea of good [i.e. not the highest object of mind's apprehension]) you will be right in thinking of it as fairer still than they.'

The sentence would have been regular in structure if another participial phrase had followed to balance γιγνώσκομένης. The omission of such a phrase is accounted for by the fact that it would have been almost identical in meaning with the concluding sentence, in which the same thought is expressed in a different grammatical form.

M. E. J. TAYLOR.

ETYMOLOGIES.

Σάγαρις, κρῆσσαι, πάρος.

It has often been asserted that σάγαρις, the single-edged scimitar, was a Persian word. This, however, is a mistake. Herodotus (VII. 64) says that it was a weapon of the Amyrgian Sakae or Scythians, and Xenophon, who knew it from personal experience, tells us that it was used in Western Armenia (*Anab.* IV. 4, 16) as well as by the Mossynoeci on the coast of the Black Sea (*Anab.* V. 4, 13), and was put by tradition into the hands of the Amazons. The Hittite cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui have now cleared up its origin. In one of the trilingual vocabularies the word is found written *sangaris* (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkeui*, I. 54. 12). Its Assyrian equivalent is, indeed, lost, but as it is coupled with *dudduwanza*, 'a spearman,' the meaning is clear. The form *sangaris* explains the name of the river Sangarios, which is an adjectival derivative from it. Sir W. M. Ramsay tells me that the gorge of the Sangarios resembles a curved razor, and it will be remembered that, according to Homer, Priam fought with the Amazons on its banks. That the Amazons were known among the Hittites

we know from one of the vocabularies (*Keilschrifttexte*, I. 42, II. 9), where the Hittite word *kharâu* is explained by the Assyrian *sarkhattum*, and the ideographic ID-SAL ('warrior woman'). In one of the Hittite laws 'the women-men' are enumerated along with 'the archers' among the enemies of the Hittites.

Κρῶσσαι, 'battlements,' is stated by Hesychius to signify originally 'ladders,' or rather 'rungs of ladders, one upon the other,' and he adds that 'Homer knows the word in its meaning of ladder and not yet in a military sense.' Further on he quotes the word *κυρσάνιοι*, to which he attaches the gloss *τοὺς κυρακίσκους*. This has been emended into *νεανικίσκους* on the strength of the Laconian *κυρσάνιος*, 'a youth,' but it is obvious that it ought to be *κλιμακίσκους*. *Κλιμακίσκοι* (not *κλιμακισμός*) is given by Hesychius as 'a species of wrestling-trick,' and *κλιμακίζειν* meant to employ the wrestling-trick of using the antagonist's body as a ladder. In the Phrygian 'Midas city' there is a battlemented tomb erected by a certain Teletos, son of Sostututas (according to Sir W. M. Ramsay's revised copy), on the lower part of which is a short supplementary inscription cut by a different hand. It runs: *atanizen kurzanezon Tanelertoz*. Professor Calder (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXI., p. 174) has shown that in a Phrygo-Greek inscription *τανειζα* has the same root as *ατανίζειν*, signifying 'to see,' and consequently suggests the origin of the Greek *ἀτενίζω*, for which no Indo-European etymology has yet been found. The Phrygian words on the tomb will therefore be: 'Tanelertos has seen' or 'inspected the *kursanesos*,' and in this last I see a near relation of the Hesychian *κυρσάνιος* with the signification 'battlemented façade.' *Κρῶσσαι*, 'ladders,' will thus stand for *κρῶσσαι*, *κυρσάναι*, *κυρσαναι*. Varying forms of a word are generally signs of its foreign derivation.

In one of the trilingual vocabularies from Boghaz Keui (*Keilschrifttexte*, I. 52. 8) *parta[s]* is given as the Hittite equivalent of the Assyrian *nimru*, Sumerian *nib*, 'a leopard.' This is clearly the Greek *πάρδος*, of which *πάρδαλις*, *πάρδαλις*, with the common Asianic suffix *-alos*, *-alis*, is another form. Pott connected the Greek word with the Sanskrit *prādākus*, which he supposed to signify 'tiger.' This, however, was a mistake; according to the Petersburg Dictionary (IV. 866) it means 'water-snake' or 'elephant.' The word for 'tiger' is *cardūlas*.

A. H. SAYCE.

genders makes possible the conceit of marriage relations between the two animals. From their union was born the hybrid offspring, the 'ram-tortoise.'

By this composite device the weight of the ram was transferred from the soldiers to the king-beam of the 'tortoise,' and the men operating it were given protection against weapons from above. In storming operations it was so marked an improvement over the open attack with the 'ram,' and over the method of weakening walls by tearing out the lower stones under the shelter of the 'tortoise,' that it is figuratively said to have slain its parents — *i.e.*, it superseded them. The 'ram' and the 'tortoise' were not, however, entirely discarded, since even in Roman imperial days we still find them used independently of each other.

A somewhat similar conceit about the parturition of a machine with an animal name occurs in connection with the siege of the Castle of Dunbar by the English in 1336. When Black Agnes, the defender, saw the occupants of a smashed penthouse scampering out from beneath it like a litter of pigs she exclaimed: 'Behold, the English sow has farrowed' (Oman, *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 133, n. 2). This use of the word *sow* is borrowed from *scrofa* and *sus*, two of several medieval words for the *testudo*.

The reader will recall, too, that during the Great War boats which served as bases for submarines operating far from home waters were called 'mother-ships.'

This solution may seem far-fetched, but it requires even less strain on the imagination than do some of the answers for other riddles in the same book of the Anthology.

EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY.

ANTHOLOGIA PALATINA XIV. 30.

AMONG the unsolved riddles in the Greek Anthology is the following:

κρίον ἔχω γενετήρα, τέκεν δὲ με τῷδε χελώνῃ·
τικτομένη δ' ἄμφω πέφινον ἐμοὺς γονέας.

I should like to hazard the suggestion that the *χελώνη* *κριοφόρος*, the *testudo arietaria* of the Romans, answers the conditions of this enigma. The fact that the *κριός* and *χελώνη* are of different

READINGS FROM PAPYRI.

THE following new readings are from papyri already published, and may in some cases have been forestalled:

P. Petr. I. 3 (1). Now Brit. Mus. Pap. 486. Epicharmus. Last line ends *χρημάτων ἄλλωι τε[λείν]*.

P. Petr. I. 10. Now Brit. Mus. Pap. 490. Rhetorical Fragment (*Kleine Texte*, No. 118, p. 22). Col. i., l. 15 *πεπαιδευμένος δὲ | παρὰ Χίρωνι καὶ Φοίνικι πάντων δὲ | τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων καὶ καλλίστων*.

1. 18 ends ὑπαρχόντων ;
 1. 26 ἦν ἔλεξεν ἡ μήτηρ ;
 1. 27 προνοῆσθαι τὸ μέλλον ;
 1. 29 οὐκ ἀπέτρεψεν ;

col. ii., 1. 17 μ[ηδ]εῖ μίαν χάριν ;
 1. 18 π[ροα]ληγται ;

P. Petr. I. 4 (1). Now Brit. Mus. Pap. 487. Comedy (latest text in *Kleine Texte*, No. 135, p. 15). L. 13 δ[ε]ῦρο καὶ μένε ὡς ἔχεις. In l. 9 a possible reading seems "Ἐλλῆνες τί γὰρ.

Brit. Mus. Pap. 155. Choliambics (see Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon*, p. 8). L. 9 κέρδος ἐκ λίθου παντός ; 1. 13 ἐ[α]ντοῦ τῆν ; 1. 20 ὅκου τι δεῖ λαβεῖν ; 1. 32 δ[ι]καῖον ; 11. 36, 37 ἡ δυσγένεια κριθ[ι] κατ' ἀνθρώπους | τῆς δ' εὐγενεί[ας ἀ]λμυρὸν κατε[π]τύσ[θ]η ; 1. 39 begins πτωχὴν ; 1. 40 ends τέλους Λυδῶν (a natural name for a harlot in Ionia) ; 1. 41 begins ἔχων. H. J. M. MILNE.

THE BEGINNING OF THE AENEID.

In the Uffizi Gallery Bartolommeo's Isaiah holds a roll with the words ECCE DEUS SALVATOR MEUS (Isai. 12, 2). How rash would be the inference that in Bartolommeo's bible the book of Isaiah began with these words! And yet that is the inference a Continental scholar drew recently from a representation of Virgil holding the *Aeneid* open at the words *Musa, mihi causas memora*. And (unless my memory is at fault) a similar inference has been made about Sappho, not so very long ago. Is that greatest of goddesses, Commonsense, losing her hold on classical scholars?

W. M. LINDSAY.

PROPERTIUS II. XXIV. 1-4 :

'Tu loqueris cum sit iam noto fabula libro
 et tua sit toto Cynthia lecta foro?
 Cui non his verbis aspergat tempora sudor?
 aut pudor ingenuus aut reticendus amor.'

sis S edd. *ingenuis* Haupt.

This passage seems to have been misunderstood by commentators and editors.

Paley accepts *ingenuis*, and says :

'Men of good birth must either expect to be put to the blush, or they must keep secret their love.' Or thus: 'If young nobles have any shame they will not talk of their loves.'

Palmer accepts *ingenuis*, but gives no interpretation of line 4.

Postgate and Housman express their dissatisfaction and misunderstanding of the text by their attempts at emendation :

'a pudor ingenuis haut reticendus amor'
 (Postgate).
 'a pudor, ingenuus reiciendus amor'
 (Housman).

Phillimore reads :

'aut pudor ingenuus aut reticendus amor?'

Butler has the following note, which I quote in full, because it sums up the question :

'3. 4. *Pudor* and *amor* are in apposition with *sudor*. In its form the sentence involves a slight confusion between cause and effect. But

the sentence, *cui non aspergat tempora aut amor aut pudor* sc. *sudore*, would be possible enough. The combination of the phrases, *aspergat tempora sudor* and *aspergat aut pudor aut amor* sc. *sudore*, is bold, but the sense is excellent but sufficiently clear: "Whose brow that heard such words as these would not be bathed in sweat, whether for honest modesty or for the shameful secret of his love?" I therefore follow Professor Phillimore in retaining the MSS. reading and punctuation.'

Canter suggested *sudore*, which would remove all difficulty of interpretation, but introduces a poetical license unknown to the elegiac poets. If any emendation were required, the simplest course would be to place the query after *sudore* (*sic*), and, reading *ingenuis* with Haupt, regard the pentameter as a comment explanatory of the hexameter. 'Men of free birth should either be moral, or, failing that, should keep silence as to their love.'

In 1906 Professor Phillimore translated the line :

'No choice but to live clean like a gentleman or to keep your love a secret?'

It cannot be claimed that any of these interpretations springs so naturally from the Latin as the following :

My suggestion is that *reticendus* applies both to *pudor* and *amor*. The symmetry of the phrase then makes *ingenuis* extremely probable but not entirely necessary. Propertius has just been displaying *pudor* in a remonstrance to a friend. The friend not unnaturally demands what right HE has to speak with the reputation he enjoys. Line 4, then, gives the moral. We must, if we are gentlemen, keep silence either on our *pudor* at the indiscretions of our friends or on our own loves.

A. CAMERON.

PLAUTUS, *CVRCVLIO* 192.

Ebriola persolla, nugae—the first hemistich of a trochaic septenarius. *ebriola* Leo, Lindsay, with the MSS. But Goetz's conjecture *ebriola*'s is clearly right, as Professor Lindsay would now argue. For (metrical considerations apart) amongst the testimonia cited by Goetz for *persolla* we read

persol<1>as personas

from 'Placidus' (i.e. pseudo-Placidus, see Lindsay, *Journal of Philology*, 34, pp. 255 ff., where attention is called to the bearing of pseudo-Placidus upon the text of Republican authors); the manuscript of Plautus therefore used by 'Placidus' must have had *ebriolas persollas* (with the marginal adscript *personas*), an erroneous transcription of *ebriolas* (i.e. -ola's) *persolla*. J. WHATMOUGH.

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF *MARRA*, 'HOE,' IN LATIN.

LEWIS AND SHORT (*Lat. Dict.*, p. 1115c) cite *marra*, 'hoe,' as occurring several times in post-Augustan Latin, but state that its etymology is unknown; Liddell and Scott (*Gk. Lex.*, p. 922a) also give μάρρον, 'iron spade,'

on the authority of Hesychius, who explains it by ἐργαλείον σιδηροῦν (Alberti's *Hesychius*, vol. ii., col. 543). The late appearance of the word in Latin (whence Fr. *marre*, 'mattock,') and the failure of lexicographers to find any instances of its use in Greek literature point to a foreign origin. It came, indeed, into Latin when *iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes*; for it is a Semitic loan-word. In Arabic there occurs *marr(un)*, 'spade' of iron (Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.*, iv., 164a; Dözy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, ii., 576a), and in Syriac, *mar(r)ā* or *mārā*, 'spade' (Payne-Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, cols. 1996 and 2213), from which latter language it passed into Latin. But the word can be traced to a remote antiquity; in Assyrian the word *marāru*, 'to dig' or 'to hoe,' occurs in § 44 of the Code of Hammurabi, which fixes the terms on which a tenant 'shall hoe (*imarar*) and plough' unreclaimed ground; from this there was derived the noun *marru*, 'spade' or 'hoe,' mentioned three times in letters of the first Babylonian dynasty (Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, Nos. 96, l. 11, 161, l. 18 and 179, l. 8), in each case specified as an instrument of bronze. Further, the use of the ideogram *MAR* for the phonetic spelling *mar-ru* in the two latter instances points to a probable Sumerian origin for the word.

G. R. DRIVER.

THE LAUGHING MEN IN THE LUPERCALIA.

ABOUT the middle of the Lupercalia ceremonial two men, chosen from the strongest and most active, had their faces daubed with blood, and laughed.

The reason is not understood.

It seems to me, as a keeper of wild animals, that the Lupercalia was the ceremonial of a society similar to the bloodthirsty Leopard societies in West Africa at this day, and that the laughing blood-daubed faces represented the open dripping gory jaws of ravening wolves.

GEO. JENNISON, F.Z.S.

IUNO SOSPITA AND ST. SILVESTER.

CUMONT quotes and comments on a curious legend of this saint, dating from the fifth century.¹ Under the Capitol or, more vaguely, *apud urbem Roman*, there was an underground pagan shrine, reached by a staircase of 365 steps and containing a formidable dragon. Monthly (A) or annually (B) food was brought to this creature by virgins who were *deuotae* (B) and decked with flowers, or at any rate *sacrilegae* (A), i.e. *sacrae*, but in a heathenish fashion. Either because the dragon grew restless and breathed forth pestilence (A), or because the girls were always killed, St. Silvester, in order to convince the pagans, puts a stop to the

brute's activities; or, according to the more rationalistic version of (B) an unnamed monk goes down, finds that it is only a *draco* . . . *mechanica arte formatus*, and cuts it to pieces.

Setting aside this last detail with one or two others which savour of Bel and the Dragon,² we have the following features: a pagan cult in an underground shrine; a dragon to whom offerings are brought; virgin priestesses who feed him; and the fact that the girls' lives are endangered. The 365 steps I consider frankly imaginary, despite the parallel from Malala which Cumont quotes, and will continue to do so until there is satisfactory evidence of an artificial cavern-shrine of such formidable depth and size as that would involve. The prevalence of solar cults, and consequently of solar theories about all cults, long before the date of our two documents, is too well known to need insisting on, and Malala is fond of connecting all manner of ritual with the seasons of the year and so forth. The question is, what cult the authors of these legends had in mind.

Cumont, rightly as I think, rejects the idea that the Mithraeum of Ara Caeli is meant, since that is on the wrong side of the hill; in any case the dragon in Mithraic cult plays but a subordinate part, to judge by the monuments. The latter objection applies to his own explanation that the cult of Hekate is meant, for although she has a serpent as one of her attributes, it can hardly be called a central feature of her worship.³ I suggest that we have here a confused recollection of a real cult in which a sacred serpent really did play a prominent part, that of Iuno Sospita of Lanuvium. We know from Propertius⁴ that there existed a deep cavern (*sacer abripitur caeco descensus hiatus*, l. 5) down which a maid, or maids (*puellae*, l. 9, might refer to the different officiants of different years) went yearly bringing food for a huge serpent which lived there; and that only the chaste could return safely.

But what is the serpent of Lanuvium doing at Rome? I suggest the following confusion: Propertius⁵ in the elegy quoted is describing

² Daniel xiv., Vulgate. Cf. especially v. 22, *et erat draco magnus in loco illo* with A, *erat draco immanissimus in monte Tarpeio*; B, *et hunc quidam monachus . . . subuertit* with 21, *qui subuertit eum* (sc. Bel).

³ This is not to say that a detail in B, that the monk was a friend of Stilicho, may not be due to some reminiscence of the suppression of the cult of Hekate in his time, perhaps by him; or that the locality of the dragon's lair may not be intended to be one of the caverns under the Capitol, as A seems to imply.

⁴ IV. (V.) viii. 3-14. Latest commentary, E. Rein in *Annales academiae scientiarum Fennicae* 1919, No. 3.

⁵ Very likely the hagiographers did not know him at first hand; he was little read at that date, see Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Literatur*, II. i., p. 261. Aelian, the only other author to mention the serpent, is even less likely to have been known to them. The confusion was all the easier because the ancient cults of Lanuvium were managed by Roman officials and Iuno Sospita had temples in the capital.

¹ *Textes, etc., relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, I. p. 351, citing Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, I. p. cix ff. and Migne *Patr. Lat.* LI. p. 833 f. These documents I call for brevity's sake A and B respectively.

events which took place in Rome, and he does not say in so many words that the dragon was at Lanuvium, but only that it was the town's guardian (*Lanuvium annosi uetus est tutela draconis*, 3). This might lead a careless reader

to misplace the cult. It is noticeable that B, the earlier document, merely says that the cavern was in Rome, and it is left for A to be precise as to the locality.

H. J. ROSE.

REVIEWS

SOME BOOKS ON HOMER.

Odyssee und Argonautika. Von KARL MEULI. Crown octavo. Pp. 121. Berlin: Weidmann, 1921. M. 16.

Die Homerischen Gleichnisse. Von HERMANN FRAENKEL. Crown octavo. Pp. 120. Goettingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1921.

The Unity of Homer. By JOHN A. SCOTT, Professor of Greek in the North-Western University. Being Vol. 1. of the Sather Classical Lectures. Crown octavo. Pp. 276. University of California Press, 1921.

WHEN Circe tells Odysseus of the Wandering Rocks, says Mr. Meuli, she adds to her description of their dangerous habit the information that only one ship, the *Argo*, 'in which everyone is interested,' has passed safely through them. No one, says Mr. Meuli, will now suppose, as Niese did, that the whole Argonaut legend grew out of this allusion; nor will anyone follow Christ in regarding the allusion as a late interpolation in the *Odyssey*. 'The *Odyssey* here really does refer to an old and famous poem about the journey of the Argonauts.'

On this assumption, Mr. Meuli argues with some force against the view advanced some time ago by Wilamowitz that the author of the *Odyssey* used an earlier Odysseus poem, in which the hero's adventures took place in the east. Why should Odysseus wander in the east? Mr. Meuli's view is that the author, seeing how popular was the *Argo* story, thought fit to give his own hero some adventures which more properly belong to Jason and his men. Homer, in fact, exploited not an earlier eastern *Odyssey*, but an old *Argo* poem. He contrived to make the transition from west to east just plausible by the device of the floating island of Aeolus, which travelled from the western to the

eastern seas between the two visits of Odysseus. Here, I think, Mr. Meuli follows the fashion, not his own good sense. Nothing in the text justifies us in supposing that Homer was worried about the transition. There is no suggestion that the island has behaved in an odd way. Probably neither Homer nor his audience was so foolish as to care about the precise geography of these later wanderings. After all, the hero is telling his own tale to an audience of Phaeacians. As he warms to his work the tales grow taller, the geography vaguer. Still, Mr. Meuli's main point seems a good one, and incidentally he makes some interesting observations on the *Argo* story itself.

Dr. Fraenkel's book is an interesting discussion of the similes of Homer, arranged according to the subject-matter. The author's purpose is to steer a middle course between fanciful interpretation and the jejune pedantry too often dominant in such discussions. Eustathius stated the right principle when he wrote on B 87: 'In Homer not many comparisons will be found which correspond in detail and completely to the subject under discussion.' He does not make any universal or pedantic doctrine, but states the general practice of the poet. Most modern commentators have pushed the principle thus stated into a pedantic rule, which deprives Homer of his most subtle and most powerful effects. They look for what the Germans call 'Die Vergleichungspunkt,' or the 'tertium comparationis,' and refuse to see any other connexion between story and simile save the one detail by which Homer makes the mechanical coupling, 'As many as . . .'; 'As loud as . . .' Mr. Fraenkel's general view is that the similes, for the most part, 'take a

theme from the narrative and reproduce it in another sphere, as the flute in an orchestra repeats a theme stated by the violin.' His method is to trace the similes from the simple form (e.g. 'an army like a cloud') to the elaborate comparisons. Sometimes, I think, he allows his fancy to run wild, and to find a correspondence of detail where everything is left vague by Homer; but on the whole his method is fruitful and his interpretation sane.

In his vigorous and refreshing discourses Professor Scott, with much good humour and enthusiasm, ranges through the whole field of controversy, dealing shrewd blows at the disintegrating, soon-to-be-forgotten forces of the Wolfians. He begins with an attack on the dogma that in early days all epic, without distinction, was attributed by the Greeks to Homer. He maintains that the attribution to Homer of such poems as the *Thebais* began late, and is a symptom of the general decadence. Here, I confess, his arguments do not seem to me conclusive. He makes a good point—it was made, I believe, by Nietzsche before him—when he reminds us that the Argives put an inscription on their statue of Homer recalling how he honoured 'the Argives who humbled the god-built city Troy.' That disposes of the fashionable doctrine that Cleisthenes, when he banished Homer for his Argive tendencies, must have been thinking of the Theban epics. Further, Herodotus in II. 117, when he refutes the theory that Homer made the *Cypria*, may quite possibly, as Mr. Scott suggests, be maintaining orthodoxy against heresy. One may agree that we do not know enough to say for certain whether Aelian, *V.H.* IX. 15, does or does not ascribe to Pindar the statement that Homer was the author of the *Cypria*. But sometimes, I think, Mr. Scott strains the evidence. Ludwig's conjecture that Proclus, when he says, 'The Ancients refer the *Kuklos* also to Homer,' is referring to a poem of the type described in Plato, *Phaedrus* 264b, does not rest on any firm foundation. Nor is Mr. Scott's treatment of Pausanias (IX. 9, 5) convincing. Pausanias says that Callinus—or somebody,

Calainos, or Calvinus, or Callinus—somebody, anyhow, with whom 'many people' agreed, attributed the *Thebais* to Homer. Mr. Scott, having made a legitimate point about the uncertainty of the reference, suggests that these people only 'regarded the author of the *Thebais* as a Homer.' I can recall no instance in Greek which would justify such an interpretation of the words τὰ δὲ ἔπη ταῦτα . . . ἔφησεν "Ὅμηρον εἶναι τὸν ποιήσαντα. Further, Mr. Scott suggests that Pausanias is thinking, not of the old *Thebais*, but of the poem of Antimachus, because in VIII. 25, 4, Pausanias does in fact refer to Antimachus. But one has only to consult VIII. 25, 4, to find evidence pointing in the opposite direction. Pausanias does there refer to Antimachus. But he does not call his poem a *Thebais*. Why? Because, three paragraphs later, he has occasion to quote the early *Thebais*, which he distinguishes from the poem of Antimachus. 'People adduce evidence from *Iliad* and *Thebais* . . . they quote the *Thebais* as saying so-and-so . . . but Antimachus says (something different).' If any inference should be drawn, it is that Pausanias, when he refers to the *Thebais* without explanation, is referring to the earlier epic, not to the work of Antimachus. Still, Mr. Scott has, I think, succeeded in showing that our evidence for attribution of other poems than the two great epics to Homer does not go back so far as is generally assumed.

The book is full of suggestions and criticisms, often valuable, sometimes disputable. I agree, for instance, warmly with the denunciation of the fine-spun nonsense of critics who attempt to make Hector a Boeotian; but I think Mr. Scott himself goes beyond the evidence when he tries to show that Hector was invented by the author of *Iliad*. I agree that the anecdote of Aeschylus ('Slices from Homer's banquet') should not be used as evidence for early belief in the Homeric authorship of Cyclic epics. But I cannot accept his interpretation, 'slices from the banquet served up to Homer . . . ' i.e. slices of mythology left untreated after Homer had had his fill. Homer is proverbially the generous host (see

Eustathius on B 394). Aeschylus fed, not simply picking out scraps, but freely, like a gentleman. The assertion is not particularly modest in view of ancient notions—which were also good notions—of originality in art. It simply means that Homer was his master, not in the mere provision of subject-matter, but in technique. The more carefully we study Aeschylus, the more this fact becomes obvious. I have referred to the Homeric structure of the Aeschylean paragraph in this *Review* (1922, p. 6). But there is more than that. The trilogy, with its wide scope, is a modification of the large patterns of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The repeated images of Aeschylus, first adequately expounded by Walter Headlam in this *Review* (1902, pp. 434 ff.), are a very noble application to drama of principles implicit in the Homeric use of groups and patterns of repeated or kindred similes.

But in general I am in warm agreement with Mr. Scott's view. It is delightful to be reminded of the statistical 'evidence' which used to be adduced for the opinion that, whatever book in the *Iliad* one wanted to call 'late,' was 'Odyssean.' It was stated that in K there were 17 words which occur also in the *Odyssey*, but not elsewhere in the *Iliad*. Mr. Scott in his unregenerate days tried to help on the good work of disintegration by counting such words in the other books. He found in A 26 such words and 33 in Δ, and actually 34 in X. Croiset said that there were only 39 abstract words with

the terminations -*ιη*, -*της*, -*συνη*, in the *Iliad*, and 81 in the *Odyssey*. Mr. Scott counted and found 78 in the *Iliad*. Jebb said that hiatus at the bucolic diaeresis was about twice as frequent in the *Iliad* as in the *Odyssey*. Mr. Scott counted and found 60 instances in the *Iliad* and 66 in the *Odyssey*, a shorter poem. It is worth while to recall this kind of thing, because the prejudice which statistics create lives on after the statistics have been proved inaccurate. Perhaps the most amazing instance of the blunders into which the learned dissector may be led is the astronomical adventure of Wilamowitz, whose opinion still dominates many minds. Wilamowitz proved that the Telemachy and the Adventures of Odysseus belonged originally to two different poems, because, he said, the position of the stars in ε 272 implied late autumn, and Telemachus was travelling at mid-summer. Mr. Scott answers, truly enough, that Telemachus puts on wool at night, so that September or October seems a quite appropriate time for his adventures. As for the stars, Mr. Scott consulted an astronomer, and found that in the Aegean three thousand years ago the heavens presented a somewhat different aspect from the vision seen by Wilamowitz in the nineteenth century from Berlin. With due calculations made, it became evident that the adventures of Telemachus and his father might very well, so far as stars were concerned, occur exactly as the poet says they did. J. T. SHEPPARD.

NEW CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE.

New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature. Recent discoveries in Greek poetry and prose of the fourth and following centuries, B.C. Edited by J. U. POWELL and E. A. BARBER. 8vo. Pp. vii + 166. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. 10s. 6d.

THIS is a scholarly and useful book, and will be of much assistance to students in helping them to find their way through the scattered sources in which the new material here described has been published. The statement applies more particularly to the fragmentary pieces

which have appeared for the first time in the Oxyrhynchus and Hibeh volumes, the Berlin *Klassiker-Texte*, and other collections of Papyri and inscriptions which have not been reprinted in a convenient form. The contents are divided into seven sections, comprising the works of the Moralists (prose and verse), the Lyric poets, Comedy, Elegiac and Epic, the Mimes, History and Biography, and Oratory. The shorter pieces, including Cercidas, Phoenix, and the Paean writers, have been chiefly undertaken by the editors, whose labours

form a framework for the whole collection; Mr. Stocks has been responsible for the Epicureans, of whom Philodemus and Diogenes of Oenoanda are the most important; Mr. F. W. Hall has dealt with the Stoic Hierocles;¹ and Professor Gilbert Murray describes the Hymn of the Kouretes, which he edited for Miss Harrison's *Themis*. All this work has been carefully documented with references to the sources, but we are very glad to hear that Mr. Powell has completed a volume of texts which will shortly be published and will enable the fragments to be read in greater comfort and with more profit.

The less accessible texts are further represented by Mr. Ellingham's critical study of Timotheus' *Persae*, Mr. Lewis's account of Satyrus, and an anonymous writer's estimate of the new Callimachus. These contributions serve their purpose well, and Mr. Ellingham's apology for Timotheus is worth quoting: 'In the *Persae* he is trying to give a musical impression of a sea-fight, according to the new style, which is as far removed from Aeschylus as Aeschylus is from Homer. His object as a champion of popular realism is to present a sea-fight as it really is; and it is not a solemn conflict of souls predestined to victory or a glorious death, or at least not till after the event: it is a vortex of strange and unearthly pantings and gaspings and blows and splashes and curses, with an undercurrent of deadly endeavour; and no words of the poet can be wilder than the reality.'

The *raison d'être* for the inclusion, by way of summaries, of the less incomplete texts, which are also the more accessible, is less obvious; but the presumable intention was to present the new discoveries in their full range. Anyhow, we should have been sorry to miss the admirably lucid and succinct chapters in which Mr. E. M. Walker pronounces on the Oxyrhynchus Historian and Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, or Mr. G. C. Richards's eminently successful attempt to say just what is needed about

Herondas within the narrow limits of eight and a half pages.

Mr. T. W. Lumb is responsible for the chapters on Menander and the Orators, but it must be said that his appreciation of Menander fails to reach the standard set by his fellow-contributors. On p. 69 he makes an unfortunate blunder by interpreting the title 'Ἐπιτρέποντες as the *Guardians*, and in the note on ll. 38-39 he states that the reading usually adopted, τοιουτοσί τις ἦν, 'does not make much sense,' whereas the rendering 'such was my state of mind' is quite satisfactory, and the conjecture τοιούτο σιτιζειν is unacceptable. Further critical suggestions on the next three pages are scarcely more happy. It is to be feared that Mr. Lumb's genuine enthusiasm has got the better of his critical judgment, for he seems reluctant to admit that Menander ever nods. Few will agree that the lines *Epitr.* 126-128 justify the remark that 'this passage alone entitles its author to a place among the classics.' I must add that I am unable to detect the Aeschylean associations which Mr. Lumb finds on p. 95, and it is surely an exaggeration to speak of vv. 10 ff. of the *Περὶνθία* as 'almost a parody' of the opening scene of the *Prometheus*. It is a pity that these blemishes were not removed before publication, for there is much that is attractive in Mr. Lumb's exposition.

The only serious defects which I find in this book are that the bibliography of the larger finds is far too scanty, and that sometimes the bibliographical references are so vague as to be useless. Mr. Walker's chapter on the *Athenian Constitution* has no bibliography at all, and examples of loose and obscure references will be found on pp. 62 (Müller), 112, 150 (Körte). On pp. 54 f. there is no reference to indicate where the *Παρακλανσίθυρον* is published, and some of the footnotes do not seem to correspond with the references given in the text.

I add here certain details which are open to criticism. On p. 6 the punctuation *ρέπει δ', ὅταν αἰσιμον ἄμαρ, ἀνδράσι κυδαλίμοις* cannot be right, since an ellipse of *ἦ* after *ὅταν* is inconceivable, and Hunt's text without the comma after *ἄμαρ* and ending with *κυδαλίμοις ἦ*

¹ The fragments preserved by Stobaeus were formerly assigned to a Neo-platonist, but were claimed as Stoic by Praechter shortly before the appearance of the decisive evidence furnished by the papyrus.

(ην pap.) is clearly to be preferred. The footnotes on p. 15, which are numbered 3, 4, or 5, are not of much use, since they fail to record the readings of the papyrus. On p. 19 the fragment quoted from the Hibeh papyri does not correspond with the text of the original in the following particulars: αἴτε replaces εἴτε, κέντρ' ἔνο (sic) is a miscopy of κέντρα τεῖδ' ἐνό, and πίθοιτο is substituted for πείθοιτο. On p. 27 there is something wrong with the references to the footnote numbered 3. On p. 37 the reference to Plutarch might be made less likely to mislead. On p. 42 there is obviously something wrong with the statement about the date of the composition of the Paean. In fact, the date cannot be fixed so closely as is stated: see Fairbanks (as quoted), p. 149. On p. 99 it would have

been well to refer to the evidence on which the opening sentence about Callimachus is based. On p. 104, in a quotation from the Vienna tablet, occurs the mysterious ἔγρει καὶ τιν' ἔχοντα παρὰ πλόον οἰκίου ἄξων | τετριγῶς ὑπ' ἄμαξαν, where even Bentley gave up παρὰ πλόον as unintelligible. Surely this deserved a note, if not a justification for the rendering 'by the high road.' Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3, 1150 explains ἐπεὶ καὶ πλόος λέγεται ἡ ὁδός. That is a hard saying, but not to be rejected too hastily in Callimachus. We should at least weigh the evidence of Antim. fr. 62 Kinkel, and of Phot. s.v. πλωῖζει and schol. Nic. Ther. 295. On p. 144 Diels and Schubart's edition of Didymus might have been mentioned.

A. C. PEARSON.

THE ORIGIN OF TYRANNY.

The Origin of Tyranny. By P. N. URE, M.A. One vol. 8vo. Pp. vi + 374; illustrations, 46. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 35s.

οἱμοὶ δέιλαιος.
πόθεν οὖν ἂν ἔτι γένοιτο πῶλῆς εἰς μόνος;

ANY early Greek tyrant, according to Professor Ure, would meet Nicias' requirements. Plato and Aristotle did not think so, it is true; but then they were misled by the glamour of the career of Dionysius I., and for obvious reasons had not before them the so-illuminating analogies of the Italian Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution. To tell the truth, however, Professor Ure's theory does not gain in probability by its new exposition at greater length. That his cloud of dubious witnesses make but a flimsy case he appears himself to be conscious, and he issues a plea that the strength of his heap 'is to be measured by its strongest items rather than its weakest' (the metaphor is his, p. 298). But items which can fairly be called strong are not easy to find.

The book, indeed, is more conspicuous for ingenuity than judgment. The evidence is all of that elusive kind, which 'points to' or 'suggests' but does not prove, and the direction of its 'pointing' not seldom depends upon the pre-

vious adoption of the thesis which it is desired to prove. Much of it has quite a different orientation if viewed otherwise than through the spectacles which we are invited to don at the outset.

The chapter upon Athens is probably the fairest test of probability, for here our information is fuller. I can still see no reason, except the will to believe, why the party of the Mountain (as the French revolutionaries called it) should have been composed of miners. I do not myself think that the names of the three parties had anything to do with Cleisthenes' territorial division of Attica, and doubt if they were more than nick-names denoting the social status rather than the local habitation of their members. I am not sure that Professor Ure realises the real significance of the οἱ τῷ γένει μὴ καθαροί in relation to the revolution of Peisistratus and to the reforms of Cleisthenes. The reader is often warned against the 'unscientific' vice of scepticism; but with regard to the return of Peisistratus escorted by Athena, Professor Ure joins the sceptics. His derivation of the story, however, from the first minting of drachmae by Peisistratus seems to me far more fantastically improbable than the story itself; nor do I know of any popular legend the birth of which is at all

strictly analogous to the hypothetical process sketched upon p. 55. The failure of Cylon was more probably due to national resentment against a *coup d'état* engineered by Delphi and Megara and attempted with foreign soldiers than to the fact that Cylon was a mere aristocrat and not a merchant prince. The reason that Athens passed through the normal constitutional stages later than other Greek states is surely because Athens was a territorial state and the monarchy lasted longer there, because the political subjection of Attica, which justified its existence, took time to accomplish.

Economic changes, of course, contributed to the rise of tyrannies, but to emphasise them to the exclusion of other contributory causes is neither good history nor good sense. It is true no doubt that the concentration of capital in the hands of a single ruler enabled the material development of the Greek states in the seventh and sixth cen-

turies to be adequately financed. But Professor Ure does not always distinguish, though it is vital to his argument, between the tyrant's economic position before and after his accession. As regards the soundness of the analogies offered by the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. to modern industrial conditions, I should probably agree rather with the Oxford lecturers, who are reprimanded upon p. 3, than with Professor Ure.

The difficulties of unremunerative publication in these days are obvious, but both individual scholars and libraries with limited endowments will find it difficult to pay 35s. for a book of 374 pages. Farnell's *Hero Cults* (Oxford Press, 1921), which contains 434 pages, costs 18s. Although the half-tone figures are a valuable addition to Professor Ure's book, they are not worth, if they are responsible for it, this remarkable difference in price.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

THE LAWS OF PLATO.

The Laws of Plato. The text, edited with Introduction, Notes, etc., by E. B. ENGLAND, Litt.D. Two vols. 8vo. Pp. x+641; 669. Manchester University Press; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921. 10s. + 10s.

DR. ENGLAND is to be warmly congratulated on having achieved a task which has daunted the tribe of commentators for two full generations. Although much good work has been done on the text, especially by Burnet, and on the subject-matter, especially by C. Ritter, no complete commentary on the *Laws* has appeared since the 1860 edition of Stallbaum.

The first thing that strikes one about Dr. England's work is that it is a marvel of compression. His general introduction occupies but 8 pages; his full analysis of the first six books, 25 pages; about 160 pages go to the text in Vol. I., and about 440 pages to the notes. The arrangement of contents in Vol. II. is on a similar scale. The present conditions of bookmaking are, one supposes, mainly responsible for

this cult of conciseness; and if one is sometimes inclined to grumble at what seems undue brevity in the discussion of important points, this is to carp at the dictates of *ἀνάρκη* rather than at the editorial *νοῦς*.

It is also obvious at a glance that the work is marked throughout by erudition, fine scholarship, and sound judgment. Every real difficulty, whether of text or interpretation, is fairly faced and grappled with; grammatical points are very carefully dealt with; the links in the argument are sagaciously elucidated; and helpful and happy renderings abound in the notes. The reader is further assisted, we should add, in following the argument by a series of very brief analyses prefixed to the text of each book.

Dr. England's treatment of the text—a very difficult matter in the case of the *Laws*—seems to me admirably sane. Basing his text on Burnet's, he steers a middle course between Burnet and Schanz. On a rough calculation, in Book I. Schanz uses the brackets twenty times, Burnet not at all, and England five times. Moreover, I have noted over forty instances of old conjectures, and about eighteen of new conjectures admitted into the text of Books I.-IV.; while a considerable

number of other conjectural emendations are favourably mentioned in the notes. These figures suffice to show the general tendency of the editor. Space forbids the strictly 'rationed' reviewer to discuss many details: I confine myself to the briefest of comments on some of the more doubtful places.

I. 630E¹: Badham's *θείου ἀνδρὸς* is adopted, rightly, and well defended.

643E²: *σοφίαν* for *σφῶδρα* is unconvincing; I still prefer my own cure.

645B⁶: ought we to have *ἄνου* (= *ἀνθρώπου*) here?

647B⁷: read, perhaps, *κάκης* for *κακῆς*.

648E¹: for *διαφορᾶ* cp. 672B⁴.

649D⁵: is *ἀδελία* a vice? I had, long ago, thought of *ἀδεια* (cp. 701A⁷).

II. 653D⁴: I still have doubts about Burnet's pointing.

654D¹: I had, independently, corrected to *ῆ* *διανοεῖται*, and am glad to find this adopted.

656E²: I too had noted *ομοιώματα* as a possibility; but I now think we should rather write *ὁμοῖ· ἄττα* (making *ὁμοῖα* = *ομοιώματα*).

663C³: the note on this is good, but doubt still remains as to the text.

666B⁷: Burges preceded Burnet in correcting to *λήθη*.

668A²: I wish that the *τω* after *χαίρει* had been expunged or altered.

668A⁹: a helpful note; but I think we must allow *μίμημα* = *μιμητόν*.

668C⁷: I think *βουλήσεως* (as if *βολ-*) = *ἐφέσεως*, 'aim.'

672D²: *τούτων* for *θεῶν* is difficult; I suggest *συναίτους*.

III. 677C⁷ ff.: this deserves a longer note: I much doubt *ἄριστ'* in D⁷.

679D⁷: Burnet's text here is unsatisfactory.

691C¹: possibly *δύναμιν* is right, after all.

697C⁷: Apelt's conjecture is ingenious, but not quite convincing.

699C⁶: *δεῖλός* . . . *δέος* seems strange if E.'s view is right—also the sing. *συνελθών*.

IV. 706A¹: I am inclined to side with Ritter.

706C⁸: a good note; read, perhaps, *ληρήματα*.

708D⁴: *καθ' ἕνα εἰς* is ingenious; but do horses pipe to 'any 'tune'?

713D⁶: Burges had already suggested *δρᾶ* for *ἄρα*.

714A⁵: I still favour Heindorf's view; cp. *Eumen.* 976.

715C⁴: I should prefer even *θείων* to *θεῶν*.

719D⁸: *ἐν τῷ ποιήματι* is rightly defended, but the comma after it seems superfluous: below, for *τὸν αὐτὸν* I would guess *τὸν αὐτοῦ*.

722C¹: the conjecture *διδαχὴν* for *μάχην* is not mentioned, but deserves consideration.

V. 727A³: I am interested to see that E. makes *τιμιον* active, as I argued long ago (*C.R.* XXIX. p. 171) that both *τιμή* and *τιμίον* must imply 'honorific' action; but *Eth. Nic.* 1123b 35 rather supports Stallb.

732C⁴ ff.: this 'hard passage' can hardly be left as it stands: at least let us shift the comma after *ἐκδότην* and place it after *ἀνυχίας*, and mark off *οἶον* . . . *πράξεσιν* as a parenthesis.

733D⁷ ff.: I am not satisfied with 'Burnet's sagacious *ἀθέτησις* of *ἐκούσιον* . . . *καί*,' but Badham's *ἴδιον τινα* (or *τ' αἰ*) deserves the approval given to it.

736A²: E. makes the best of *ἀπαλλαγὴν*, but *ἀπαλλαγείσιν* might be easier.

737A¹: I am glad to see *τῆς μεταβάσεως* bracketed—the most logical course.

738A⁴: here a full list of the 59 divisors of 5040 might well have been supplied.

739B⁴: ? *ἄλλη ποτε* rather than *ἀεὶ ποτε*.

739E⁴: I learn from E. that my conjecture *τιμή* for *ἡ μή* was anticipated by Apelt: I wish E. had had the courage to print it in his text, for I am convinced that it is certainly right (cp. 630C-D, 728D, 841B).

746D² ff.: I agree in the main with the view taken of 'this very difficult passage,' but am doubtful about *τῆς δοξάσης* . . . *αὐ*, and inclined to put a colon after *τρόπον*.

747D³: I still think that the redundant *οὐκ* should be replaced by *φύσει*.

VI. 753E⁴: I cannot follow E.'s retention of *πρὸς*: could P. have written *πάρος*? Also *ἰδεῖν* may have fallen out before *δεῖ*.

774C⁵: I cannot believe that *γηράσκειν* is right, though E. retains it.

777C⁵: here too Burges preceded Burnet in writing *κλωπών*.

778C⁷: I find *δικαστήρια* for *-ίων* among my marginal jottings.

782A²: E. gives us no help here: the jingle *μήκος* . . . *ἀμύχανον* looks intentional.

782A⁶: here I should rather mark *καὶ ποιμάτων* . . . *βρωμάτων* as parenthetical.

783A⁴: I prefer the plur. to *τρέποντα*, and incline to read *σθενένναι* < *αὐτῶν* >.

784C¹: E. adopts Burnet's text and interpretation, about which I have doubts.

VII. 790E²: *ἴδσει* is attractive, but should we also read *καθαπερεῖ*?

808D³: *πῶν* for *πῶ* is ingenious, but is it *ἄλλο* (*ἡ πρόβατα*)?

819D³: why not *ταύτη*? At 820C⁸ I incline to follow Fic. and Ast.

VIII. 834A⁵: E.'s conjecture *σφενδόνης* is surely right; I conjecture also *ἀλφω γ' ἐκ*.

834B⁷: *ἀγωνίας* for *-ιστάς*, which E. suggests, is also one of my *marginalia*.

838A¹: it is surprising that E. here retains *τὴν μὲν* . . . *τὴν δέ*.

IX. 853A⁶: E. is right in rejecting *ρήθην*, unless we might alter it to *βεχθέν*.

854B² ff.: the Greek is inaccurately cited in the *N.*, and the variant in A unnoticed.

856E⁵: E. suggests *τις* for *εἰς*; I should prefer *κείσθω* for *εἰς ἔστω*.

864A²: I suggest *ἐφέσθαι* *τούτου* here, keeping *ἐφέσις* at B⁷ (where I prefer Ritter's *μὴ ἀληθοῦς* to E.'s *ἀμαθοῦς*).

X. 890D⁴: though *παλαιῶ* must go with *λόγω*, *νόμῳ* is defensible as dat. of instrument; perhaps it ought to be *νόμοις*. In D⁶ I am glad to see the neat conjecture *ἦττον* adopted. There is a good long *N.* at 894A¹ on a big subject—soul and motion—of which still more might be said.

897B²: E. prints Burnet's text, with an inconclusive *N.*; I suggest *οἶον ὁρθῶς θεός*.

899A⁷: E.'s explanation of *αὐτοῦ δὴ ἄμεινον*, as a gloss, is ingenious but hypothetical; *αὐτὸ δὴ ἄμ.* would, I think, make possible sense.

XI. 925B²: an interesting *N.* on *πολλὰ πολλῶν* as a truncated proverb, 'many needs, many deeds': should we read it *πολλὰ ἀπὸ πολλῶν*, 'many causes, many effects,' or take it as a play on *πόλλ'* 'Ἀπὸλλων'?

932A⁵: *κωφόν* (for *-ή*) and 933C¹ *δαιματούντας* are both good corrections.

XII. 943E¹: for *παρθένος* = 'virgin daughter,' cp. *i Cor.* vii. 36.

944C⁶: E. accepts *κακῆς* for *τάχους*, but I now think *τάχους* right, cp. 706C.

945C⁴: I can hardly believe in *ῥῶν*, which E. retains: possibly *πλῆμον* for *ῥ* *ῥ*.

949D³: E. keeps *λατῆν* but inclines to Ast's *λασιν*: I still think my conjecture (*C.R. l.c.*) (*τᾶπτεν* . . . *τὰς ζημίας*) the best remedy, cp. 876C.

960C⁷ ff.: E. 'in desperation' makes some interesting suggestions, but his account of previous guesses is incomplete, and the passage still remains obscure (cp. *C.R. l.c.*).

It should be added that the *notes* are enriched by private contributions from a number of other modern authorities—Professors J. Burnet, H. Jackson, and J. B. Mayor, Mrs. Adam and Mr. F. H. Dale. Although broader questions—such as Plato's debt to previous legislation, and his relation to other political

thinkers—receive but cursory treatment, and there is rather a dearth of illustrative matter in the commentary, on the purely philological side the work is thorough and adequate, and deserving of the highest praise. Dr. England has indeed put all students of Plato and of Greek deeply in his debt; he has 'plowed a lonely furrow' *τλάμονι ψυχᾷ*; but we can assure him *ὅτι ὁ κόπος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν κενός*, since the fruit of his labour is an English *Laws* well worthy to stand beside Adam's *Republic*.

R. G. BURY.

DEMOSTHENIS ORATIONES.

Demosthenis Orationes. Recognovit W. RENNIE. Crown 8vo. Tomi II. Pars II. Orationes xxvii–xl. Oxford University Press, 1921. Paper cover, 3s. 6d.; cloth, 4s. 6d.

MR. RENNIE—and British classical scholars—may be congratulated on the appearance, so long delayed by unfortunate circumstances, of the first instalment of the only modern English text of the Private Orationes. Of late years, indeed, it has not been always easy in this country to procure any text at all, save of the speeches contained in Paley and Sandys' *Selections*. The final volume, which is to contain a detailed discussion of the MSS., is promised shortly; meanwhile the author provisionally accepts the late Professor Butcher's judgments, expressed in the preface to Vol. I. (1903).

The text of these speeches is, in one respect, in a very satisfactory state. There is hardly a passage in them where the sense is uncertain, or where any important question of fact or interpretation depends on the reading: the vast majority of variants are questions of order, or of the preference of *ἔδωκε* to *δέδωκε*, *ἐλέγχειν* to *ἐξελέγχειν*, and the like. Mr. Rennie, for the most part, is nearer to the MSS. than Blass, whose revision of Dindorf has hitherto been current in England. He rarely makes those changes of the tradition which are intended solely to avoid hiatus or sequences of short syllables, being evidently convinced that such phenomena are undoubted in Demosthenes, and

that it is hazardous to eject some where others must remain. Nor is he so inclined as was the German editor to alter passages, or adopt a less well-attested reading, in order to make them verbally agree with parallel passages elsewhere: he makes no attempt (*e.g.*) to assimilate the famous commonplace on torture in 1 *Onet.* § 37, to the corresponding words in Isaeus. (In a few instances, however, such as 1 *Onet.* § 32, *τούτου*, or *Zenoth.* § 3 *προσέχειν*, he adopts the principle of parallelism against the witnesses whom he usually follows.) A well-attested parallel can always prove that a word or phrase is possible for Demosthenes; but twenty parallels do not necessarily prove that Demosthenes *must* have used a particular phrase, and that only. Nor does Mr. Rennie pay overmuch heed to Blass' principles of rhythm, or to the evidence of ancient citations, which (unless the reading in question is the very point of the citation) are often careless enough.

He is thoroughly justified in his distinct preference for the *Parisinus* (S) over the *Augustanus* (A), which latter is a plausible and clever, but by no means unsophisticated, witness. He has himself inspected A, and in one or two places, *e.g.*—*p. Phorm.* § 15, has been able to record small points wherein previous testimony to its reading has been mistaken; he has also discovered a few readings in S (apparently from the phototype reproduction) which had been overlooked before; from this

source he adopts two or three novelties, viz., *διεφερόμεθα* for *διαφερόμεθα* in 1 *Aphob.* § 1; *ἤθελεν* for *ἠθέλησεν* in 3 *Aphob.* § 26; *μαρτυριῶν* for *μαρτύρων* in *Pantaen.* § 19; *τῆς τοῦ παιδός* for *τοῦ παιδός* in *Pantaen.* § 40; and a change of order in *Pantaen.* § 35: none of these is of great importance. He tacitly rejects the theory that where an otiose word or phrase is found in different positions in two MSS., or families of MSS., it is to be ejected as a gloss; he retains, for instance, *μετὰ τοὺς γάμους* in 1 *Onet.* § 15, in the place where S reads it, without even noticing the suspicion against it.

Readings of any importance due to his own conjecture are very few: we have noted 3 *Aphob.* § 5 <τοὺς> ἐκ *βασάνου*; *Lacr. Arg.* τοῦ πράγματος for τὸ πᾶγμα; *φ. Phorm.* § 50, ἅπαντες for ἀπάντων; *ibid.* § 56 κατ' Ἀπολλοδώρου for πρὸς Ἀπολλοδώρου; 2 *Boeot.* § 32 <τὴν> αὐτοῦ; *ibid.* § 33 <τοῦ> μηδὲν ἀδικούντος; all of these, save perhaps

the fourth, are improvements. Conjectures of others he admits more sparingly than most recent editors, the least attractive being Voemel's *ἡμετέρων* for *ἡμετέρων* in *c. Phorm.* § 36. The papyrus evidence is but slight, and, as usual, eclectic; it proves that variants found in our MSS. were already extant in the second century A.D., and provides no improvements of the text, while such a solecism as *μέλλω* with the aorist infinitive (*c. Phorm.* § 7) is not a hopeful sign.

We have noted slight misprints in 3 *Aphob.* §§ 2, 46, 58, *Zenoth.* §§ 6, 9, and are not enchanted by the form 'sequiorum' in the note on 1 *Aphob.* § 40. Mr. Rennie follows Blass, with some hesitation, in not bracketing the author's name at the head of the *Third Aphobus* and the *Zenothemis*; in regard to the former, at least, the present reviewer is more convinced of its authenticity every time he reads it.

E. E. GENNER.

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XV. One vol. Quarto. Pp. x+250, five collos-type plates of facsimiles. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1922. 42s.

THIS volume, the preparation of which fell almost entirely to Dr. Hunt, is made up of literary texts alone; the next part (XVI.) will contain a considerable body of Byzantine documents which were found too large to be included with these.

The volume opens as usual with theological texts, of which one of the most interesting is the first—a passage from the original Greek of the *Apology of Aristides*. It appears to show that the redactor of the Greek text in our possession (in *Barlaam and Joasaph*) used his material with great freedom, and to enhance accordingly the value of the Syriac version published by Dr. Rendel Harris. Other than this, a fragment of the *Didache* gives us an authority eight centuries earlier than our present authority, and specialists will be excited at what is much the earliest piece of Church music yet

known—a hymn with musical notation of the late third century. Of this Professor H. Stuart Jones has provided a transcription in modern notation.

The new classical pieces begin with fragments from eight or more poems of Sappho, probably from the fourth book. They are lamentably fragmentary, but restoration will be assisted by the regularity of their metre (distichs of $\cup-\cup\cup | -\cup\cup | -\cup\cup | -\cup-\cup$), as with the following fragments of Alcaeus, which are in Alcaics. Perhaps of greater interest than either is a fairly long piece ascribed almost with certainty to Ibycus. It is an earlier text by many years (first century B.C.); and whereas we have in the past only had some thirty fragments of this poet, and the longest of those of ten lines or so, we have now a consecutive passage of about forty lines addressed to Polycrates, and touching upon various incidents connected with the fall of Troy. It is in a fairly pure (not extreme) Doric dialect, and shows Doric accentuation: *ἡνάρων, πολυγόμεφοι, Μόισαι, ἐμβάιεν, ἐξεῖς*.

An interesting problem arises in con-

nexion with some fragments of Callimachus of considerable length. The bulk of them is undoubtedly from the *ἐπινίκιον* on Sosibius, mentioned by Athenaeus, IV., p. 144^e, of which we have hitherto had no fragments; but early in the fragment occurs the half line *πρὶν ἀστέρι τῷ Βερενίκης*, which—previously known from a citation by Achilles Statius—has usually been supposed to be from the *Berenices coma*, and to be the original of Catullus, LXVI. 79-83. Is this attribution incorrect, as Valckenaer suspected? If not, the present papyrus must have contained the *Berenices coma* at the beginning of the part which has come down to us, and then, after a short elegiac poem at present unidentified, the beginning of the *Sosibi Victoria*. The other new classical pieces are not very exciting—an acrostichal series of riddles in 'miuric' hexameters (*i.e.* substituting an iambus for the final spondee); some fragments of the sophist Antiphon *περὶ ἀληθείας*; some Greek

poems of local Egyptian origin; some fragments of a history of Alexander the Great, which appear to support Quintus Curtius rather than extant Greek historians; and some glossaries of rare words, from which, amid much chaff, the lexicographers may gather a little grain.

Finally, we have a series of pieces representing extant classical authors: Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, Theocritus XXII., Plato, Homer, Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Aratus (*Διοσημεία*), in none of which are any very startling improvements or variants to be found. Of greater importance is a Latin papyrus leaf containing part of an index to the first edition of Justinian's Codex, which distinctly improves our extant text, especially in certain proper names; and it is of palaeographical value, because it can be placed almost with certainty between A.D. 529 and 535. It is rare indeed that we can date early Latin uncials so closely.

S. GASELEE.

DER BUKOLIKER VERGIL.

Die Entstehungsgeschichte einer römischen Litteraturgattung. Von KURT WITTE.

Pp. 73. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1922.

IN Mr. Witte's preface he avows himself for Skutsch's disciple, but unconvinced by Skutsch's theories; an explorer in Ribbeck's footsteps, undeterred by Ribbeck's failure. The present work has five complementaries: (1) *The Eclogues* and Theocritus, (2) *Ecl. VI. and Ciris*, (3) *Ecl. IV.*, (4) *Hor. Epod XVI. and the Eclogues*, and (5) *Eclogue X.* These studies lie scattered among five different periodicals. This fact and my scanty space restrict me to the book now under review, without a survey of Mr. W.'s larger positions. The book, it must be said, is highly unreadable. Mr. W. is not to blame; he is probably constrained by present conditions; but his book is a book yet to be written. His particular purpose is (p. 47) 'to excavate the long-buried secrets of Theocritean and Virgilian technique in composition' and (p. 2) to arrange the *Eclogues* chrono-

logically: his means are simply the relations of Theocritus to Virgil and the internal evidences of the poems themselves. No other considerations are adduced, no other scholars native or foreign are named. We have Mr. W. *tête-à-tête* first with Theocritus and then with Virgil.

To review a book so tightly potted (with numerical schemes on every other page) would require much more than its own bulk. I shall try to deal fairly with the writer by examining his method in one specimen and registering the chief results that he obtains by it.

We start then (p. 3) with the news that on p. 10 we are going to learn that *Ecl. III.* is the oldest-but-one of the *Bucolics*. Of *Ecl. III.* the general suggestion (Mr. W. says the 'Hauptvorbild') came from Theocr. *Id. V.* What is the scheme of composition in *Id. V.*? A singing match of fifty-six lines 'framed' in vv. 1-79 and 136-150. The scheme of this 'frame' is to be detected in two stanzas of twenty lines

Now *Ecl.* III. follows *Idyll* V. in having first a verbal sparring and then a singing-match: it differs in that Palaemon refuses to decide, and there is no victor to go off bragging as Comatas does in the Epilogue of the *Aipolikon*; also, Virgil reduces the ribaldry of Theocritus to the decent minimum required by the genre. So we are warned that Virgil is using, not copying. Just how much of that complicated numerical symmetry does he choose to employ? Mr. W. answers that the singing-match (vv. 60-108) is schemed in 24 + 24 lines, and again into 16 + 8 = 8 + 16, chiasmatically. [This, on which here depends Mr. W.'s principle of 'halbirung,' is hardly acceptable: the devout prelude *ab Ioue principium . . . hyacinthus* (60-63) stands apart, and so—even more clearly—does the pair of riddles *dic quibus in terris . . . habeto* (104-7), giving a scheme of 4 + 12 + 8 = 8 + 12 + 4.] However, balance and chiasmus hold. Further, that the 54 lines of spoken introduction to the sung are not only schemed 27 + 27, but each 27 consists of 15 for Menalcas and 12 for Damoetas. This fact is undeniable, but the alleged 11 + 16 = 16 + 11 formula in the *subject* of the verses is very questionable.

VV.
108-
111

I think any reader will take in at a glance the significance of Mr. W.'s analysis. (The alternation of speakers

might be represented in black and red.) And I think he will be disposed to recognise both what Virgil borrowed and how perfectly, by slight modifications, he appropriated it.

Such then was Bucolic, and (I suppose) a poet who did not know and practise these tricks would have had no more right to say that he was 'modulating his songs with a Sicilian shepherd's oar,' than one would have to the name of a Petrarchian, who should write odd stanzas rhymed anyhow.

For the rest I summarise briefly: *Ecl.* II. is similarly related to *Idyll* XI.; it presupposes *Ecl.* III.; but since what is not Theocritean in the *Eclogues* must be Virgilian (*ex hypothesi*), certain motifs of II and III. must be sought in *Ecl.* VII., which thus comes out as chronologically first. The hypothesis is large, and Mr. W.'s management of these very delicate tests is sometimes unsatisfactory: e.g.

Dixit Damoetas: invidit stultus Amyntas
(II. 39).

Since, says he, this answers to nothing Theocritean, it is Virgilian self-repetition: *dixit Damoetas* is an echo of *dic mihi Damoetas* (III. 1) and *invidit stultus Amyntas*, of *Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras* (VII. 58). Surely it is fantastic to build so much on a single inconspicuous word. Often Mr. W.'s verbal inferences are as shaky as this (e.g. pp. 32, 38). On his own showing

(p. 40) one might take *a te principium tibi desinam* (VIII. 11) as evidence that III. is prior to VII. Generally the argument from self-repetitions seem to me much weaker than his analysis of Theocritus.

The eventual result is: the nine *Eclogues* were composed in the order VII., III., II., V., IX., I., IV., VIII., VI. It would take more to convince me that I. and IX., prelude and envoi, were not like all other preludes and envois, written after the book they enclose. Incidentally other matters besides the sequence of the poems are claimed to be settled. I., IV. and VI. are explained on Theocritean principles: IV., schemed on Theocritus' *Hylas*, is pronounced to have been written for 'the divine son of the divine youth in *Ecl.* I.' By the way, Mr. W. repeats a common error of the Judaist school of interpreters (exploded by Lejay), that the lucky baby is going to *introduce* (*heraufführen*) the new golden age. Virgil does not say so: the baby is not a Messiah who introduces anything; he merely experiences a millennium which happens. In *Ecl.* VI. Mr. W. returns (against Sabbadini and others) to the rendering, 'My muse was the first.' Rightly, I think.

To sum up: the book deserves (and certainly requires) a very painful perusal. Sometimes Mr. Witte gets down to bedrock.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

SENECA AND ELIZABETHAN TRAGEDY.

Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy. By F. L. LUCAS. One vol. Octavo. Pp. 133. Cambridge: University Press, 1922. 7s. 6d.

To 'estimate the influence' of Seneca and 'to trace the line of descent from him to the Elizabethans' is Mr. Lucas's main purpose in writing this book. In a survey of 133 pages he glances at the whole history of tragedy—Greek, Roman, Medieval, Elizabethan—with acumen and literary power, but also with a certain irrelevance and perfunctoriness of treatment. Two chapters only are complete: 'Seneca the Man' and 'The Tragedies of Seneca.' They stand far above the

rest for their vividness of portraiture and the sureness of their critical touch. The passages of verse translation from Seneca also are excellently done. This section of the book will be read not only with interest, but with profit.

But if Mr. Lucas has set Seneca himself in perspective, he has failed to do justice to his Elizabethan followers. Clever phrases may keep a book alive, but they do not compensate for a lack of balance and of scholarly equipment. A reader who did not know the Elizabethans already would derive a very imperfect idea of them from this book. They are sketched in a series of rapid impressions. Mr. Lucas recognises

Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* as a landmark in English drama. He devotes about a page to it—rather less than he gives to a pure digression about the sheep-stealing scene in the *Secunda Pastorum*. It is as an adaptation and development of the Senecan type—not for the derivative element in it—that Kyd's play is important.

Even in dealing with the direct borrowing of the dramatists Mr. Lucas is unsatisfactory. One curt sentence suffices him for the Tudor translations of Seneca. Has he read them? Because, if he has, we should expect some passing reference to the alterations, not without dramatic significance, which Jasper Heywood and John Studely made in the original text. These men were not literal translators. For the passages directly taken over from Seneca by the dramatists Mr. Lucas evidently depends on the parallels collected by Mr. Cunliffe. He should have made good some omissions of his authority. In the death-scene of Bussy d'Ambois Chapman made use of the words of the dying Hercules and of the Chorus in the *Hercules Oetaeus*.¹ A borrowing from the same play in *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*, is not only significant, but it has the further merit of being amusing. *Alphonsus* is brought in, as he pretends, in a dying state, the victim of poison. To act the part successfully he pours out Senecan rant, and—not to deviate from the pattern—he translates literally, and dwells on the Cancer and the Scorpion in his veins and

¹ Cf. *Bussy d'Ambois*, V. iv., and *Herc. Oet.* 1518-26.

his distended liver.² One would have thought, too, that Laertes' summons to pile Pelion on Ossa and Hamlet's retort—which suggests a touch of Shakespeare's own criticism—were worth quoting. This would have added point to Mr. Lucas's judicious handling of Shakespeare's supposed borrowings from Seneca.

Again, Mr. Lucas apparently has not read the critical address to the reader which Jonson prefixed to the 1605 quarto of *Sejanus*. In it Jonson defined the essentials of high tragedy, and among them two Senecan qualities: 'height of elocution' and 'fullness and frequency of sentence.' Hardly a pronouncement for a student of Seneca to ignore. And a word might have been said about Jonson's own *sententiae*, couched in a style almost Latin in its compression. 'Ira, quae tegitur, nocet,' writes Seneca; and Jonson after him: 'Wrath covered carries fate.'³

Mr. Lucas's range of reading gives a liveliness and often an aptness to his writing, but the allusions are wofully overdone. Why in a work on Seneca have side-glances at Christ and President Wilson (pp. 25, 52)? And why twice over drag in that barbarian Mr. Wells (pp. 4, 9)?

Lastly, if a book of this nature is to help the student, at least a short bibliography of editions and reprints should have been appended.

PERCY SIMPSON.

² Cf. *Alphonsus*, IV. ii., and *Herc. Oet.* 1218-23, 1359 ff.

³ Cf. Seneca, *Medea*, 153, and Jonson, *Sejanus*, Act I. *ad fin.*

Q. HORATIUS FLACCUS, SATIREN.

Q. Horatius Flaccus, Satiren. Erklärt von A. KIESSLING. Fünfte Auflage erneuert von R. HEINZE. Berlin: Weidmann, 1921. M. 24. THE fifth edition of this work is a revision and expansion of Kiessling's well-known edition. It exceeds by sixty pages in extent the preceding fourth edition in 1910, and by 128 pages the original work published in 1886. Important alterations have been introduced. The introduction has to a great extent been remodelled, especially as regards the early history of satire, in which the apocryphal dramatic 'satira' of Livy (exploded by Hendrickson and Leo) figures no more as the original source of Latin satire. Dr. Heinze offers the suggestion that Livy's authority, whoever he was, invented these dra-

matic 'saturae' to account for the solo songs of the Roman Comedy, which differed from the usage of the New Attic Comedy. At any rate they are unknown to the grammarian Diomedes, who is the foundation of our knowledge of the history of satire. Accordingly Dr. Heinze begins with Ennius as the inventor of 'satira' as a class of literature, and the first writer of literary 'miscellanies,' the acrimonious and censorious character of which was a later development due to Lucilius, whom Horace regarded as his own model. The treatment of the metrical and prosodial peculiarities in the introduction is greatly enlarged and rich in examples.

The commentary is mainly explanatory, and takes little account of varieties of reading,

except the most important. Unlike most of this series, it is not furnished with a critical appendix, and presumes the possession of a text such as Vollmer's or Garrod's. Thus I. i. 95 *dives ut metiretur nummos* is explained, 'rich so that he could no longer count his money,' without any mention of Bentley's brilliant conjecture *qui tam* for *quidam*, and the difficulty as to interpretation which he raised: in I. 4. 35, though the reading of the Harley and Paris group of MSS., as punctuated by Sudhaus, *sibi non, non cuiquam parcat amico*, is adopted, admirable in itself and well illustrated in the note, no mention is made of the alternative reading of the usually superior group to which the excellent Strassburg MS. belongs, *sibi non hic cuiquam*, a veteran reading which long appeared in the editions, and which is adopted by Keller and Holder and by Vollmer in his recent Teubner text: in I. 7. 28 Stowasser's ingenious conjecture *salso mulsoque fluenti*, raising as it does a nice question of interpretation, seems to me to call for mention.

The exigencies of compression in the same way cause the commentary at times to appear rather arbitrary, as views which at any rate are highly probable are silently passed over in passages where there is considerable doubt. The method adopted in this respect is in contrast

with Lejay's learned edition. I give a single instance. In I. 5. 15, though *absentem ut cantat amicam* is convincingly, as I think, explained as a concise expression for *sicut avertit nauta qui cantat*, and though it is remarked that *ut* (the crux of the passage) is omitted in some MSS., and indeed by some editors, the note would have been more satisfying and the reader more fully possessed of the facts if it had been added that it is possible to understand *ut* in the sense of *dum*, an archaic use found occasionally in Plautus, an attractive view, as in that case Horace is discovered *more suo* to be talking here in colloquial Latin.

But after all an editor must decide for himself what to omit: and we must not be ungracious. Dr. Heinze's revision is thorough, and has brought Kiessling's edition up to date. The influence of the Cynics on Latin satire has not been neglected, and we find Kerkidas and the Oxyrhynchus papyrus applied to the illustration of I. 2. 123. Alterations have been made on almost every page; but the chief improvements are to be found in the Second Book: The result is that this new edition provides a masterly and lucid commentary, which always presents a tenable view, amply enforced by illustrative matter.

S. G. OWEN.

FRONTO (LOEB LIBRARY).

The Correspondence of Marcus Cornelius Fronto.

By C. R. HAINES. (Loeb Classical Library.)

Two vols. Pp. liv+309 (Vol. I.), 371 (Vol.

II.). London: Heinemann, 1919. 10s. net.

THE translator has already published articles in the *Classical Quarterly* on the chronology and text of Fronto's letters, and the present edition represents 'a first attempt to arrange them in chronological order.' No independent examination of the one manuscript is claimed, but full use has been made of the researches and emendations of Brakman, Studemund, and especially Hauler, the text here presented showing a great advance on that of Naber, now over fifty years old. The introduction tells what little is known of the orator's life, estimates his influence on his contemporaries, and defends him against the charge of archaism for its own sake. Archaisms are not to be adopted, Fronto taught, unless more expressive and appropriate than their modern equivalents. His weakness lay in his inclination to similes and other *eikônes*, which at once give an air of artificiality to passages of real feeling, and destroy any value which his contributions to history might possess. It is suggested that the recovery of the bulk of Fronto's speeches would result in a higher estimate being placed on his genius.

A satisfactory bibliography is included, an index of names, of notable Greek and Latin words, and of the principal subjects. The translation is close, but makes easier reading than might be expected in view of the fragmentary character of much of the original.

In Vol. II., p. 208, Fronto describes the indolent Syrian garrison as *impatientia laboris armis singillatim omittendis*, which more likely means 'giving up the use of one arm after another' than, as Mr. Haines translates, 'as one man after another . . . laid them aside.' It is improbable that even in Syria soldiers of the same cohort would be allowed to be differently armed.

In I. 102 *leniter arguendo* must be 'by gently calling attention' to the faults of Socrates' disciples, not 'with gentle persuasion.'

With reference to the well-known difficulty (ii. 114) of Fronto's allusion to coins of Commodus, whose name first appears on a medallion in the period 166-170 A.D., or after Fronto's death, it may be suggested that some of the small uninscribed coins (often wrongly called *Tesserae*) issued early in the reign of M. Aurelius, with an infant portrait, and usually ascribed to the future emperor's elder brother, Annius Verus, really present the features of Commodus.

E. S. BOUCHIER.

QUELLENUNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU NEMESIOS VON EMESA.

Quellenuntersuchungen zu Nemesios von Emesa. By HEINRICH A. KOCH. One volume. 9½" x 6". 51 + Literaturverzeichnis. Berlin: Weidmann, 1921. M. 6.

THIS is a study of the sources and of the character of the work of Nemesios, Bishop of Emesa, on the Nature of Man. Jaeger, discussing the dependence of Nemesios upon Posidonios, suggested

that the common source through which the views of Posidonios reached Nemesios, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa was Origen's Commentary on Genesis. In the first part of this study Koch endeavours to strengthen the case for Jaeger's view. Many arguments, he urges, derived from Posidonios, recurring in fourth-century Christian writers, would find their most natural place in an account of the Creation; but these same arguments are also employed by Origen in his extant works, especially in the *Contra Celsum*: thus it may be concluded that Origen's commentary on Genesis is the most probable *Mittelquelle*. Further, from the fact that pagan philosophy (particularly that of the Middle Stoa) and Christian doctrine are closely inter-connected in these borrowings of fourth-century authors, we may conclude that the common source contained much philosophical material: Origen 'der Verschmelzer theologischer und heidnischer Wissenschaft' is the writer with whom such a fusion of elements would be most natural: who else, indeed, can be suggested? Koch then illustrates the dependence in dogma of Nemesios upon Origen: the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul is implicit in *C. Celsum* VII. 32 (is this a necessary inference?), and is undoubtedly held by Nemesios: the Stoic doctrine of an ἀποκατάστασις is rejected both by Origen and Nemesios: the view that sinful souls are held in the neighbourhood of their tombs is common, so far as we know, among early Christian writers only to *C. Celsum* VII. 5 and Nemesios. Nemesios, in his first fourteen chapters, doubtless used Porphyry's commentary on the *Timaeus*, but this was not his principal source: the latter is to be found in Origen's commentary on Genesis.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed analysis of chapters 29-41. Here Nemesios follows closely the *Ethics* of Aristotle, but he has also used both pagan and Christian commentators: he substitutes Christian for pagan examples, and when he employs pagan illustrations he fully explains them for his Christian readers; further, he can desert the order of Aristotle's treatment to throw a subject into greater prominence (*cf.* chapter 34 on περὶ τίνων βουλευόμεθα). Chapters 35-38 are derived ultimately from Posidonios rather than from an eclectic Platonist of the time of Trajan (*cf.* Gercke: *Rhein. Mus.* 41 (1886) 266-291). In chapters 39-41 Nemesios returns to Aristotle, but here the parallelism is less close, since Nemesios develops his view of the freedom of the will through his conception of αὐτοεξούσιον, which is foreign to Aristotle, and meets the contention that God is the cause of evil. Here, too, Nemesios introduces πρόνοια as hindering the conversion of sinful thought into sinful deed. Aristotle has no place for πρόνοια, as for him the gods do not concern themselves καθ' ἑκάστα. Koch is inclined from this section to see in Nemesios a representative of the school of Antioch. Finally, chapters 42-44 on πρόνοια come from a source common to Theodoret and Nemesios which mainly represents the views of Posidonios.

The work of Nemesios is, however, a single whole carefully planned; he is no servile copyist, but is filled with the consciousness of a mission to impart to Christian congregations the treasures of ancient philosophy. He is bold enough to champion the discredited doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul, and he can even venture to criticise Origen himself (the βαθμοὶ τῆς ψυχῆς).
N. H. BAYNES.

ANCIENT LORE IN MEDIEVAL GLOSSARIES.

Ancient Lore in Medieval Glossaries. By Professor W. M. LINDSAY and H. J. THOMSON. (St. Andrews University Publications, No. XIII.). One vol. Octavo (8'3" × 5'3"). Pp. vii + 185. London: Humphrey Milford, 1921. 5s. net.

THE title of this book is not a misnomer, but it is not unlikely to suggest fallacious anticipations. Those who share the current misapprehensions with regard to the origin and character of medieval Latin glossaries will naturally expect that the volume will contain a

good deal of valuable information, transmitted from ancient authorities, on the meaning and use of Latin words and the interpretation of passages of the classics. Professor Lindsay's preface is mainly concerned with the destruction of this pleasing illusion. His lucid account of the methods of the compilation of glossaries shows the danger of the uncritical use of them which some distinguished scholars have not yet unlearned. The compilers borrowed freely from their predecessors, and the borrowed matter often underwent several successive corruptions in transmission; and even when we have traced a particular item to the oldest known glossary, it is seldom safe to base any conclusion upon it until we have discovered its ulterior source. Most of the entries in our glossaries are explanations—copied from glossed MSS.—of words occurring in one or other of the few writers, Pagan and Christian, that were widely studied in medieval monasteries. Of course they are often quite correct; they were intended for raw beginners, and largely relate to words whose meaning could be obscure only to the very ignorant. Many of them, however, are mere inferences, and sometimes grotesquely mistaken inferences, from the context. So far as the glossaries originated in this way, it is vain to look to them for any traditional light on the meaning of Latin words. Certain parts of particular glossaries, however, do contain material ultimately derived from the works (now wholly or partially lost) of ancient lexicographers or scholiasts. Here we really have 'ancient lore'; but even with regard to this, Professor Lindsay warns us to moderate our expectations. The compilers of glossaries worked with certain practical ends in view; and there is reason to believe that the passages in their ancient authorities that would have been precious to the modern scholar were precisely those which they would consider useless for their purpose. Their excerpts, accordingly, rarely tell us anything but what we know already. The final verdict of the preface is that the value of medieval glossaries does *not* consist in the 'ancient lore' which they have preserved. When they have been critically

edited, indeed, the student of ancient Latin may hope to learn from them something, though not very much. It is only as sources for the knowledge of late and medieval Latin, and of the history of medieval culture, that they are really of first-rate importance.

The two treatises contained in this volume—the one by Professor Lindsay and the other by Mr. Thomson—relate to the two classes of ancient material most extensively represented in the glossaries. The purpose of Professor Lindsay's article is the identification of the Festus glosses contained in the Abolita glossary. The investigation is full of difficulties. The Festus glosses occur mixed up with items from other sources in a common alphabetical arrangement; and their text is often outrageously corrupted. The danger of conjectural criticism may be seen from one instance where external evidence happens to be available. The MS. presents the gibberish 'Provanum aves-partuiperdetur,' which Goetz emends to 'Pro vano habetur: parvi penditur.' This is plausible enough, but the gloss comes from a Plautus quotation given by Festus *s.v.* *Profanum*: 'Sacrum an profanum habeas parvi penditur.' In spite of these difficulties, the amount of Abolita material that Professor Lindsay has succeeded in referring, on strong grounds of probability, to Festus is very considerable, though he is careful to say that as the necessary editorial work on the glossaries has not been done, this material is not suitable for a place in the text or apparatus criticus of the second volume of his edition of Festus.

In the second article Mr. Thomson treats of the fragments of ancient scholia on Virgil preserved in the Abstrusa glossary and the *Liber Glossarum*. The author has elsewhere argued that the Virgil glosses in these compilations go back to the commentary of Adamnan, and for the most part ultimately to Donatus. In the present article he has taken the laborious course of going through the whole of Virgil line by line, and quoting the glosses in the order of the passages to which he believes them to refer. Whatever errors of detail he may have made, Mr. Thomson has certainly done a valuable

piece of work. He has used rotographs of two MSS. of the *Liber Glossarum*, from which he has obtained some important new readings. His remarks on the unsatisfactory method followed by

Goetz in dealing with the source-marks in the MSS. should be carefully noted.

The book, though small in size, is of very great importance as a contribution to the study of Latin glossography.

HENRY BRADLEY.

AMERICANA.

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XXXII. 220×145 mm. Pp. 186. One illustration in text and one plate. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1921. 6s. 6d.

Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 1920. Vol. LI. 240×160 mm. Pp. lxxi+187. Published by the Association through its Secretary, Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio. \$2.00.

THE enthusiasm of American scholars for philological study does not diminish, and the present reviewer notes with satisfaction that ancient religion, as is fitting among the countrymen of the late J. B. Carter, comes in for no inconsiderable share. Three of the papers read before the Association at its December meeting in 1920 may fairly be classed under the latter heading: Dr. C. A. Manning's article on 'The Tauric Maiden and Allied Cults'; Dr. E. S. McCartney on 'Spontaneous Generation and Kindred Notions in Antiquity'; and Professor Lily Ross Taylor on 'The Worship of Augustus in Italy during his Lifetime' (*Trans.*, pp. 40, 101, 116). The first, starting from the deity of Iphigeneia (hardly a certainly proved datum, see Farnell, *Hero Cults*, pp. 55 ff.) and the winged 'Persian' Artemis, connects them with the swan-maidens and other such magical heroines which abound in the earlier Russian epic ballads, with a view to throwing light on the numerous religious and ethnological problems connected with the Tauric goddess. There are weak links in the chain, and it has a long distance, chronologically, to cover; but the reviewer is inclined to believe that Dr. Manning has found a profitable vein, and hopes he will continue to work it. Dr. McCartney expresses the reasonable hope that his paper will

be useful to biologists and folklorists alike. So far as the latter are concerned, at least, he is fully justified. Professor Taylor has made a handy collection of material, and puts forward some good suggestions—notably, that the title *flamen* or *sacerdos Augusti* always means priest of the genius of the reigning emperor. If this be accepted, it is possible to harmonise the many inscriptions mentioning such titles, undoubtedly Italian, and demonstrably not put up after the death of the emperor in question, with the statement of Dio Cassius that no emperor was deified in Italy until his death.

Turning to literary subjects, we have three articles wholly or partly on Latin verse-writers; a readable study by Professor C. H. Moore of 'Prophecy in the Ancient Epic' (*Harvard Studies*, p. 99); an appreciation of Prudentius by his colleague, Professor E. K. Rand (*Trans.*, p. 71); and Professor R. S. Radford's investigation of 'The Juvenile Works of Ovid' (*ibid.*, p. 146). Professor Radford gives some interesting figures of the increasing use of the dactyl as against the spondee in the Ovidian couplet, especially the hexameter; but when, chiefly on this ground, he claims for the Paelignian the Lygdamus elegies, the rest of Book III. of the Tibullan corpus, and part of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, including the *Ciris*, I for one cannot follow him. The strong case for Gallus, and the respectable case for Vergil himself, need a good deal more demolishing than Professor Radford allots to them in treating of the *Ciris*; and as for Lygdamus and Sulpicia, the one wrote poetry and the other at least was sincerely emotional; while the undoubted works of Ovid, with all their good qualities, show not a trace of either characteristic. Professor Rand has an interesting subject; but is he well advised to describe as 'verses of

which Virgil himself would not have been ashamed' Prudentius' paraphrase of 'a land flowing with milk and honey' into

solum cui melle perenni
glæba fluens niueos permiscet lactea riuos?

The first means something to a people who kept bees and owned cattle, the second is uncommonly like nonsense.

Greek poetry is illustrated by an excellent essay of Professor N. Schmidt (*Trans.*, p. 56) on 'Bellerophon's Tablet,' in which he brings much archaeological knowledge to the task of giving a clear idea of the famous episode in *Z*; by the acute paper of Professor R. H. Tanner (*ibid.*, p. 172) on 'The Ἀρχιλοχοί of Cratinus'; and by Professor H. W. Smyth's painstaking edition of the scholia on the *P.V.* in the Cod. Neapolitanus (*Harv. Stud.*, p. 1). This collection, largely due to Triklinios, contains, amid a great deal of rubbish, indications of a more respectable tradition than some editors of Aeschylus are apt to grant to anything except the Medicean. Thus it supports, often by an appeal to old MSS. (ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν παλαιοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων), προσείλους in 451, ἡῦχουν in 688, πλαθείην in 896; while the gloss on 459 shows that the writer read σοφισμάτων, not νοσοφισμάτων.

History is represented by Professor W. K. Prentice's study of 'Thermopylae and Artemisium' (*Trans.*, p. 5). He holds that Leonidas, on hearing of the third encounter at Artemision, in which the Persians were victorious, gave orders for evacuation, and sacrificed himself and the Three Hundred to let the others get clear away. Professor La Rue van

Hook protests (*ibid.*, p. 134) against the assumption that the exposure of children was anything like so common a practice in Greece as most writers would have us believe, and gives very good reasons for his doubts.

Besides Professor J. C. Rolfe's useful lexicographical note on *prorsus* (*Trans.*, p. 30), grammar is represented by Professor R. C. Kent's ingenious study of 'The Accents in Latin Verse' (*ibid.*, p. 19), which, while allowing the native accent to have been expiratory, suggests that a pitch-accent was deliberately cultivated, under the influence of Greek teachers, by the readers and writers of quantitative verse. A Canadian contribution is Professor J. W. Taylor's sketch (*ibid.*, p. 84) of the ethics of Gemistios Plethon.

Finally, Professor C. Burrage publishes (*Harv. Stud.*, p. 178) an article which everyone interested in Minoan Crete will heartily wish may be on the right track, especially as he promises further researches in book form. He is of opinion that many of the Cretan signs have an alphabetic value, and gives as a sample those on the spindle-whorl found at Hagios Onouphrios (*Scripta Minoa*, Figs. 52a and b), which he interprets (a) *kl*, i.e. 'kal(os)' or 'Talos,' and (b) *klkin'a*, 'from which may easily be derived the better known western forms *Calchinia* and *Telchinia*.' He has yet to show his theory to be supported by adequate evidence; 'but what an if it were?'

Altogether, two volumes of good reading, proving afresh that the American classicist is οὐτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὑπὸ νικώμενος. H. J. ROSE.

HERAKLES.

Herakles: Aufsätze zur griechischen Religions- und Sagensgeschichte. Von BERNHARD SCHWEITZER. One vol. 265 × 195 mm. Pp. vii + 247. 38 illustrations. Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922. M. 96.

THE chief effect of this book upon the present reviewer has been to confirm a growing suspicion that the great day of German scholarship is past. Hardly

anything in it can be unreservedly praised, except the obvious industry of the author and the considerable amount of interesting material which he has collected, some of it being new. Of the originality and insight which once marked the best works of his fellow-countrymen, Schweitzer has singularly little.

He has given us two dissertations, loosely connected by their common

relation to Herakles. In the first, he discusses, with a wealth of archaeological material, the Aktorione or Molione, in whom he sees an ancient twy-bodied deity, earlier than the Hellenic invasion of Greece. This result is achieved, partly by dismissing as 'certainly late' such passages of Homer as contradict the hypothesis, partly by a most hazardous interpretation of archaeological evidence. I find a superimposition of no fewer than seven hypotheses one on top of another. A shorter example of the same method of reasoning is seen in an episode (p. 61 ff.) which explains the four-armed Apollo of Amyklai as being really Hyakinthos, who he thinks is another twy-formed deity, associated with a female power. The argument holds good *if* (1) a passage in Libanios, *Orat.* xi.¹ refers to the cult of Amyklai and to no other; *if* (2) Libanios was well-informed about that cult; *if* (3) the ὀμφαλὸς which he mentions connotes the worship of a female deity (we know of none such at Amyklai); *if* (4) Hyakinthos was the πάρεδρος of this goddess, and *if* (5) he was a sky-god (we know him to be chthonian). Those mathematically inclined may calculate the chances of this combination being right, allowing each hypothesis separately a 50 per cent. chance of being true.

The second essay follows the lines of comparative folklore, and attempts to reduce the Twelve Labours to their original form by comparison of other Aryan myths and *märchen*. The result is, that this is the Greek version of the 'indogermanischer Riesen - Drachenkampfmythos,' and that the legend and cult of Herakles are 'die kühne Selbstapotheose eines Volkes, das schon in dem Schöpfungsdrang seines von

Leiden zerrissenen Daseins einen Hauch seiner Gottheit verspürt hat'; which, he assures his readers in a final burst of rhetoric, serves to prove the essential similarity of the Greek with the German spirit. But rhetoric, of which Schweitzer has plenty, is no substitute for good handling of comparative material, of which he has little.

Most of this book might have been written forty years ago. Besides the multiple authorship of Homer, the Dorian origin of Herakles (which it is to be hoped will have a well-deserved rest since the publication of Farnell's *Hero-Cults*) a grotesque misapplication of the facts of totemism (p. 82), and other old friends, we have (pp. 8, 10, cf. 144) a resolute shutting of the eyes to the fundamental and original difference of saga and *märchen*, and a consequent attempt to find 'der echte Herakles' (Schweitzer is fond of looking for the 'innerste Keim' of a tradition, as if that explained it all) in one of the many fairy-tales which, like every other culture-hero, he has gathered about him. A minor point is the irritatingly frequent reference to the tales of Herakles and similar heroes as *Heilandsmythen*. Anyone who is unable to see the difference between the mystic concept of a saviour or mediator and the very human monster-killing hero, is singularly unfitted for the study of Comparative Religion.

To give Schweitzer his due, there are to be found in his work a persuasive explanation of the Tritopatores (p. 75), some good things in his treatment of the folktales, pp. 103 ff., 135 ff., and one passage (p. 175) where, against Furtwängler and Farnell, he seems to have made out his case that the club was not part of the earliest equipment of Herakles.

¹ I. p. 340, Re.

H. J. ROSE.

THE TEMPLE COINS OF OLYMPIA.

The Temple Coins of Olympia. By C. T. SELTMAN. With a Foreword by SIR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY. One vol. Quarto. Pp. 120; 12 collotype plates. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1921. £2 2s.

THE control which the Eleans exercised almost without interruption from the

sixth century onwards over the Olympic festival lends more than a local interest to their coinage. In this important work Mr. Seltman has collected, arranged and, above all, illustrated, the noble series of staters struck in their name, and offers us an intensive study which will be indispensable to workers

in the same field. This is not the place to discuss the purely numismatic aspect of the work; it is enough to say that the comparatively new method of classification by die connexion is employed with judgment, and that the resulting chronological arrangement seems firmly established. The author's main contention is that the coinage bearing the name of the Eleans was not a civic coinage struck at Elis for local purposes, but a hieratic coinage struck under their auspices at Olympia for the crowds of visitors who flocked to the holy place at all times, but especially for the festival. This contention seems amply justified. Zeus and Hera, the only two deities appearing directly or by implication on the coins, had no special cults at Elis, and Mr. Seltman makes the interesting point that a curious form of thunderbolt, with one half of it shaped like a fly, which occurs on one variety, can only refer to Zeus Myiagros or Apomyios, who had taken over at Olympia the cult of Myiagros a primitive fly-god of the district. If the coins of the Eleans were struck at Olympia, there is no further reason to suppose with Head (*Historia Nummorum*², p. 419) that the earliest of them must, in spite of their archaic appearance, be later than 471 when the synoecism resulting in the town of Elis took place. That event finds an echo in the stater with the type of the thundering Zeus and the legends FAABEION OAYNIIKON. Mr. Seltman, by the way, interprets this inscription as *Φαλείων* (ἐπὶ τῶν) *Ὀλυμπικῶν* (ἀγώνων σῆμα), but such an elaborate portmanteau phrase is surely out of the question. Why should not the two adjectives be singular neuter nominatives in simple apposition, agreeing with an understood *δίδραχμον*?

The other main conclusion which the author draws is that we have to do with the product of two mints working concurrently but independently of each other, one using exclusively the types of Zeus and therefore established under his special protection in his temple, the other using the types of Hera and similarly situated in her temple. The staters certainly fall into two series, the longer (with Zeus types) covering the

whole period from the sixth to the second century, the shorter (with Hera types) lasting from 420 to the Macedonian conquest. In each series the successive issues are linked together internally by the use of common dies, while there is no recorded instance of 'muling'—i.e. of the use of the same die in both series. Thus the conclusion so far seems justified that the staters were produced in two independent workshops; but to go into further detail and presume one mint situated in the temple of Zeus and one in the temple of Hera seems more hazardous, and raises questions to which satisfactory answers are not forthcoming. The activity of the mint of Zeus begins before the building of his temple. Mr. Seltman can only say that in this early period the mint was 'attached' (whatever that may mean) to the altar of Zeus, and transferred to the precinct of his temple as soon as there was one. But if it was so desirable for the mint to be thus actually joined to a temple, why not to the already existing temple of Hera, where Zeus also had a cult? Further, if the second mint were in the temple of Hera and under her special patronage, we might expect by analogy with the Zeus mint that the types employed there would have exclusive reference to her. But this is only true of the obverses; the reverses show without exception the eagle and thunderbolt, which form the usual types for the contemporary Zeus series also. All that the evidence justifies us in supposing is that when the output of one monetary workshop no longer sufficed, another was established somewhere in the Altis. As for the types, if those relating to Zeus were earmarked for the obverse dies of one workshop, and the head of Hera for those of the other, it would be easy to fix the responsibility for each issue to its proper source.

The least satisfactory part of the book is the short section devoted to the monetary standard. The view is advanced that the coins were struck, not on the Aeginetic standard, but on an 'Olympian' standard derived from it, but slightly lighter in weight. This view is open to two objections: First, the means used to determine the

standard at Olympia are not those by which the Aeginetic standard, with which it is compared, was determined. Second, the difference of 1 per cent. is too small to be material. In the fifth century the tetradrachms of the Sicilian cities tend to be at least 1 per cent. heavier than those of Athens; are we to suppose that they were struck on a 'Sicilian' and not on the Attic standard?

In historical contacts the coinage of Olympia is disappointing. The Nike type, which is common in the fifth century, and the wreath of olive are the only direct agonistic references. Mr. Seltman notes the sparseness of the coinage during the first part of the Peloponnesian War, when the Athenians and their allies were excluded from the festival, and its sudden increase after the Peace of Nicias, to which date he rightly assigns the opening of the second workshop (his mint of Hera), though he refuses to follow Professor P. Gardner in connecting the adoption of the Hera type with the Argive

alliance. There is, however, one directly historical issue in the series—the gold coinage struck in the name of the Pisatans during their occupation of Olympia in 365-3; and the author brings out the importance of this and of the reply to it, which the Eleans made on recovering the holy place, in the shape of the staters with the named head of Olympia and that of Zeus. The latest coins are of very poor style, and it is interesting to find that, contrary to the accepted view, the coinage must have gone on till after the entry of Elis into the Achaean League. Its quasi-hieratic nature doubtless contributed to its survival, and in the end it seems to have died from inanition, so to say, rather than from active suppression.

In spite of certain obvious faults of style, the book should do something to make us realise what contributions numismatics can offer to classical studies in general.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

Notes on the Text of Aeschylus. By E. S. HOERNLE, I.C.S., former scholar of New College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. Pp. 100. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1921. 4s. 6d.

THOSE of us who, when the war broke out, were lecturing to our pupils on points of textual criticism and verbal scholarship must often have felt in the years that followed that that kind of thing at any rate could do nothing to help them through the awful experiences that they went from us to face. Yet here is a book based upon textual studies pursued on the Cher, at Bapaume and Suez, and later at Calcutta, and written presumably in the scanty leisure of the life of an Indian Civil Servant. Work done in such circumstances must command the respectful admiration of readers of the *Classical Review*—an admiration that is increased by the generous enthusiasm for Aeschylus that appears on almost every page.

It can, however, hardly be expected that at Bapaume or even at Calcutta the material necessary for success in the emendation of such a text was at hand, and indeed Mr. Hoernle tells us frankly that for much of the time the bare Oxford text was his only companion. It is, therefore, not surprising that the conclusions at which he has arrived, as to the validity of which he is very modest, are hardly likely to commend themselves to scholars. But the value of such work is not so much in the results attained as in the spirit which has inspired it. Unless another manuscript is discovered, *Supplices* 825 ff. must remain a *locus desperatissimus*. Mr. Hoernle's re-writing of it is more courageous than successful; nevertheless, Win-

chester and New College may well be glad to add his name to the long list of enthusiastic scholars which they have produced and are still producing. Such enthusiasm is its own reward. But it must be frankly admitted that for the successful emendation of a corrupt passage in Aeschylus wider and deeper preparatory studies are necessary than from the nature of the case it has been possible for Mr. Hoernle to undertake.

C. C.

The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons of St. John Chrysostom. By the Rev. THOMAS E. AMERINGER, O.F.M., M.A., Catholic University of America. Pp. 103. Washington, D.C., 1921.

Die Stimm-bildung der Redner in Altertum bis auf die Zeit Quintilians. By Dr. ARMIN KRUMBACHER. 8vo. Pp. 108. Paderborn, 1921. M. 7.

NEITHER of these brochures have any great interest for the majority of classical scholars, but both may be commended to students of the minuter details of the technique of ancient rhetoric. Dr. Ameringer has produced a careful analysis of the style of St. John Chrysostom, with special reference to his use of figures. His conclusion is that Chrysostom, though he could not shake off the effects of his training in the debased schools of rhetoric of his day, yet by force of character and natural eloquence succeeded in rising superior to the worst defects of contemporary style.

Dr. Krumbacher has produced an excellent

summary of all that is known to us of the methods of voice-training employed by the ancient rhetoricians. It is little more than a summary, but the facts have been carefully corrected and clearly stated, and his work should be of real value to the small, but devoted, band of those who have dedicated themselves heroically to the exploration of the somewhat arid regions of Greek and Latin rhetoric. An index would have improved this excellent little handbook.

I note that Dr. Krumbacher accepts the statement, for which our texts and not the MSS. of Quintilian (XI. 3. 55) are responsible, that the Greek term for a *tremolo* was *βράγχος*. Now the normal meaning of this word is 'hoarseness,' which has no connexion with a *tremolo*. Further, the best MSS. read *βραρυς*. It would seem probable that the word concealed by this reading is *βραρυός*, a term used in Greek medicine in the sense of 'shivering,' and therefore readily applicable to the *tremolo*.

H. E. BUTLER.

Zur römischen Datierung. By A. H. SALONIUS.

Pp. 3 + 56. Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia, Sarja B. Nid XV. N. o 10 (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B. Tom. XV. N. o 10). Helsingfors, 1922.

THIS is a valuable piece of work. The author confines himself to the actual phraseology by which days of the month were expressed in Latin, carefully collects and discriminates the different usages, and discusses their etymology and grammatical construction. It is for grammarians to criticise Mr. Salenius, if they dare; but his conclusions should be of value to professed students of chronology, to students of epigraphy in dating and sometimes in restoring inscriptions, to editors of texts in which such dates occur, and to students of history in the few cases where there has been room for doubt in the interpretation of a Roman date.

In the author's opinion *kalendae* is a verbal noun, to be compared as a feminine plural with *feriae*, *nuptiae*, *nundinae*, and *indutiae*. He derives it from the obsolete verb *calare*, but believes that its form was influenced by *calere*. He does not profess to be able to give the etymology of *idus*. He treats *ante diem tertium Kalendas* as analogous to the adverbial phrase *ante diem tertium*, except that the preposition has acquired a double character.

A most interesting part of this treatise is the discussion of the two methods of dating used by Cicero, *a. d. V. Kal. Ian.* and *V. Kal. Ian.*, the latter being apparently declinable. Your reviewer, accustomed to the MSS. of another writer, marvels at the author's success in working back through the MS. tradition to a clearly marked and statistically demonstrable change in practice, and still more at the author's success in distinguishing in several ancient writers the cases of numerals used in dates. But it cannot be denied that Mr. Salenius's treatment carries conviction.

It is to be hoped that the fact that this work appeared in Finland will not lead to its being overlooked by future writers on the Roman

calendar. Every future treatise on that subject ought to contain the substance of this paper.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

Hellenic Conceptions of Peace. By WALLACE E. CALDWELL. One vol. Octavo. Pp. 140. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919. 5s.

DR. CALDWELL has rather collected the historical materials from which the Hellenic conceptions of peace might be deduced than carried out his announced programme. In successive chapters upon the epic age, the early period of the city-state, the Persian wars, the age of Pericles, the Peloponnesian war, the fourth century, he has enumerated the conditions which alternately made for peace and war, but no general concepts emerge. There are obvious causes which made such concepts exceedingly difficult. The distinctions between Hellenes and barbarians on the one hand, and Hellenes and slaves on the other, were so vividly felt that even Aristotle treated the distinction between freeman and slave as founded upon human nature. The furthest the Hellenic mind could reach towards peace was a war against the outside world, in which internal disputes should be swallowed up. Alexander's attempt, therefore, to bring in Egypt and Babylon on an equality with the Greeks was of more importance for the development of the idea of peace than all the details which Dr. Caldwell gathers together. If Alexander was not a Hellene, then Homer was one just as little. The slave in Homer might be a gentleman—here a Victorian phrase must be excused—as much as his master. Homer marshals his contingents not as Hellenes and barbarians, but as Achaeans and Trojans. They live, indeed, in a world of international conflict, which is far removed from the golden age of Hesiod, to which the later Hellenes look back with regret. Only when foreign worships promised happiness to come could the ideal of peace be formulated in Greece. The Hellenic spirit was cramped by nationalism. To the average man, mystical, that is, international, religion alone offered release. It is the crowning distinction of Homer that without these consolations of religion he could pourtray man with an impartiality which is nearly divine. For him a tomb, even on Trojan soil, was of a mortal long since dead; a stone was a monument set up in the times of former men. Aristotle protected himself against his own conclusions by saying that a man who could rise above nationalism was more than mortal, just as one who falls short of nationalism is less than human. Homer found his true successor in the Macedonian monarch. But the intervening age was in the main incapable of their attitude towards international relations.

FRANK GRANGER.

La Langue Gauloise. G. DOTTIN. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1920.

THIS work contains an account by a highly competent authority of practically all that is known of the Gaulish language. All the sur-

viving texts are given in full, with a grammar and glossary, and all the necessary commentary is supplied. The book may be recommended with confidence to scholars as thoroughly up-to-date and as displacing all previous accounts. The information given is full and accurate, and the author's judgment on matters of controversy is sound. In every respect it is a useful and valuable piece of work.

J. A. S.

Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg. Fascicule 6: *Negotium perambulans in tenebris*. By PAUL PERDRIZET. Études de Démonologie Gréco-orientale. Strasbourg and Paris: Librairie Istra; Oxford: University Press; New York: Columbia University Press, 1922. 1s. 6d. net.

IN this pamphlet Professor Perdrizet exemplifies and discusses some of the quaint imaginings of early Christians in Egypt.

It was under the rule of the Ptolemies that Egyptians first became accustomed to the sight of cavalry; and in that period began a practice of depicting certain gods as armed men on horseback. One of the gods thus depicted was *Θεὸς Ἡρῶν*, whom M. Perdrizet takes to have been a Macedonian god imported into Egypt, and there identified with one of the local forms of Horus.

This equestrian type seems to have been adopted by Jews, who substituted for the name of a Pagan god that of Solomon, the great subduer and master of demons. Of this Jewish stage in the development of the notion M. Perdrizet says little; but it is to be presumed that there were amulets made by Egyptian Jews, in which Solomon was depicted on horseback, piercing a demon with his spear. From Pagans and Jews the practice was taken over by Christians; and there are numerous Christian amulets in which a horseman is shown transfixing sometimes a dragon, sometimes a she-devil in human form. In either case, the prostrate foe represents a demon who works disease or other mischief; and it was thought that he who wore the amulet would be protected from the evil workings of such demons.

Christians sometimes retained the name Solomon for the horseman, and called the amulet on which he was depicted 'Solomon's seal,' but they sometimes substituted the name of a Christian saint; and among the saints whose names were thus employed, one of those who occur most frequently is Saint Sisinnios. This personage seems to have been originally a Parthian and a Manichaean; but he supplied the good Archelaus with information which helped him to vanquish the wicked Mani in debate (see Harnack, *Acta Archelai*), and thence became a saint. M. Perdrizet reproduces and explains a fresco found in the ruins of a monastery (near Hermopolis Magna) built c. 400 A.D. In this picture Saint Sisinnios is seen on horseback, sticking his spear-point into a prostrate she-devil, who is here named Alabasdria. She looks quite inoffensive as she lies helpless on her back; but above her head is

depicted the Evil Eye, symbol of her maleficent power, which the saint is annulling; and near her sits a child, who has presumably been carried off by her, and whom the saint, it would seem, is rescuing.

As a parallel to this picture, M. Perdrizet gives a medieval Greek text, intended for use as a phylactery. It is a tale about a she-devil named *Γυλλοῦ* (cf. *Γελλῶ*, mentioned by Sappho; Babylonian *gallu*, 'demon'?). This 'ghoul' killed or carried off each newborn child of a sister of Saint Sisinnios; but when she took the seventh child, Sisinnios and his two brothers mounted their horses and galloped after her and caught her, and forced her to reveal her 'twelve and a half' names, and brought back the children safe and sound. She was compelled to swear that she would thenceforward never come near any house on which the name of Saint Sisinnios was written, and in which the story of his deeds was read and her own devil-names recited; and the writer tells us that he who has a copy of this document *οὐ μὴ ἀδικηθῇ*.

M. Perdrizet incidentally discusses other matters also, e.g. the Evil Eye, and the *Pent-alpha*; and readers interested in things of this sort will find in his somewhat discursive treatise much that may be of use to them.

W. SCOTT.

The Metamorphoses ascribed to Lucius of Patrae, and its Content, Nature, and Authorship. By B. E. PERRY. 8vo. New York: T. E. Steckert and Co., 1920. \$1.

IN this well-written and interesting dissertation, presented for a Doctorate of Philosophy at Princeton University, Mr. Perry puts forward a new theory as to the authorship of the *Metamorphoses*, usually attributed to Lucius of Patrae. His argument may be briefly summarised as follows: He shows—and here he is breaking no new ground, though he adduces some fresh and convincing arguments—that the *Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος*, falsely assigned to Lucian, and the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, are independent of one another and derived from the same source, the *Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος* being an abridgement, the *Metamorphoses* probably an expansion of the lost original. That original can scarcely be other than the *Metamorphoses* attributed by Photius to Lucius of Patrae. But is Photius' attribution correct? The story purported to be an autobiography, in which the narrator was transformed into an ass, and went through a number of ludicrous and thrilling adventures. Photius accepted Lucius as the actual author, just as Augustine imagined that Apuleius had actually worn an ass's skin. But it is scarcely probable that the actual author would have explicitly identified himself with the hero of such a wild and grotesque romance, though for purposes of mystification he may well have suppressed his real name. Lucius, therefore, according to Mr. Perry, must be regarded as an imaginary character, and the author is yet to seek. Why should it not be Lucian himself? If we accept this view, it explains how the abridgement (*Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος*) came to find its way into the works of Lucian, while there is

nothing intrinsically improbable in making him the author of such a whimsical and satirical tale.

The theory is, of course, incapable of proof, but it is attractive and far from improbable. The question of date remains. If the *Metamorphoses of Lucius of Patrae* is by Lucian, when did he write it? and what is its relation to the corresponding work of Apuleius? Mr. Perry gives no definite answer as to date, though he indicates the various possibilities. Lucian and Apuleius were almost exact contemporaries, Lucian possibly as much as ten years the elder. That Apuleius should piratically appropriate the novel is in keeping with all we know of his methods. It is a probable, though not a necessary, hypothesis that some time elapsed between the publication of the original and its appropriation; and as one who holds the *Golden Ass* to have been the work of Apuleius' later life, I should incline to regard the *Metamorphoses of Lucius of Patrae* to have been the product of Lucian's youth.

The whole dissertation is excellently written and closely argued, and is strongly to be commended to all students of Lucian and Apuleius. Even if they do not accept its conclusions, they will find a very full and lucid summary of the various views that have been taken of this difficult problem, a reasoned refutation of the claims of Δούκιος ἢ ὄντος to have been written by Lucian, a very careful examination of the statements of Photius, and an ingenious reconstruction of the lost *Metamorphoses*. Unlike many dissertations submitted for a degree, this is a real contribution to knowledge.

H. E. BUTLER.

Outline-History of Greek Religion. By LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL. One vol. 185 × 125 mm. Pp. 91. London: Duckworth and Co., 1920.

THE contents of this little work have been known to the public for some time in the form of an article in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. There is, therefore, no need to summarise them here. It is not every student's library that can include Hastings' great compilation, and the reviewer would repeat the appreciation he has already expressed (*Year's Work*, 1920, p. 59) of the action of the publishers in bringing out this cheap and excellent handbook. The beginner will find in it enough information to give him a good grounding, and abundant indication of where to look for more detailed knowledge, while at the same time he may be sure that he will have nothing to unlearn; and more advanced students would do well not to neglect it.

It would be desirable to alter a few details in order to bring the book fully up to date. This applies chiefly to the bibliography, which, e.g., omits Eitrem's *Opferritus*, gives a reference only to the older (Latin) edition of De Visser's *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter*, and naturally does not include the author's *Hero-Cults*, published in 1921. There are a few misprints, 'Paulz' for 'Pauly' being perhaps the most noteworthy (p. 90).

H. J. ROSE.

Le Montant du Budget de l'Empire Byzantin.

By A. ANDRÉADÈS [ANDRÉADHIS], Professeur à l'Université d'Athènes. (Extrait de la *Revue des Études Grecques*. Tome XXXIV. No. 156. Janvier-Mars, 1921.) Pp. ii + 55. Paris: Leroux, 1922.

NO scholar is better qualified than Professor Andréadhis for wrestling with this difficult subject. He has explored the economic history of ancient, mediaeval, and modern Greece in his previous works, and in the present monograph he also draws upon what is known of Sassanid and Abbasid finances for purposes of comparison. But when all the available evidence has been surveyed and the conflicting reconstructions criticised, the results are disappointing. Indeed, nothing could be more significant than the difference here revealed between Byzantine studies and those of our own Western history at the same epoch. A Western mediaevalist would be embarrassed, not by the meagreness, but by the superabundance of his material in making similar researches in regard to the Two Sicilies, France, or England. The mediaeval chanceries and documents have survived *in situ* in the Western World. But in the Near East—*inter enim iecta est vitae pausa*—the historian of the Byzantine civilisation finds himself in the same plight as the historian of ancient Hellenism or the archaeological student of the pre-Hellenic period. He must piece together fragments; and so, from the methodological point of view, the subject of Professor Andréadhis's study falls into the category of ancient history.

A. J. T.

Le Origini del Romanzo Greco. By BRUNO LAVAGNINI. One vol. 8vo. Pp. 104. Pisa: F. Mariotti, 1921.

SIGNOR LAVAGNINI has written a scholarly and interesting treatise on the much-vexed question of the origins of the Greek novel. He has made a careful study of the subject, and has expressed his conclusions with lucidity and grace. His view is that the Greek novel is indigenous, owing little to Oriental influence, and springing in the main from the stories of Greek legend—above all, from those local legends which had figured but little in literature. It originated in the latter half of the Hellenistic period, and is to be regarded as a popular elaboration of the legends mentioned. He supports his argument by citing a large number of local legends embodying stories of the type with which the Greek novel has made us familiar, and by a careful examination of the papyrus fragments which have thrown so much fresh light on the Greek novel. These conclusions are sane and probable enough, but the main value of the book is to be found in the clarity and good sense with which the argument is developed, and in the useful summary which it gives of the whole problem. It is to be hoped that Signor Lavagnini will at some future date produce a larger work dealing more comprehensively with the subject, including among other things some discussion of the origins of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, which must, as far as origins are concerned, be regarded as Greek. It is a relief to find that Signor Lavagnini refuses to follow Rohde in

drawing a hard and fast line between the short story and the novel and in regarding the novel as the offspring of the second sophistic movement.

H. E. BUTLER.

The Shadows of the Bronze of Piacenza.

By E. GALEOTTI-HEYWOOD. Pp. 48.

Perugia: Unione Tipografica Cooperativa, 1921.

THE great majority of books and magazine articles written on the literature and antiquities of Italy and Greece leave things pretty much as they were before. Scholars—a polite name for the writers—are for the most part content to repeat what previous scholars have said, and shrink from the mental effort of thinking out things for themselves. But every now and then comes a publication which brushes away the yearly accumulation of litter and reveals some feature of the past as it really and truly was. An address by Dr. Mackail (C.R. XXXV. 2)¹ admits us to the inner shrine, and dazzles us with a view of an ode of Horace—the real soul of the ode (and what a world away from the traditional commentaries!). A pamphlet of Warde Fowler takes the scales from our eyes when we read a book of the *Aeneid*. Hardie's *Res Metrica*, not yet truly appreciated by its reviewers, we would add to the list.

This booklet—*si parva licet componere magnis*—shows us one side of Etruscan divination—the esoteric lore of the soothsaying guild, an eerie, uncanny thing. It makes our flesh creep as we read the strange details so successfully collected by Signora Galeotti's patient, persistent investigation.

In 1877 a ploughman in the Piacenza district turned up a bronze object (in size and shape like the longitudinal half of a kidney) interspersed by lines like a spider's web, and with names of Etruscan deities written in the inter-spaces—the Bronze of Piacenza. What was it? Clearly something connected with divination. But how precisely?

The problem has now been solved.

¹ A recent number of a German magazine reviewed the contents of C.R. XXXV. We turned to it curious to know what message the reviewer had taken for his countrymen from Dr. Mackail's words. Alas! only that 'Pyrrha was a suitable name for a blonde.'

Labor omnia vincit. Our readers should read for themselves the authoress' fascinating story how she discovered after many a year's experiments that the bronze was cleverly and scientifically shaped to record the shadows of the sun and moon at each hour of day and night, and thus to indicate the ruling deity at each and every division of time.

Verily, there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed, nor hid that shall not be known. What shall we learn when excavation in the Etrurian borderland provides a bilingual inscription (like the Rosetta stone) and enables us to read the Agram *liber linteus*?

W. M. LINDSAY.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

VII.-XII. (July to December, 1920).

Pp. 255; 4 plates, 70 illustrations. 1921.

BESIDES two articles dealing with architectural and sculptural remains of the Byzantine period found in the neighbourhood of Demetrias, this number contains much matter of direct interest to classical scholars. In a detailed account of the excavations at Argos in 1912, W. Vollgraff shows some reason for identifying the temple, already partly published, with that of Artemis Peitho, mentioned by Pausanias. He also describes new work on the Agora, and the exploration of a Roman Odeum (south of the great theatre) built on the site of a large open place of assembly, with rock-cut steps, resembling the Pnyx. Several interesting reliefs were found in these excavations. L. Bizard discusses the inscriptions found in the Ptoion sanctuary in 1903. The most important are two dedications, the first made by Alcmaeonides, son of Alcmaeon, probably between 554 and 539; the second made by Hipparchus during the reign of his brother. In a very elaborate article Ch. Picard discusses the Society of the Posidoniasts of Berytus at Delos. He concludes that the Society was more commercial than religious, and that it lasted only from c. 110 B.C. to 69 B.C., when the establishment was destroyed by Athenodorus. An interesting article

by P. Cloché deals with the effects of the creation (under Philip's influence) of the college of *tamiai* at Delphi in 339 B.C. The consequent changes in the *personnel* of the *naopoioi* are examined in detail; some are explained as due to professional pique, others to the anti-Macedonian politics of the

states represented. The remaining articles are of somewhat technical interest; but the *Chronique des Fouilles*, etc. (November, 1919, to November, 1920), contains much important matter. It is, however, impossible here to summarise this fascinating summary.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY REPORTS.

FITZGERALD'S CANON.

[The Journals Board has arranged with the Council of the Oxford Philological Society that reports and summaries of papers read to the Society shall in future be printed in this *Review*. The following is a paper read on February 24, 1922, by Mr. W. D. ROSS.—EDD. C.R.]

FITZGERALD'S canon maintains that it is Aristotle's practice to refer to the historical Socrates as *Σωκράτης*, and to the Platonic Socrates as *ὁ Σωκράτης*.¹ The question of the validity of the canon is an interesting one, not only as a matter of Aristotelian *Sprachegebrauch*, but in its bearing on Aristotle's attitude towards Socrates. Professor Taylor has recently maintained that the canon is quite unfounded,² but it seems to be accurate in principle, though requiring some modification as regards the *Rhetoric*. The general practice in Greek is that the article is omitted with the names of persons except (a) in referring to a person already named in the context without the article (here *ὁ* = 'the said'); (b) to a person who is present and is pointed to; (c) to a particularly famous person. So the practice is stated by Kühner.³ Aristotle's practice agrees with this in general. In *Met.* A there are fifty references to philosophers and poets without the article, and two with it—*ὁ γὰρ Παρμενίδης*, 986b 22; *ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πλάτων*, 990a 29 [both explicable by (a) above]. In the other books of the *Metaphysics* we find *Πλάτων* eleven times; in one passage⁴ the best MSS. are divided as between *Πλάτων* and *ὁ Πλάτων*, and the latter form occurs nowhere else in these books. In the *Rhetoric* historical characters are mentioned at least 234 times without the article, and there are (as far as I know) only twenty passages (other than those explicable by Fitzgerald's canon) in which they occur with the article.⁵ Some of these⁶ are explicable by (a) above, and the rest probably by (c). On the other hand, *Σωκράτης* occurs in Aristotle's

genuine works 19 times without the article and 22 times with it. This at once suggests that there is some special reason for the use of the article with this name, and the reason which naturally presents itself is that Socrates is both a historical character and a character in Plato's dialogues. The use of the article when he is referred to in the latter capacity may be explained as a sort of generalised form of such expressions as *ὁ ἐν Φαίδωνι Σωκράτης*, *ὁ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ Σωκράτης*.⁷ If this distinction is intended by Aristotle, we should expect to find *Σωκράτης* used generally with a past tense and *ὁ Σωκράτης* with the present. *Σωκράτης* occurs with a past tense in *Soph. El.* 183b 7; *P.A.* 642a 28; *Met.* 987b 1, 1078b 17, 1086b 3; *E.N.* 1127b 25, 1144b 18, 28, 1145b 23, 25, 1147b 15; *Pol.* 1260a 22; *Rhet.* 1398a 24, 1419a 8; *ὁ Σωκράτης* with the present in *Pol.* 1261a 6, 12, 16, b 19, 21, 1262b 6, 9, 1264a 29, b 7, 1291a 12, 1316a 2, b 27. There are other passages in which the verb throws no light on the question whether the real or the Platonic Socrates is meant, but the sense does so. In *An. Post.* 97b 21, *Met.* 1078b 28, *Rhet.* 1390b 31, where there is no article, the sense clearly demands a reference to the historical Socrates. In the *Politics* the passages with the article (including 1263b 30, 1264a 12, b 24, 29, 37, as well as those mentioned above) occur, with one exception, in contexts in which the *Republic* is mentioned by name and its theories are under discussion. (The exception is 1265a 11, *πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους λόγοι*, where the article is appropriately used, since Aristotle is referring to the Platonic dialogues; but the special reference is to the *Laws*. Aristotle either speaks carelessly, as if Socrates had been a character in that dialogue, or deliberately identifies the 'Athenian Stranger' with Socrates. Grote suggests that Plato intended this identification, and did not call the chief speaker Socrates only because it was well known that Socrates had never been in Crete, where the scene is laid.) Thus Fitzgerald's canon accounts for 35 out of the 41 passages. Further, it is not surprising if the article occasionally occurs with a past tense: 'as Mr. Micawber said' is hardly less natural than 'as Mr. Micawber says.' *E.N.* 1116b 4 *Σωκράτης φήθη* refers to *Laches* 125, *Prot.* 360; *Rhet.* 1367b 8 *ὁ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν* to *Menex.* 235d.

¹ W. Fitzgerald, *Selections from the Nic. Eth. of Aristotle*, p. 163.

² *Varia Socratica*, pp. 41-51.

³ *Gr. Gramm.*, § 462 (a). ⁴ *Λ.* 1070a 18.

⁵ 1357b 34, 1364a 19, 1365a 28, 1367a 9, b 17, 19, 1368a 20, 1377a 19, 22, 1384b 15, 1386a 19, 1392b 12, 1398a 17, b 31, 1399a 33, 1400b 17, 1401b 32, 1402b 11, 1405b 24, 1417a 7.

⁶ 1357b 34, 1398a 17. Cf. *Pol.* 1270a 4-7, 1274a 31 f.; *Poet.* 1453a 24-9.

⁷ *De Gen. et Corr.* 335b 10; *Pol.* 1342a 32.

There remain four exceptional passages. In *Pol.* 1342b 23 we have ἐπιτιμῶσι καὶ τοῦτο Σωκράτει, where the reference is clearly to the *Republic*; but (a) Susemihl and Burnet regard the section in which this occurs as spurious; and (b), if it is genuine, Professor Cook Wilson's emendation τῷ Σωκράτει may well be right after τοῦτο. In *Rhet.* 1415b 30 we have λέγει Σωκράτης ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ, where the *Menexenus* is referred to; it is pardonable to suggest that in this one passage ὁ has dropped out before the similar letter σ. In *Met.* 1078b 30, *Rhet.* 1398b 31, ὁ Σωκράτης clearly refers to the historical person, but the former passage falls under Kühner's (a) and the latter probably under his (c).

The canon is on the whole confirmed very strongly by Aristotle's usage with other proper names. In *E.N.* VII., for instance, Bywater observes¹ that we have the article where the canon requires it in 1145a 21, 1146a 21, 1148a 33, 1149b 15, 1151b 18, and miss it only in 1145a 20. The rule is observed in twenty passages of the *Politics*,² and ignored only in 1342b 23 (dealt with above) and in 1338a 28, where it is natural to restore <ὁ> Ὀδυσσεύς. In 1262b 11 ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης means the Aristophanes in the *Symposium*. In the *Rhetoric*

there are at least eighteen instances of the observance of the rule. Bywater admits only two exceptions—1415b 30 (dealt with above) and 1400a 27, where we may restore <ὁ> Ὀδυσσεύς. Professor Taylor, however, has pointed out several passages in which, of two literary characters referred to, only one has the article,³ as though Aristotle considered that he had thus given a sufficient clue to his meaning. The article is exceptionally omitted in 1413b 26 (Ῥαδάμανθους καὶ Παλαμήδους). The *Rhetoric* also, as we have seen, uses the article occasionally of historical characters; and it would seem that in this, the most highly finished of Aristotle's works, rhythmical grounds have led to a relaxation of the usual principle. In the *Poetics* there are at least thirty-one cases of the use of the article in accordance with the canon,⁴ and only the following exceptions: ὁ θρήνος Ὀδυσσεύς ἐν τῇ Σκύλλῃ 1454a 30 (not really an exception, because θρήνος Ὀδυσσεύς was presumably the regular way of referring to this part of the *Scylla*), Ὀδυσσεύς 1454b 26, Ὀφέτης *ib.* 31, Οἰδίπους 1460a 30, Σίσυφος 1456a 22. The dropping out of ὁ before ο and occasionally before σ is clearly *exceptio probans regulam*.

³ 1396b 15, 1399a 21, b 28, 1400a 27, 1401b 35.

⁴ 1451a 22, 1452a 25, 27, b 5, 6, 7, 1453b 6, 23, 24 *ter*, 29, 1454a 1, 2, 5, 29, 31, b 14, 1455a 5, 6, 7, 27, b 18, 1460a 30, b 26, 1461a 12, 29, b 5, 7, 21 *bis*.

¹ *Cont. to Text. Emend. of Aristotle's Nic. Eth.* 52.

² Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, 228.

CORRESPONDENCE

PREHISTORIC CORINTH.

To the Editor of THE CLASSICAL REVIEW.

SIR,

I should be glad to be allowed to refer to Dr. Leaf's paper in the *Class. Rev.* for May-June, so far as it relates to Corinth, as he mentions my name in that connexion.

Those who have followed the controversies raised by his *Homer and History* must be surprised that he does not mention the article in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for 1920, by Mr. Blegen, head of the American School at Athens. Surely he has not seen it. Mr. Blegen is the highest authority on the pre-history of the Corinthia, and his paper is devoted expressly to the refutation of Dr. Leaf's view, both on the main issue and on the subordinate points of commerce, havens, agriculture, and climate. He asserts 'the importance and the prosperity of the Isthmian region throughout the whole Bronze Age.' Of the eleven settlements discovered, 'six at least,' he says, 'continued to exist until late Helladic civilisation was blotted out by the Dorian invasion.' He also describes Dr. Leaf's identification of the Homeric Ephyra as 'hypothetical,' and suggests he should now, as promised in *Homer and History*, p. 214, 'admit that he has used a faulty block as the cornerstone of his theory.' Dr. Leaf, on the contrary, in his present paper, reasserts his theory, and

would have us believe that '70 per cent. of the sites in the district which were inhabited in pre-Mycenaean times seem to have been abandoned in the Mycenaean period.' But this is far from an accurate statement, as any one can see from Mr. Blegen's detailed account of the eleven sites. And finally, no one acquainted with the facts will admit that the opponents of Dr. Leaf's theory must prove the existence in Mycenaean times, on the very site of classical Corinth, of a Mycenaean capital, 'at least as big as Mycenae, with walls and palaces.' Effective Mycenaean occupation of the Isthmia and active commerce are the main points in justification of the ἀφνειὸς Κόρινθος of the *Catalogue*, and Mr. Blegen has proved both.

I cannot go into the matter here in greater detail, but I think it desirable that Mr. Blegen's conclusions should be mentioned at once for consideration with Dr. Leaf's paper.

Yours, etc.,

August 23, 1922.

A. SHEWAN.

A CORRECTION.

IN the notice of Professor Meister's book in the last issue of the *Class. Rev.* the proposed rearrangement of η 270 is erroneous. It should read thus: ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἔτι ξυνέσσειται ἐμμελλον, as I suggested long ago in my 'Homerica,' *ad loc.*

T. L. AGAR.

BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

* * Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Anderton** (B.) Sketches from a Library Window. 9" x 5½". Pp. 182. Cambridge: W. Heffer. Cloth. 10s. 6d. net.
- Behrens** (H.) Untersuchungen über das anonyme Buch *De Viris Illustribus*. 9½" x 6½". Pp. 70. Winter: Heidelberg University, 1922. 4s.
- Bickford** (J. D.) Soliloquy in Ancient Comedy. Dissertation for Princeton University for D. Phil. Degree. Published by the author, Princeton, N.J.
- Boak** (A. E. R.) A History of Rome to 565 A.D. 9" x 6". Pp. xvi + 444. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922. Cloth, 14s. net.
- Bridge** (F. M.) Princes of Wales. 8" x 5". Pp. xii + 356. London: H. F. W. Deane. The Year-Book Press, 1922. 8s. 6d. net.
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